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Fifth Report of the Senate Fact-Finding Committee On Un-American Activities

1949

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SENATOR HUGH M. BURNS, *Vice Chairman*

SENATOR JACK B. TENNEY, *Chairman*

LINNIE TENNEY, *Secretary*

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PUBLISHED BY THE SENATE

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President of the Senate

SENATOR HAROLD J. POWERS

President Pro Tempore of the Senate

JOSEPH A. BEEK

Secretary of the Senate

AN AMERICAN'S CREED

"I believe in the United States of America as a Government of the people, by the people, for the people; whose just powers are derived from the consent of the governed; a democracy in a republic; a sovereign Nation of many sovereign states; a perfect union, one and inseparable; established upon those principles of freedom, equality, justice and humanity, for which American patriots sacrificed their lives and fortunes. I therefore believe it is my duty to my Country to love it; to support its Constitution; to obey its laws; to respect its Flag; and to defend it against all enemies."

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

SENATE CHAMBER, STATE CAPITOL
SACRAMENTO, June 8, 1949

*Honorable Goodwin J. Knight
President of the Senate; and
Gentlemen of the Senate
Senate Chamber, Sacramento, California*

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE:

Pursuant to Senate Resolution No. 75, which appears at page 3532 of the Senate Journal for June 20, 1947, the Senate Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities was created and the following were appointed by the Senate Committee on Rules:

Senator Hugh M. Burns,
Senator Nelson S. Dilworth,
Senator Fred H. Kraft,
Senator Louis G. Sutton,
Senator Clyde A. Watson,
Senator Jack B. Tenney.

The committee herewith submits a partial report of its investigations and findings.

Respectfully submitted,

HUGH M. BURNS,
NELSON S. DILWORTH,
FRED H. KRAFT,
LOUIS G. SUTTON,
CLYDE A. WATSON,
JACK B. TENNEY, Chairman



CALIFORNIA'S STATE CAPITOL

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“I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America, and to the Republic for which it stands; one Nation, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.”

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COMMUNITY APPROACH

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"No Communist, no matter how many votes he should secure in a national election, could, even if he would, become President of the present government. When a Communist heads the government of the United States—and that day will come just as surely as the sun rises—the government will not be a capitalist government but a Soviet government, and behind this government will stand the Red army to enforce the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Sworn Statement of

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

Head of the Communist Party in the United States

PREFACE

With the publication of this report the various committees of the California Legislature, to which this present committee is the direct successor, have completed nearly a decade of work in investigating and exposing subversive activities.

The chairman, Senator Jack B. Tenney of Los Angeles, continuously has been a member of the various committees, and Senators Hugh M. Burns, Fresno, and Nelson S. Dilworth, Hemet, have served since 1941.

During this period the committees on Un-American Activities have contributed materially to the destruction, impotence or suspension of numerous subversive activities, both of the far ideological Right and the far ideological Left, by consistent investigation, research, and documented exposure.

The committees fearlessly and inclusively have exposed inciters and promoters of racial, religious, economic, and class strife, conducted either in the interests of foreign powers or by exponents of native totalitarianism.

COMMUNISM THREATENS HUMAN FREEDOMS

Today, one major force stands out as a distinct and ominous threat to human liberty and freedom everywhere. That force is the brutal, inhumane, antireligious, antifreedom, murderously aggressive, and deceptively hypocritical force of World Communism.

This is the greatest danger that human liberty and freedom as we know it ever has faced in recorded history.

The members of this committee have become convinced over the years through practical experience and extensive research that a totally new, effective and practical approach must be adopted in the fields of investigation, legislation, civic affairs, political activity, and industrial relations to meet the threat of a native Fifth Column of thousands of

potential traitors in a period of cold war with totalitarian Soviet Russia and its satellites.

Anything less than complete, intelligent, and effective action to control this danger at home would be a crass betrayal of responsibility that would lay this nation open to chaos, sabotage, terror, and bloody holocaust should the cold war explode beyond its present uneasy balance into active hostility.

Your committee, therefore, during this year of challenge, has been concerned in this report less with individuals and their activities in the revolving orbits of the Communist solar system of front activity; and more with the broad moral, legal, tactical, strategic, and legislative points at issue—all of which must be solved successfully and decisively in a thoroughly American way if human freedom and liberty are to survive on this troubled planet.

The committee has taken particular pains to compile from its own reports of the past decade and from the most scholarly and thoughtful analytical and research material available to it from responsible public and private sources, one definitive statement to prove conclusively the basic truths about Communism and to propose positive remedial measures.

The committee has been aware of the essential truth that no one phase of Communism can be evaluated or documented adequately out of context from the whole world Communist movement; and the committee has provided in this report a thorough analysis and documentation of the issues involving Communism under such fundamental headings as:

The World Situation; the Legal and Legislative Problem; the Domestic Situation; the California Situation; the General Community Problem; Interstate Legislative Cooperation; and Citations of Communist Fronts by Official Agencies.

The report is divided into two parts: *Part One* is a statement of the problem. *Part Two* is a statement of what can and must be done to meet the problem.

This partial report, therefore, is a twofold challenge:

First, it is a challenge to the Legislature and to the people of California to read the documented proof, to understand the horror of the real meaning of Communism in action, to abandon complacency, ignorant apathy, and selfish avoidance of responsibility, and to stand up as one united people to defeat Communism with every resource at our command.

Second, this partial report is a challenge to the Communists, the fellow-travelers, the apologists, pinks, confused liberals, innocents and dupes, to read in this report from the sacred texts of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism, what Communism really believes in and proposes to do; and then either stand out openly and honestly and unfurl the Hammer-and-Sickle Red flag of treachery and brutality or else to learn as the Whitaker Chamberses and Elizabeth Bentleys and Louis Budenzes learned the sickening, blood-stained truth of the Stalinist betrayal of the socialist revolutionaries' dream of a "workers and peasants paradise."

Your committee presents this partial report to the Legislature and to the people of California in a spirit of sincere urgency. Informed, positive, intelligent and patriotic action is needed to save our State, our Nation, and our world from totalitarian enslavement.

The people of California in these centennial years are celebrating a tradition of pioneer courage and libertarianism that follows merely by a year the centennial celebration of the founding of the bloody Communist world conspiracy.

This committee has confidence that the legislators and citizens of the Golden State have cherished their inheritance and retained its pioneer virtues so genuinely that with adequate information they can and will act together to defeat the insidious, hypocritical treachery of traitorous adherents of an alien and inhumane cause.

In tendering this serious and analytical partial report to the Legislature and to the people of California, your committee is reminded of a classical anecdote by the famed legislator and humorist, Senator Josh Lee, from another pioneer state, Oklahoma.

Senator Lee often told this story:

A Communist soap-box orator was haranguing a crowd in a public park. He finally came to the familiar promise:

"Come de revolution, you'll git strawberries and cream."

A heckler cut in: "I don't like strawberries and cream!"

The soap-boxer sputtered in exasperation; and repeated his slogan.

The heckler again interrupted: "But, I don't like strawberries and cream!"

The soap-boxer opened his mouth twice. Nothing came out. He began to swell up, his eyes narrowed. He thrust out his jaw and finally bellowed:

"Come de revolution, you'll GIT strawberries and cream—
AND LIKE IT!"

This simple story cogently illuminates the broad issue in conflict in the world today.

We of California, legislators, officials, citizens of all classes, creeds, national origins and religious faith, can not determine and influence the course of this conflict everywhere in the world. But we can play a vital role here in our own State.

The Senate Committee on Un-American Activities believes that the fight against Communism, "like charity," begins at home. As a major target for Communist penetration, sabotage, confusion and potential revolutionary chaos, the people of California have a big job to do. This partial report presents a documented, factual analysis of how big that job is.

Part One

INTRODUCTION

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Senate

The Senate Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities in California was created by Senate Resolution No. 75, adopted by the Senate June 20, 1947.

The resolution is as follows:

SENATE RESOLUTION NO. 75

WHEREAS, These are yet times of public danger. Subversive persons and groups are endangering our domestic unity so as to leave us unprepared to resist attack from without or within. Under color of the protection afforded by the Bill of Rights these persons and groups seek to destroy our freedom by force, violence, threats, undermining and sabotage, and to subject us to the domination of foreign powers and ideologies; and

WHEREAS, There is danger that the ordeal through which the Country has suffered to keep the pursuit of its ideals free may be in vain; and

WHEREAS, Persons and groups, motivated by hatred of American ideals, our republican form of government and democratic processes, some bound together by allegiance to foreign powers, are even now seeking to achieve by subversion what we have so valiantly fought to sustain from force; and

WHEREAS, California, as one of the laboratories of this great Nation, may profitably study the problem within its boundaries, and enact pertinent legislation therein, if facts are available therefor; and

WHEREAS, State legislation to meet the problem and to assist law enforcement officers can best be based on a thorough and impartial investigation by a competent and active legislative committee; now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate of the State of California, That

1. The Senate Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities is hereby created and authorized and directed to investigate, ascertain, study and analyze all facts directly or indirectly relating to the foregoing, to the activities of groups and organizations whose membership include persons who are members of organizations who have as their objectives, or part of their objectives, the overthrow of the government of the State of California or of the United States by force and violence or other unlawful means, all organizations known or suspected to be dominated or controlled by a foreign power which activities affect the conduct of this State in national defense, the functioning of any state agency, unemployment relief and other forms of public assistance, educational institutions of this State supported in whole or in part by public

funds, or any political program, or which may affect the conversion of the State from a wartime economy to a peacetime economy or affect the economic and social problems incidental thereto, including but not limited to the operation, effect, administration, enforcement and needed revision of any and all laws in any way bearing upon or relating to the subject of this resolution, and to report thereon to the Senate.

2. In addition to the foregoing, the Senate Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities is authorized and directed to ascertain, study and analyze all facts relating to the activities of persons and groups known or suspected to be dominated or controlled by a foreign power, and who owe allegiance thereto because of religious, racial, political, ideological, philosophical, or other ties, including but not limited to the influence upon all such persons and groups of education, economic circumstances, social positions, fraternal and casual associations, living standards, race, religion, political, ancestry and the activities of paid provocation and any other factors which may account for their conduct or condition their action, as well as the operation, effect, administration, enforcement and needed revision of any and all laws in any way bearing upon or relating to the subject of this resolution, and to report thereon to the Senate.

3. The committee shall consist of six Members of the Senate appointed by the Committee on Rules thereof. Vacancies occurring or existing in the membership of the committee shall be filled by the appointing power.

4. The committee is authorized to act during this session of the Legislature, including any recess, and after final adjournment until the final adjournment of the 1949 Regular Session, with authority to file its final report not later than the last legislative day of that session.

5. The committee and its members shall have and exercise all of the rights, duties and powers conferred upon investigating committees and their members by the provisions of the Joint Rules of the Senate and Assembly and the Standing Rules of the Senate as they are adopted and amended from time to time, which provisions are incorporated herein and made applicable to this committee and its members.

6. The committee has the following additional powers and duties:

(a) To select a chairman and a vice chairman from its membership, and to employ and fix the compensation of a secretary and such clerical, investigative, expert and technical assistants as it may deem necessary.

(b) To contract with such other agencies, public or private, as it deems necessary for the rendition and affording of such services, facilities, studies and reports to the committee as will best assist it to carry out the purposes for which it is created.

(c) To cooperate with and secure the cooperation of county, city, city and county, and other local law enforcement agencies in investigating any matter within the scope of this resolution and to direct the sheriff of any county to serve subpoenas, orders and other process issued by the committee.

(d) To report its findings and recommendations to the Legislature and to the people from time to time and at any time, not later than herein provided.

(e) To do any and all other things necessary or convenient to enable it fully and adequately to exercise its powers, perform its duties, and accomplish the objects and purposes of this resolution.

(f) To create subcommittees from its membership, assigning to the subcommittee any study, inquiry, investigation or hearing which the committee itself has authority to undertake or hold, and the subcommittee for the purpose of this assignment shall have and exercise all of the powers conferred upon the committee limited by the express terms of the resolution or resolutions of the latter defining the powers and duties of the subcommittee, which powers may be withdrawn or terminated at any time by the committee.

(g) To adopt and from time to time amend such rules governing its procedure (including the fixing of its own quorum and the number of votes necessary to take action on any matter) as may to it appear appropriate.

(h) To hold public hearings at any place in California at which hearings the people are to have an opportunity to present their views to the committee.

(i) To summon and subpoena witnesses, require the production of papers, books, accounts, reports, documents, and records of every kind and description, to issue subpoenas and to take all necessary means to compel the attendance of witnesses and procure testimony.

7. The committee, each of its members, and any representative of the committee thereunto authorized by the committee or by its chairman, is authorized and empowered to administer oaths.

8. Every department, commission, board, agency, officer and employee of the State Government, including the Legislative Counsel, the Attorney General and their subordinates, and of any political subdivision, county, city, or public district of or in this State shall furnish the committee and any subcommittee, upon request, any and all such assistance, and information, records and documents as the committee or subcommittee deems proper for the accomplishment of the purposes for which the committee is created.

9. The committee, or a subcommittee or the chairman when authorized by a majority vote of the entire committee, may meet outside the State with similar committees of Congress or of the several states.

10. The sum of thirty thousand dollars (\$30,000), or as much thereof as may be necessary, is hereby made available from the Contingent Fund of the Senate for the expenses of the committee and its members and for any charges, expenses or claims it may incur under this resolution, to be paid from said Contingent Fund, and disbursed, after certification by the chairman of the committee, upon warrants drawn by the State Controller upon the State Treasurer.

ORGANIZATION OF THE COMMITTEE

Pursuant to Senate Resolution No. 75, the Senate Committee on Rules appointed Senators Hugh M. Burns, of Fresno County; Nelson S. Dilworth, of Riverside County; Senator Fred H. Kraft, of San Diego County; Senator Louis G. Sutton, of Tehama, Glenn and Colusa Counties; Clyde A. Watson, of Orange County; and Jack B. Tenney, of Los Angeles County.

At the committee's organizational meeting, Senator Jack B. Tenney was elected chairman. Senator Hugh M. Burns was elected vice chairman. Mrs. Linnie Tenney was elected secretary without compensation.

The committee has attempted to continue the work of similar committees functioning by authority of the Legislature since 1941. The selection of Senator Jack B. Tenney, who has headed the previous committees, as chairman, insured continuity of investigations in the field of subversive activity.

The committee, from time to time, employed special counsel and other qualified expert research and investigative staff personnel.

The committee is indebted to the California antisubversive public relations firm of Jacoby & Gibbons and Associates for permission to reproduce their collection of Communist and Communist-front agitation and propaganda publications on Pages 615-636 of this report; and to the California research organization, John B. Knight Company, for permission to publish the results of a public opinion survey taken by that organization for its own use and that of its clients without any knowledge or request by this committee, on Pages 684-686 of this report.

In the interim since publication of our 1948 Fourth Report, the committee has held public hearings in Los Angeles, Oakland, Sacramento and San Diego; in addition to a number of executive meetings, and public meetings in Los Angeles and San Francisco with the Southern California and Northern California Citizens Advisory Committees to the Senate Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities.

Your committee also played a prominent role in initiating the first conference in the United States of state legislative committees on un-American activities and representatives of governors and legislatures interested in establishing such committees. This conference was held in Los Angeles September 20-21, 1948; and is reported in considerable detail on Pages 599-648 of this report.

In addition, as has been discussed in the introduction to this report, your committee adopted a new approach to the entire problem of subversive activities and antisubversive legislation by conducting a thorough study, assisted by its staff and qualified research experts, with valuable assistance from many official agencies of both the Federal and State Governments, and particularly the California Legislative Counsel, Fred B. Wood, and his staff; and from the citizens advisory committees.

APPRECIATION AND ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The committee wishes to express its deep gratitude to the many individuals and organizations who have assisted the committee with its extremely difficult task. It would be impossible to list the names of all these individuals and organizations in this report, but the committee extends its thanks and acknowledgment to each of them.

The city and county officials of Los Angeles, Sacramento, San Diego, and San Francisco were courteous and cooperative. The California highway authorities and members were helpful on all occasions. Great assistance was given the committee and its attaches by the sheriff's staff and the city police department in San Francisco and Los Angeles.

The committee is deeply indebted to its staff. To those anonymous, who for obvious reasons, must yet remain unnamed, the committee extends its thanks for efforts expended and assignments accomplished.

The committee is deeply appreciative of the work of Mrs. Linnie Tenney, who has served as committee secretary without compensation. For the many long hours spent in transcribing the stenographic notes of this report, the committee extends its gratitude.

The participation of the many patriotic, fraternal, civic and service organizations represented in the Citizen's Advisory Committee, mentioned elsewhere in this report, indicates the splendid cooperation and assistance tendered this committee by such groups.

The majority of newspapers of California, as in the past, have been cooperative, fair and accurate in reporting the committee's activities.

The Hearst papers—the San Francisco and Los Angeles *Examiners*, *San Francisco Call-Bulletin*, *Los Angeles Herald-Express* and the *Oakland Post-Enquirer*—the *Los Angeles Times*, the *Oakland Tribune*, the McClatchy papers, *Sacramento Bee*, *Fresno Bee*, and the *Modesto Bee*, and the *Hollywood Citizen News*, have been in the forefront of newspapers representing the finest in patriotism and understanding of America's greatest menace. This same statement can be made for the overwhelming majority of California's rural newspapers.

The committee also is appreciative of the highly technical and expert analysis and refutation by the antisubversive newsletters, *Alert*, published in Los Angeles, and *Counter-Attack*, published in New York, of Communist and other attacks and smear campaigns against the committee; and also of similar editorial expression by official publications and journals of business, labor, veteran, fraternal, service club, church and civic organizations. The staunch Americanism of our state's women's organizations has been particularly heartening to this committee.

The committee also desires to express appreciation to the *Sacramento Union*, which, although it has not abandoned its editorial antagonism to the members of this committee, has in the past year turned to effective and repeated exposure and criticism of Communist treachery.

The *Los Angeles Daily News*, the *San Francisco Chronicle* and the *San Francisco News* have continued to misrepresent, misreport and attack falsely in editorial comment the committee and its reports. The attitude of these newspapers has been characterized by an almost total unwillingness to cite a single specific criticism or refutation of any specific hearings or reports by this committee, while blithely publishing untruths, half-truths and vague, generalized attacks upon the committee and upon public officials who have supported the committee in its work. These newspapers also have bleakly refused to correct, retract or repair the damage done.

KNOW YOUR ENEMY

The California Senate Committee on Un-American Activities has in its possession or available to it for reference purposes a mammoth collection and compilation of investigations, analysis, predictions and warnings about Communism, extending back into the last century.

The essence of all these warnings has been: "Know your enemy!"

It would be impossible to do justice by name to all the individuals and organizations that have issued specific factual warnings about the threat and danger of Communism.

Among them have been numerous congressional and state legislative committees, city, county and school board special committees, numerous public figures, the leaders, boards and committees of veteran, patriotic, historical, civic, fraternal, business, labor, church, professional and service organizations and institutions.

Newspaper, magazine and book authors and publishers, as well as columnists, radio commentators and special radio broadcasts have exposed Marxism-Leninism and warned against Communism's threat to liberty and freedom.

The great tragedy of the present plight of humanity in a postwar troubled world in which there is no peace and no sign of peace, is the abysmal, pathetic failure of a dangerously large number of leaders and citizens of nations throughout the world to heed these warnings. Such failure has brought about their own destruction.

The peoples of the nations that have been swept ruthlessly behind the Iron Curtain failed to heed the warnings. They laughed at "red-baiters" and said that alarmed prophecy of the ominous nature of the brazen assertions of Marxism-Leninism was the work of frightened people who "see a Communist under every bed."

It is a tragic and sardonic twist of fate that instead of being under beds—where there was slight prospect of proselyting for the violent proletarian revolution—the Communists in those nations were in their governments, in their schools, in their parliaments, in their professions, in their trade unions, in their business institutions, in their press and other media for propaganda, in their churches, in their factories, in their minority groups and in their courts and law enforcement agencies.

Today, millions of people who laughed at the "red-baiters" are in their graves or in concentration camps or in slave labor battalions. Those who still live would give their last drop of blood today for another chance to heed the warnings they disregarded in selfish preoccupation with their own affairs, in casual contempt for "a handful of red crack-pots" and in complacent toleration of traitors.

AN UNHEEDED WARNING

The members of this committee remember well the sarcastic scorn, the contemptuous ridicule, the accusations of Fascist-war-mongering, and the doubts as to our sanity, that were heaped upon this committee in a flow of vituperation by the Communists and their apologists and appeasers when your committee, in its 1945 Report, published April 16, 1945, before the end of World War II, made this prophetic statement:

As the Hooked Cross of Nazi Germany is pounded into the dust by the forward march of allied armies, the shadow of the Hammer and Sickle of Russian Communism falls across a devastated and war-torn Europe.

Tito dominates Yugoslavia.

Ercoli (Palmiro Togliatti) is back in Italy.

Thorez has returned to France.

The Communists of Greece, Holland and Belgium are organizing.

A Moscow dominated "Free Germany Committee" awaits Stalin's orders.

A "Free Polish Committee," Communist-inspired and dominated, is taking over Poland.

Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania are being reannexed to the Soviet Union.

Every anti-Communist is being liquidated by the Communists as a Fascist.
Stalin will not permit an "anti-Communist" or unfriendly government to exist in post-war Europe.

The shadow creeps across India, inner Mongolia and into struggling China.

Can we depend on international pacts?

A 10-year nonaggression pact between the U.S.S.R. and Poland was signed on July 25, 1932 and extended for 10 years May 5, 1935. *Soviet troops invaded Poland September 17, 1939.*

Nonaggression pacts were solemnly signed between the U.S.S.R., Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania. *All of these pacts were violated by an invasion of these countries by Soviet troops while the pacts were in full force and effect * * **

* * * A nonaggression pact with Finland was extended for 10 years April 7, 1934. *Soviet troops invaded Finland November 29, 1939. (Second Report, Un-American Activities in California, 1945, p. 210.)*

This committee has issued numerous similar warnings over the years; and it has charted and predicted the course of Marxist-Leninist treachery and conspiracy at home and abroad with unfailing accuracy.

The committee consistently has been smeared, vilified, abused and misrepresented by the Communist propaganda and agitation experts—and by the ignorant and gullible who will not take the time to read a detailed, documented, specific report, but who will accept as gospel truth the wild, vague generalities hurled by the Communists against their critics with hypocritical pronouncements of enthusiasm for civil rights.

The factual record has proved the committee's reports truthful and accurate and the Communist propagandists and apologists have been proved false and dishonest.

The committee calls the attention of the Legislature and the people of California to the tabulated historical record of Communist aggression cited on Pages 102-128 of this report, which confirms the precisely accurate nature of the committee's 1945 analysis.

Our 1945 prediction was not a casual one! It was a positive statement, based on documented, clear analysis of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism by your committee—in a period when the gullible, the hopeful and the blind, were unable to see the distinction between Communism as an ally and the courageous people of Russia who fought on our side against Hitler.

We predicted that the bloody masters of the Kremlin, undeviatingly true to the murderous violent revolutionary theories of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism, would betray the people's dream of peace and would launch a bloody, totalitarian aggression while their agents in every country, loyal to Moscow and traitors to their own lands, would scheme to hoodwink and confuse those who should have stood up for freedom and liberty everywhere in the postwar world.

History's tragic pages since 1945 record and confirm the inevitable and inescapable truths cited and predicted by your committee.

The bloody backs of slave-laborers, the tortured eyes of Cardinal Mindszenty, the mindless cackling of drugged and beaten ministers of the Gospel, the "missing" Jewish intellectuals of Poland, Rumania and Russia, itself, the wrecked offices of free labor unions, the smashed bodies of the Jan Masaryks, the supine crawlings of the Shostakoviches, the lost freedoms of millions, the crushing, ominous knock of the secret police on family doors, the *verboden* newspapers, radios and churches, all call from a continent to the people of America:

"Beware—Know Your Enemy!"

THE WORLD SITUATION

"The present rulers of the capitalist world are but temporary rulers. The proletariat is the real master, tomorrow's master of the world. And it must enter upon its historical rights, take into its hands the reins of government in every country all over the world. We are disciples of Marx and Engels, Lenin and Stalin. We should be worthy of our great leaders. With Stalin at their head, the millions of our political army, overcoming all difficulties and courageously breaking through all barriers must and will level to the ground the fortress of capitalism and achieve the victory of socialism throughout the whole world!"

GEORGE DIMITROFF, General Secretary of the Communist International;
Speech, 7th World Congress, Moscow, August 2, 1935

The world today is engaged in a struggle called the cold war. This conflict is fundamental and transcends all others. Its outcome will determine the fate of freedom, liberty and human progress for centuries to come.

The contest is sharply defined.

On one side are the nations and people of the world who want to work together fairly and peacefully to achieve progress for all human beings in a complicated industrial age and still preserve the freedoms and liberties for which humanity has struggled through the centuries.

On the other side is the cold, materialistic, brutal, totalitarian expansion of world Communism, based on the pseudo-science of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism.

California is placed in a crucial position in this struggle. It is strategically, geographically, politically and economically one of the half-dozen key states in the 48 United States of America that stand together as the home of a freedom and liberty never known before in history and as an inspiration to the free peoples of the world.

A sound consideration for the proper placing in perspective of all factors bearing upon the place of California and its people in the cold war demands a clear statement of the world situation.

Your committee has devoted long and careful study to all of the important reports and pronouncements on this problem by official agencies of our government. This has been done because your committee has not had the funds or the facilities to conduct complete and independent investigations of this complicated subject, whose scope and ramifications extend far beyond the boundaries of our State and Nation.

Your committee finds that one of the most conspicuously intelligent, useful and heartening statements of the major issues of fact and theory that are involved in the conflict that has divided the world today has been the report of Subcommittee No. 5 of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the U. S. Congress, on *"The Strategy and Tactics of World Communism."*

This report, published in 1948, has been adapted and revised by your committee, with appropriate deletions, revisions and additions, to present to the Legislature and to the people of California a definitive statement of the points of conflict that prevail on both sides of the cold war and a warm reaffirmation of the morality, justice, integrity and superiority of our beliefs and principles, to which "all men of good will can repair."

WHAT DOES RUSSIA WANT?

No subject has been of deeper concern to the Government and the people of the United States for the last few years than that of Communism. The question "What does Communist Russia want?" has been asked and asked again, and has received many answers.

During the recent World War we had accepted, perforce, that Russia was fighting on our side, and was even bearing the brunt of the fight. We had gone beyond this and believed that the Soviet state was allied to us in objectives beyond the defeat of Hitler; that it was altogether friendly. Promptly after the war a transition began, as Soviet and Communist actions contrary to our ideals or expectations began to disturb us.

Since the war Communist tactics in the countries of eastern Europe have appeared to us to violate agreements made concerning freedom and democracy in those countries.

Revelations in Canada and Britain as well as in the United States have illustrated the Communist practice of espionage in a scarcely friendly fashion.

Labor troubles under Communist stimulation have increased the difficulties of many countries in facing postwar problems of economic recovery.

The Soviet has used its veto in the Security Council of the United Nations to block all action by the Council which might prejudice the cause of Communism. The Soviet has used its position in Germany under Potsdam to interfere with any method of rehabilitation that we can understand.

Both the Soviet and the Communist Parties have formally announced their opposition to the project for European recovery, and have given notice that they will resort to all means to interfere with its success.

Communist propaganda, both from Soviet sources such as the Moscow radio and from Communist sources in all countries, has resorted to a standard line of attack upon the objectives of the United States, of contempt for American culture, and of uninhibited abuse and vituperation.

Finally, Communists throughout the world, and the U. S. Communist leaders, have revived the Marxist "anti-imperialist war" party line; and openly are proclaiming their intention to promote treason and civil war in the event of any conflict with Soviet Russia.

All this has meant that the foreign policy of the United States has increasingly found that Communism is a factor in every problem or situation. Communism, in its objectives, its strategy, and its practical working methods or tactics thereby assumes top priority for the attention of all Americans.

Communism raised a question 100 years ago that has been avoided and evaded too dangerously in the past and which must be faced with frank recognition of all its implications in the troubled future.

PART I—A SPECTER IS HAUNTING EUROPE

"A specter is haunting Europe." This announcement was made a hundred years ago. It was made by the Communist League, in the *Manifesto* written by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels.

That specter now haunts the whole world. It has changed in character, it has gathered force, and it has won victories. Yet today as a hundred years ago it still is an unfulfilled dream. The fact that it is a hundred years old, and that its expectations are not yet fulfilled invites doubt concerning its prophecies.

But we are not living in an easy age when to doubt that others have the truth is sufficient. We are driven to affirmation, in acts if not in words or thoughts. So far as our affirmations differ from theirs, as expressed in action most of all, we need to know the differences.

If we and the Communists are working at cross-purposes in the same world it is well to look at where and how our purposes cross theirs. When the purposes meet and cross, we must look to see whether it is their purpose or ours that is frustrated. If it is ours, we must decide what is to be done.

We have turned our backs to these problems sometimes in the past. There have been times, as at the bottom of the world depression, when it was not easy to be sure that Communism would fail, that we had the better case. There have been other times when the faults and weaknesses of Communism, and its archaic goals, have not been apparent, and we forgot them. As a result of this we have not always been as conscious of the difference between Communism and our own democracy as is necessary for clear-headed action.

Today we know that 100 years have not brought the fulfillment of Communist prognostications. But they have brought a time, now, when Communism cannot be disregarded.

Seventy-seven years ago Communists led a revolt that succeeded in controlling the City of Paris for several months. The strength of Communism, or of elements closely allied to it, has been substantial at least since then.

Forty-four years ago Lenin split the Social-Democratic Party of Russia into Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, with the Bolsheviks accepting that rule of iron discipline that the Communists call democracy.

Thirty years ago Lenin engineered the seizure of power in Russia from the duly elected representatives of the people (and not from the Czar, as the Communists would like many uninformed people to believe), known as the October Revolution. After four years of civil wars Russia became consolidated as the stronghold of Communism. Twenty-seven years ago Communist Russia went through the depths of famine and economic collapse. Seventeen years ago again there was famine induced by the drive for collectivization. Six and a half years ago invasion brought once more a test close to the breaking point. That they passed the last test only with our aid should not make us underestimate what they did themselves.

The last test, with its climax at Stalingrad just six years ago, brought an alliance between us. The might and resourcefulness and the excesses of the Nazi threat cemented that alliance for the time. It was called at one time a "grand alliance" and later "the strange alliance." We know now it was an overrated "alliance."

Six years ago we were told the specter had been laid, that the Soviet and the Communists were friends of Democracy. Cordell Hull, addressing Congress on November 18, 1943, declared:

As the provisions of the four-nation declaration are carried into effect there will no longer be need for spheres of influence, for alliances, for balance of power or any other of the special arrangements through which, in the unhappy past, the nations strove to safeguard their security or to promote their interests.

Five years ago Franklin Roosevelt, addressing the Foreign Policy Association on October 21, 1944, expressed the same hope.

The very fact that we are now at work on the organization of the peace proves that the great nations are committed to trust in each other.

Four years ago the Yalta Declaration on February 17, 1945, over the signatures of President Roosevelt, Marshal Stalin, and Prime Minister Churchill, said:

By this declaration we reaffirm our faith in the principles of the Atlantic Charter, our pledge in the declaration by the United Nations and our determination to build in cooperation with other peace-loving nations world order under law, dedicated to peace, security, freedom, and general well-being of all mankind.

SOVIET TACTICS NOT PEACEFUL

Since then it has become clear, first, that Soviet tactics are not free and peaceful as we understand those terms. The reasons for this have been explored and discussed by hundreds of authors, most notably by the author who signed himself as "X" in *Foreign Affairs*, July 1947.

These writers have reached a great variety of tentative conclusions, and have not yet brought any clear agreement concerning Communist motives and Communist action. But we need the greatest possible precision in understanding their motives, for the issue is no less than whether or not war may be necessary. Therefore, it must be accepted as a target for the American mind, to understand with the greatest exactness the motives and the directions of Soviet and Communist action.

We must evaluate and measure their effect against our own flexibility and tolerance and against the minimum requirements of strategic security for our Nation and our way of life. We must judge, at risk, whether it really is possible to avoid war, and also to avoid regrettable appeasement.

Today it is clear that the leaders of the Soviet Union believe that they have a great opportunity. They hope, as they hoped at the close of the First World War, that some or all of the weakened institutions of Western Europe can be broken. They know how to increase the strains, and they have announced that they will use all means to do so. Neither they nor we know just how much they can gain by their drive for power. As long as this is so the scope of ordinary diplomacy is limited. Treaties can be made only when certain premises have been established. But the premises on which treaties can be made do not exist today, for both sides now expect great changes in the very near future.

When Vishinski in September, 1947, at the United Nations Assembly said that—

war psychosis, instigated by the efforts of the militarist and expansionist circles of certain countries, the United States of America occupying the foremost place among them, is continually spreading and assuming all the more menacing character—

and when the *Cominform Manifesto* said that appeasement of America would be as dangerous as appeasement of Hitler, the basic antagonism had become clear if not before. This justified Secretary Marshall, in his Chicago speech on November 18, 1947, in saying as he did :

At that time I think it was a fact that the people of the United States had as high a regard, or I might better put it, appreciation, for the Soviet people and their sacrifices, and for the Soviet Army and its leaders, as they held for any other people in the world. But today, only two years later, we are charged with a definite hostility toward the Soviet Union and its people, which constitutes a complete change in our attitude since the summer of 1945.

I recognize this effect. I would not characterize it as hostile. But the important question is, what produced this tremendous change in our national feeling and attitude? The truth as I see it is that from the termination of hostilities down to the present time the Soviet Government has consistently followed a course which was bound to arouse the resentment of our people.

In the interval between that hopeful time when we considered Communist Russia freedom loving and peace loving, and this time when we are concerned and resentful, there were many efforts to explain the Russian past. Some tried to justify the hope and faith of good behavior. There were many other efforts to explain and to qualify the developing contrast between that hope and harsh realities. Some writers pointed out that Russia had always sought expansion in certain directions, and suggested that for the Soviet Government to seek the same goals was only a continuation of older Russian motives. This would have implied that they had goals of expansion indeed, but that these were only the familiar goals of national interest.

Other writers explored the historical relations between the United States and Russia in order to exhibit the absence of any fundamental conflict of interest in the past. Some took note of the learned theoretical discussions of Marxism in Moscow to explore the possibility that Russian leaders were no longer Marxist.

The abolition of the Comintern in 1943 was hailed by some as meaning the repudiation of world revolution. This was answered by others, with arguments that the Comintern had only become unnecessary, and that its abolition was but a smoke screen.

ISOLATIONIST OR REVOLUTIONARY ?

The first signs that Russia might be an obdurate and difficult partner in the making of peace led some to explore the idea that Russia was "isolationist," and to compare the reasons for Russian isolationism with those for American isolationism at an earlier time. The difficulties in negotiation were attributed by some observers to the simple difficulties of language, and to the fact that such terms as "democracy" or "agreement in principle" do not mean exactly the same things for different peoples. Arthur Krock of the New York Times did a service when he explored this question (April 23, 1946) and pointed out the extraordinary competence displayed by Soviet diplomats in editing the English texts of their own statements.

An illustration of how confused American circles became in the midst of this transition was given when the Soviet paid its dues in the United Nations in March, 1946, and it was taken as a reassuring sign of good faith and good intentions. Actually this sign came later than Stalin's speech of February 9, 1946, and Churchill's speech at Fulton, Mo., March 5, 1946. These announced, on the one hand, the continued adherence of the Soviet Government to its basic doctrine of world revolution, and on the other hand the dangers that this would mean for the United States.

If all of the speculations concerning Soviet-Communist motives and tactics are boiled down, we may find a certain common core. This common core must include all that is demonstrated to be significant by any one of the many lines of argument. It must include the evidence of their actions, on the simple principle that actions speak better than words, but it must include evidence of their words also, for only in their words do we find an explanation of why they do not always act the same in what appear to us to be similar circumstances.

We must examine further, not only the actions of the Soviets but also the actions of Communists outside the Soviet Union. The tools and methods available to the Soviets and those available to Communist parties abroad simply afford a choice of means to the same ends.

We must examine not only the propaganda and agitation of Communists in all countries but the economic weapons used to weaken countries that are under attack, and the political tactics used to weaken the structure of free societies, and the psychological arts for confusing their opponents and attracting converts.

We must take evidence from a broader range in time than any few years or we will have no guard against thinking of them as liberal and progressive as in 1935-39, or proNazi as in 1939-41.

Finally, we must take note of the relation of tactics to strategy and of strategy to theory, as they themselves see these relations.

Any less comprehensive approach neglects essential evidence. The multitude of explanations for Communist policy has certain common characteristics. Each of the explanations is logical within the scope of the evidence admitted. Most of them are open to contradiction on the basis of broader evidence.

SOVIET AND COMMUNIST POLICY

An examination of all aspects of Soviet and Communist policy and tactics leads directly to some simple conclusions.

1. The Communists have one goal—world revolution.
2. They assume that the revolution will be violent.
3. They are incapable of accepting the idea that peace can endure from now on, and they expect one more catastrophic war.
4. The Soviet Union is regarded as the main force of the revolution.
5. They fear a coalition against the Soviet Union.
6. They therefore fear reconstruction or federation in the non-Communist world.
7. They utilize the most modern and effective means of cold warfare to strengthen their own forces and to weaken all others.

8. The Communist parties outside the Soviet Union are junior partners or auxiliaries.

9. The tactics are based upon a definite theory, and the central propositions of that theory do not change.

10. The division of Europe and Asia between the victors of World War II is to be settled by power politics and not by negotiation.

It is the purpose of this report to summarize the evidence, explain the logical relationships involved, and to justify the conclusions stated.

PART II. THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF COMMUNISM

A. COMMUNIST RELIANCE UPON THEORY

Theory is often an unwelcome term, taken as suggestive of unreality and vagueness. There are people occasionally in the course of history, however, to whom theory is a matter of great seriousness, and who act in accordance with what they call their theory. The Communists revel in theory.

Americans habitually neglect, or even forget, that there is any theory behind their own institutions. Communists never forget their theoretical principles. In part this difference is a matter of age, for younger movements are always more conscious of theory than older ones. Also in part it reflects the idea that Marxism is a science. They regard their strategy and tactics as derivatives from their theory, by strictly logical deduction.

Without a revolutionary theory, there cannot be a revolutionary movement. (Stalin, *Leninism*, p. 94, lecture at Sverdlov University, April 1924.)

Only a party guided by an advanced theory can act as a vanguard in the fight. (Lenin, quoted by Stalin, *Leninism*, pp. 94, 95.)

Stalin himself makes a broader explanatory comment.

Revolutionary theory is a synthesis of the experience of the working-class movement throughout all lands—the generalized experience. Of course, theory out of touch with revolutionary practice is like a mill that runs without any grist, just as practice gropes in the dark unless revolutionary theory throws a light on the path. But theory becomes the greatest force in the working-class movement when it is inseparably linked with revolutionary practice; for it, and it alone, can give the movement confidence, guidance, and understanding of the inner links between events; it alone can enable those engaged in the practical struggle to understand the whence and the whither of the working-class movement. (Stalin, *Leninism*, p. 94, lecture at Sverdlov University, April 1924.)

Strategy is the application of theory to a broad situation, the identification of the main factors in the situation, and the recognition of which ones are favorable or unfavorable. Tactics in turn are the direct practical application of theoretical and strategic principles in ordinary daily work.

Tactic is the determination of the line to be taken by the proletariat during a comparatively short period of the ebb or flow of the movement, of advance or retreat of the revolution; the maintenance of this line by the substitution of new forms of struggle and organization for those that have become out of date, or by the discovery of new watchwords, or by the combination of new methods with old, etc. Whereas strategy is concerned with such wide purposes as the winning of the war against tsarism or the bourgeoisie, tactic has a narrower aim. Tactic is concerned, not with the war as a whole, but with the fighting of this or that campaign, with the gaining of this or that victory which may be essential during a particular period of the general revolutionary advance or withdrawal. Tactics are thus parts of strategy, and subordinate thereto. (Stalin, *Leninism*, p. 148.)

A most important element in strategy and tactics is an understanding of when and how to shift from the offensive to the defensive and back again. This is as essential a principle to the revolutionary movement

as it is to military strategy. It also reflects the unending practicality and patience with which the Communists are ready to face the shifts of circumstances and the delays of hope. Lenin took particular note of the superiority of Communism on the offensive over Communism on the defensive in his time, and pointed out that they must learn not only to advance but to retreat.

Revolutionary parties must go on learning. They have learned how to attack. Now it is time for them to realize that this knowledge must be supplemented by acquiring a knowledge of how best to retreat. We have got to understand (and a revolutionary class learns this by bitter experience) that victory can only be won by those who have learned the proper method both of advance and of retreat. (Lenin, quoted by Stalin, *Leninism*, p. 153.)

He also emphasized the long drawn-out character of the struggle, and the many changes that may occur.

To wage a war for the overthrow of the international bourgeoisie, a war which is a hundred times more difficult, more prolonged, more complicated, than the most bloodthirsty of wars between States, while renouncing beforehand the use of maneuvering, of playing off (though for a time only) the interests of one foe against the other, of entering upon agreements and effecting compromises (even though these may be of an unstable and temporary character)—would not such renunciation be the height of folly? We might as well, when climbing a dangerous and hitherto unexplored mountain, refuse in advance to make the ascent in zigzag, or to turn back for a while, to give up the chosen direction in order to test another which may prove to be easier to negotiate. (Lenin, quoted by Stalin, *Leninism*, p. 158.)

THE LENINIST ZIGZAG LINE

This insistence on what is sometimes called the "Leninist line", or a zigzag line of advance and retreat, is the theoretical basis for the grand shifts of Communist strategy that have marked the 30 years since the Russian Revolution. This series of great zigzag shifts is the main framework of their policy, and the incidental cause of most of the confusion as to just what their policy is.

First, after the revolution, there came the three years of War Communism, when the party in Russia drove toward the left, nationalizing industries, requisitioning goods, and drafting manpower.

Then came the six years of the New Economic Policy or NEP, when free enterprise was encouraged, in order to revive production and trade from the terrible breakdown left after the civil wars.

Next came the Five Year Plan of "Piatiletka." The drive to the left in this period brought the socialization of agriculture, the famine in the Ukraine in 1931, and the slaughter of the cattle which reduced Russian livestock so far that they have never since surpassed their former numbers. It also started the growth of heavy industry which has been the backbone of the growth of Soviet power.

Hitler's rise to power in 1933 brought another transition, a swing to the right in foreign relations. In 1935 the new Soviet Constitution was adopted, in a form that apparently accepted the familiar standards of western democracy. The Popular Front became the announced policy, and the alliance of Communism with Socialism, instead of bitter opposition to the Socialists as misleaders of the working class, was made the basis of political tactics in France and other countries. The Communist role in the Spanish Civil War in alliance with Socialist and democratic elements was the outstanding illustration of what this meant. The great

purges of 1937 and 1938 showed how an intensification of leftism in Russia could accompany cooperation with capitalist countries abroad.

The Popular Front died in the period of Nazi preparation and appeasement. The preparatory Nazi moves, of course, date back to the occupation of the Rhineland in 1935 and the naval treaty with Britain. The appeasement of the Nazis or the Italian Fascists by the democracies begins at least as early as that and, of course, includes the failure of the League to stop Mussolini's Ethiopian war.

It was not until after Munich, however, that the Soviet purges on the one hand and the appeasement by the western democracies on the other brought the shift of Soviet strategy that was announced so suddenly with the Nazi-Soviet pact in August, 1939. In the period that followed the Soviets seized what they could entirely on their own. They thereby gained the position in the Karelian Peninsula which later helped save Leningrad, and occupied the Baltic States and eastern Poland. *They also discussed with the Nazis a world revolutionary partnership, but set their own demands too high for Nazi acceptance.* (See Nazi-Soviet Relations, 1939-41, published by the Department of State, 1948.)

The failure to make a satisfactory deal with Hitler brought the German attack on Russia on June 22, 1941. The United Kingdom promptly announced its acceptance of the Soviet Union as an ally and its own persistence in the fight against Hitler. The United States moved swiftly to include Russia under lend-lease, and the first lend-lease protocol with the Soviet Union was signed before Pearl Harbor. Thus began a new "right" period of collaboration between Communists and other democratic and progressive forces. Some call this the Teheran period.

From the time of Teheran until the Soviet repudiation of the Marshall Plan in June, 1947, there was a 2½-year period which can only be regarded as transitional to a new leftward drive. There was evidence throughout this period of some effort to retain the psychological and political assets that had been built up in the time of collaboration. At the same time there was an effort to seize new assets through Communist control of eastern European countries. Communist action to change the balance of power in eastern Asia, and Communist readiness to delay the peace.

If there is any major characteristic of their strategy in this period, it was the readiness to grab anything they could get without great risk. These 2½ years were, of course, years of transition not only in Communist policy and strategy but also in the psychology and therefore the policy of the United States and other countries.

The present time, at least since June, 1947, has all the characteristics of past periods of radical leftism. The Communists are pursuing their own objective, not perhaps at the risk of war, but at least at the risk of open enmity. Psychologically the re-creation of the Cominform is the clearest of all the symptoms. It represents the liquidation of whatever they gained in western minds by the abolition of the Comintern.

It is current facts that cause them to recognize a new situation. But it is theory that guides their estimate of how to act toward a new situation when they see one. Their decision for offensive action in the present situation is a theoretical decision.

B. CAPITALISM AND REVOLUTION

If Communist theory offers the basis and guide for Communist tactics, how does it do it? The body of their theory is an analysis of cause and effect in modern society, and since it is a theory of cause and effect, it is equally a theory of means and ends. For any theory to guide any tactics, it must offer an analysis of a practical situation, throw the focus of attention upon certain features, explain the meaning of these features, and explain clearly how to act within the situation. Communist theory does just this, *it is a sort of field manual for revolutionists, explaining what are the important features of any battlefield, and how action should be adapted to the variations of the field in any particular situation.*

Capitalism may be taken, for our present purposes, as the starting point in the Communist theory of human society. While they also make great to-do about "materialism" and "dialectics," this is philosophical underpinning which is not essential to the present discussion.

Capitalism, as they see it, is the dominating feature of human society in the present age. The whole of human culture in any society is, according to their ideas, shaped and colored by the "mode of production." The present mode of production in all leading countries except the Soviet Union is capitalism, that is, private ownership of the means of production. They assert capitalism, as a system, requires exploitation of the laboring class, or proletariat, and an inhibiting of the whole productive process by the distorted motives of profit. They say the disparity between the rewards to capital and the rewards to labor must become greater and greater, and finally the progress of production must be halted by the faults of the system.

The real barrier of capitalist production is capital itself. It is the fact that capital and its self-expansion appear as the starting and the closing point, as the motive and aim of production; that production is merely production for capital, and not vice versa, the means of production mere means for an ever-expanding system of the life process for the benefit of the society of producers. The barriers, within which the preservation and self-expansion of the value of capital resting on the expropriation and pauperization of the great mass of producers can alone move, these barriers come constantly in collision with the methods of production, which capital must employ for its purposes, and which steer straight toward an unrestricted extension of production, toward production for its own self, toward an unconditional development of the productive forces of society. (Marx, *Capital*, I, p. 293.)

The faults of capitalism involve contradictions, that is to say, the generation of forces that work in opposite directions. These contradictions develop into opposed interests between individuals and classes, and become political forces of explosive strength. The three most fundamental of these contradictions, in the eyes of the Communists, have been listed by Stalin.

Among the most important contradictions of the capitalist system, special mention may be made of the three following:

First contradiction: The conflict between labor and capital. * * *

Second contradiction: The conflict between the various financial groups and the different imperialist powers in their competition for control of the sources of raw material, for foreign territory. * * *

Third contradiction: The conflict between the small group of dominant "civilized" nations, on the one hand, and the hundreds of millions of persons who make up the colonial and dependent peoples of the world on the other. * * * (Stalin, *Leninism*, p. 81 f., lecture at Sverdlov University, April, 1924.)

The development of capitalist industry automatically develops the proletariat as a class. This class has, according to Marxist thinking,

certain remarkable attributes. First, it is the most numerous, out-numbering the peasants or bourgeoisie. It also is the class which learns, under capitalism, the value of cooperation and discipline, and the social nature of production. It thereby develops common objectives and a firmness of morale lacking to all others, and gains a sense of how society should be organized in contrast to the capitalist system. *It thus becomes of necessity the revolutionary agent for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of socialism.* As Lenin said :

While the capitalist class breaks up and dissolves the peasantry and all the lower middle classes, it welds together, units and organizes the town proletariat. Only the proletariat—on account of its economic role in production on a large scale—is capable of the leading all the toiling and exploited masses. (Lenin, *The State and Revolution*, p. 132.)

THE STATE AS A MONOPOLY OF FORCE

The contradictions in society before the revolution, expressed in conflict between groups and classes, require the creation of a monopoly of force in order to prevent chronic civil war. This monopoly of force, serving as the agency for the maintenance of peace in the presence of contradictions, is the state. The state is the agency of the ruling class, for the preservation of the existing order with all its advantages for that class. As such, it is the agent that defends the existing order through the use of force, and ipso facto is the prime target of revolution.

The state is tantamount to an acknowledgement that the given society has become entangled in an insoluble contradiction with itself, that it has broken up into irreconcilable antagonisms, of which it is powerless to rid itself. And in order that these antagonisms, these classes with their opposing economic interests may not devour one another and society itself in their sterile struggle, some force standing, seemingly, above society, becomes necessary so as to moderate the force of their collisions and to keep them within the bounds of "order." And this force arising from society, but placing itself above it, which gradually separates itself from it—this force is the state. (Engels, *The Origin of the Family, State and Private Property*, in Burns, *A handbook of Marxism*, p. 328, quoted by Lenin, *The State and Revolution*, p. 114.)

The state is nothing else than a machine for the oppression of one class by another class, and that no less in the democratic republic than under the monarchy. (Engels, introduction to Marx, *The Paris Commune*, p. 20.)

The character of a class society and of the state as its preservative is what makes revolution necessary, they believe. They assert that capitalism makes it impossible that the capitalist class can understand the real necessities for reform and change. Reform on a genuinely adequate scale is impossible, and a stage is sure to be reached eventually at which society must either relapse into decadence or go through a revolution.

If the state is the product of the irreconcilable character of class antagonisms, if it is a force standing above society and "separating itself gradually from it," then it is clear that the liberation of the oppressed class is impossible without a violent revolution, and without the destruction of the machinery of state power, which has been created by the governing class and in which this separation is embodied. (Lenin, *The State and Revolution*, p. 116.)

Leninism is preeminently combative and revolutionary. (Stalin, *Leninism*, p. 80, lecture at Sverdlov University, April, 1924.)

The possibility of avoiding revolution has been largely neglected in Marxism, but there have been some few comments upon it. It was recognized by Marx and Engels that liberal democracy, as they saw it in England or the United States might possibly evolve toward socialism without the necessity for a violent overthrow. But how improbable the

avoidance of revolution appears to them is clearest in their readiness to attack all doctrines of peaceful reform.

The lower middle class Democrats, these sham Socialists who have replaced the class-war by dreams of harmony between classes, have imagined even the transition to socialism, in a dream, as it were—that is, not in the form of the overthrow of the supremacy of the exploiting class, but in the form of the peaceful submission of the minority to the fully enlightened majority. This lower middle class Utopia, indissolubly connected with the vision of a state above classes, in practice led to the betrayal of the interests of the toiling classes, as was shown, for example, in the history of the revolutions of 1848 and 1871. * * * (Lenin, *The State and Revolution*, p. 132.)

The later development of industry and capitalism in the United States, from 1880 to the 1920's was regarded as proof that American and English democracy was becoming more and not less capitalistic and that the possibility of avoiding revolution, if it ever existed in these countries, had ceased to exist.

Marx did, in actual fact, admit this possibility, and he had good reason for doing so in regard to the Britain and the United States of the early seventies, before the days of monopolist capitalism and imperialism, and at a time when in those countries (owing to the peculiar conditions of their development) militarism and bureaucracy were but little in evidence. That was at an epoch when imperialism was in its infancy. But several decades later, when the position in the English-speaking lands had radically changed, when imperialism had grown to its full stature and was dominant in all capitalist countries without exception, when militarism and bureaucracy had become established in Britain and the United States as well as on the Continent of Europe, and when the exceptional conditions favorable to a peaceful development in the English-speaking world had passed away—then Marx's reservation "on the Continent" had become obsolete, and what he said of continental Europe applied with equal force to Britain and the United States * * *.

In other words, as far as the imperialist countries are concerned, we must regard it as a universally applicable law of the revolutionary movement that the proletarian revolution will be effected by force, that the bourgeois state machine will have to be smashed, as an indispensable preliminary to the revolution. (Stalin, *Leninism*, p. 117, 1928 edition.)

The fact that they are so convinced of this that they simply take it for granted is illustrated by Stalin's comment "when I use the word 'prerevolutionary' I am thinking only of the proletarian revolution." In other words, he is assuming that any nation that has not yet had a proletarian revolution is still prerevolutionary, that is to say still faced with such a revolution as a future prospect.

C. DICTATORSHIP

According to the Communists, society immediately after the revolution must be organized as the dictatorship of the proletariat. The overthrow of the old state does not suffice to eliminate all forms of exploitation and coercion. This task must be accomplished before the classless society can be created and the "withering away" of the state can occur. The dictatorship of the proletariat is at first simply the opposite of the previous "dictatorship of the bourgeoisie." There is a prevailing contrast, however, to which the Communists pay little attention—the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie may be democratic at least in form. The dictatorship of the proletariat, so far as it impinges upon the enemies of the proletariat, is cloaked in no democracy whatsoever.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is a hard-fought fight against the forces and traditions of the old society, a fight that is both bloody and unbloody, both violent and passive, both military and economic, both educational and administrative. (Lenin, *Works*, vol. XVII, Russian edition, p. 136, quoted by Stalin, *Leninism*, 1928 edition, p. 112.)

In the course of time it has become clear that the Communist dictatorship of the proletariat includes the utilization of every known method of mass control in society. Whatever faults may lie in this the fact remains that these methods are certainly effective within limits. If one has a serious problem of a dissident group, one can dispose of that particular problem by wiping out the group. This may cause later problems of a still more serious character, but within the limited terms in which the calculation is made, it is a brutally effective method of solving the particular problem. As a close student of the methods of the police state has said :

Behind the cunning devices and speedy action of the secret police as experienced from Fouché to Himmler, there is a certain basic conception of what man is and how he must be treated. * * * At the same time, this negative conception is markedly rational, for it implies that man is a bundle of instincts and emotions, easily perceptible and controllable, which, if necessary, can be annihilated by various specific techniques. (Bramstedt, *Dictatorship and Political Police*, p. 137.)

The dictatorship of the proletariat is supposed to end in the eventual "withering away" of the state, a curious feature of the Communist theory which has caused much fruitless speculation. There have been times when developments within the Soviet Union have been interpreted by sympathetic outsiders as the beginnings of this withering away. Every turn toward more democratic forms, as by the Soviet Constitution of 1935, has been welcomed on this ground. If one examined closely the Marxist doctrine of the state, the place of the withering away in the system of concepts becomes apparent. The state is simply the means for the domination of society by a single class at the expense of other classes, and the role of the proletariat is to overthrow the old state, and create a new one. It must then use its power to create a classless society, and the state as defined must cease to exist as the classless society comes into being. In other words, the state will "wither away" because the state is by Communist definition that which must wither away when there are no classes.

Democracy, carried out with the fullest imaginable completeness and consistency, is transformed from capitalist democracy into proletarian democracy : From the state (that is, a special force for the suppression of a particular class) to something which is no longer really a form of the state. (Lenin, *State*, p. 149.)

And, once the majority of the nation itself suppresses its oppressors a "special" force for suppression is no longer necessary. (Lenin, *State*, p. 149.)

Any confusion as to when the Soviet State will wither away really is unnecessary. Stalin has made clear (In his Report on the Work of the Central Committee of the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, 1939), the state cannot wither away in a single socialist country before the world revolution, because of the necessities imposed by capitalist encirclement.

The monopoly of power by the proletariat, not only against the bourgeoisie but to the exclusion of any other classes, is best explained by examining the Marxist teachings concerning the role of the peasants. This also clarifies, by contrast, their conception of the proletariat and its special function in the logic of history.

MARXISM AND THE PEASANTS

There are many groups in society, not just two, which may be identified as classes at any given time. The bourgeoisie and the landowners are

distinct, though allied. The peasants are distinct from both the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Also the peasants may become alined with the proletariat, although they can play only an auxiliary role.

* * * The agricultural population, in consequence of its dispersion over a great space and of the difficulty of bringing about an agreement among any considerable portion of it, never can attempt a successful independent movement; they require the initiatory impulse of the more concentrated, more enlightened, more easily moved people of the towns. (Marx [Engels] *Revolution and Counter-Revolution*, p. 25.)

The mixture of Marxist emphasis upon dictatorship with their pretensions of being more democratic than democracy has often seemed contradictory. It has been, as noted earlier, one of the focal points in discussions of the difference in the meaning of words as between Soviet negotiators and others. Actually, the meaning of democracy to the Communists is quite clear in Communist doctrine. It was first raised in a sharp form in 1903, when the Russian Social Democratic Party split into the two groups known to the world as Bolsheviks and Mensheviks. This split occurred over the adoption of a clause defining membership in the party constitution. Lenin proposed that the clause should read:

Anyone is a member of the party who participates in the organization of the party.

Martov proposed instead:

Anyone working under the supervision of the party is a member of the party.

Lenin's definition meant that the party would include only the small circle of active conspirators, while Martov's would have included all sympathizers and adherents. This would have brought in all politically active labor, whereas for Lenin the party would have the role of disciplined professional revolutionary cadres. Lenin, at a later time, expressed his views on the subject more clearly.

During the present epoch of intense civil warfare, the Communist Party can accomplish its task only on condition that it is highly centralized, that it is dominated by an iron discipline which is quasimilitary in its severity, that it is guided by a group of comrades at the center, enjoying the confidence of the rank and file members, endowed with authority, and possessing wide executive powers. (Lenin, *Conditions of Admission Into the Communist International*, quoted by Stalin, *Leninism*, p. 171.)

The acceptance of this principle by Stalin, at least when he wrote his *Foundations of Leninism*, was explicit.

But when a difference of opinion has been thoroughly thrashed out, when criticism has had its say, and when a decision has been made, then unity of will and action on the part of all our members is the indispensable condition without which unity and discipline are impossible. (Stalin, *Leninism*, p. 171.)

Do you think that the interests of any individual comrade are to take precedence of the interests and unity of the party? Surely the comrades of the opposition know that for us Bolsheviks formal democracy is a trifle, and that the real interests of the party are all important. (Stalin, *Leninism*, p. 450; concluding words at the Fourteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, May, 1925.)

Well, what does unity demand? Unity demands that the minority should yield to the majority. Unless this rule be followed, there can be no unity, and there can be no party. (Stalin, *Leninism*, p. 456; concluding words at the Fourteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, May, 1925.)

The Communists have succeeded in maintaining a pretense of democracy within Communist organizations, and in the Soviet government, while at the same time achieving the effect of dictatorship.

DEMOCRATIC CENTRALIZATION

The method they use is what they call "democratic centralization," simply the application of the principles expressed above. This term means that there may be free discussion of an issue, within the organization, up to the time when a decision is reached. From that time on discussion stops. The majority decides, and the decision is final. How the majority decides is discussed further below, under the heading of political tactics, but suffice to say that all the arts of manipulation are applied to secure a majority decision in accordance with the will of the leaders.

Communists are very able operators in the conduct of meetings. They know the rules, they use the powers of a chairman to full effect, and the cadres of the party provide a well-trained and well-prepared group on any issue, ready and able to dominate the discussion. The forms are democratic in part; the effect is that the mass membership acts in rubber-stamp fashion.

Along with the iron unity and discipline of the party, the Communists recognize that the party must develop its own sense of values and its own moral system. So-called bourgeois values interfere at many points with the pursuit of revolutionary objectives, and with practical tactics.

Lenin discussed this need for an independent and exclusive moral system in his paper on *The Tasks of the Youth Leagues*. Such a tendency to insist upon their own value system is, of course, common to more or less fanatical political and religious groups. Secret societies, from the "Molly McGuires" of Pennsylvania, to the IMRO of Macedonia, and the "Black Hand" of Serbia, have always demonstrated a tendency to regard their own objectives as the embodiments of absolute value. This leaves no barrier whatever in their thinking to prevent a drift into the doctrine that the end justifies the means. This certainly applies to modern Communism.

COMMUNIST MORAL VALUES

If one believes that one's own group represents the predestined leadership of a great historical human movement, this will, of course, be reflected in one's attitude toward other groups. Outside of the Bolsheviks themselves, any prerevolutionary society contains many groups which vary greatly in their opposition to Bolshevik objectives. This variation extends from those who are die-hard reactionaries and bitter antagonists of bolshevism to those whose objectives, though foggy, have a great deal in common with the revolutionists.

It was laid down by Lenin that Communists must participate in non-Communist groups and organizations and institutions whenever, by so doing, they can advance the cause of revolution. His *Left Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder* is the classic text on this subject. In it Lenin berates those who maintain that Communists should not enter bourgeoisie parliaments, or seek to work in and through non-Communist organizations. He makes the point that their exaggerated "leftism" actually has the effect of favoring "right" tendencies. The logic of this argument is the foundation of the Communist use of "bridge" and "front" organizations, as well as of their jargon concerning "right deviations cloaked in left phraseology."

The readiness of Communists to ride with others who are going part of the way in the same direction was expressed earlier, in a work of Marx now attributed to Engels.

The practical experience of 1848-49 confirmed the reasonings of theory, which led to the conclusion that the democracy of the petty traders must first have its turn, before the Communist working class could hope to permanently establish itself in power and destroy that system of wage slavery which keeps it under the yoke of the bourgeoisie. Thus the secret organization of the Communists could not have the direct purpose of upsetting the present governments of Germany. Being formed to upset not these, but the insurrectionary government, which is sooner or later to follow them, its members might, and certainly would, individually, lend an active hand to a revolutionary movement against the present status quo in its turn; but the preparation of such a movement, otherwise than by spreading of Communist opinions by the masses, could not be an object of the association. (Marx [Engels], *Revolution and Counter-Revolution*, written for the New York Tribune, 1851.)

RELIGION AS A KEY

The Communist idea that they must develop their own ethics or morals, independent of any older system, governs their relations with all other groups. Not only are existing liberal groups used and infiltrated. National movements are also used, just so far as they happen in any way to be traveling the Communist road toward world revolution. *But the clearest illustration is not offered by liberals or by patriotism, but by religion. The Communist attitude toward all existing religion is the proof and cross-check on how simply and seriously they take their ethical radicalism.*

Their hearty rejection of religion is well known. Engels, long ago, declared:

Now all religion is nothing else than the fantastic reflection, in the minds of men, of those external forces which dominate their everyday existence, a reflection in which the earthly forces assume the form of supernatural forces. (Engels, Anti-Duhring, quoted by Gsovsky, article, "The Legal Status of the Church in Soviet Russia," *Fordham Law Review*, January, 1930, p. 2.)

And Lenin at a later time reaffirmed and strengthened the original antagonism of Marxism toward religion.

The saying of Marx, "Religion is the opium for the people," is the cornerstone of the Marxist point of view on the matter of religion. All contemporary religion and churches, all and every kind of religious organization Marxism has always viewed as organs of bourgeois reaction, serving as a defense of exploitation and the drugging of the working class. (Lenin, Works, second Russian edition, quoted by Gsovsky.)

The Communist intolerance of religion is not quite absolute. When in dire straits, and needing the aid of all forces that can bring human energies to a common cause, they have softened their opposition to religion, and have even made advances to it. This occurred in the Soviet Union during the war, and parallels the use of patriotic movements as a source of strength that can be followed, or ridden or directed. *But, as was most clear in the case of Nazism, any movement that makes totalitarian pretensions, that demands fanatic dogmatism of its supporters, and that sets up values on such an absolute basis that it can then place its tactics on the basis that the end justifies the means, must inevitably oppose and seek to destroy any competing value system, and ethical values most of all.* No challenge can be so direct to the whole basis of discipline in a totalitarian system as an alternative ethics, setting different ends for human action. This is the central meaning of totalitarianism in any form,

and it produces intolerance of religion automatically. Thereby, an attack on religion is also one of the revealing symptoms of the totalitarian nature of such a movement.

What the Communists think of bourgeois democracy is not obscure. They prefer enough democracy, as we mean democracy, to permit them to function freely and easily. There have been times when some Communists have played with the idea that Fascist dictatorship was preferable on the ground that underground activity breeds tougher revolutionaries than legal activities, or on the ground that a Fascist dictatorship is a hopeful sign of the last stages of development before the revolution. The Communist line has in general rejected these positions, but they do not therefore respect bourgeois democracy as true democracy.

The issue of freedom of the press is an illustrative case in point. *They like freedom of the press in non-Communist countries only.* Secretary of State Byrnes, in discussing freedom of the press with Molotov, once argued that correspondents should be permitted free access to Rumania and other Balkan areas, and that their reporting from Greece demonstrated their value. Molotov's answer, as quoted by Secretary Byrnes, was:

Apparently in Greece the correspondents are happy but the people are not; whereas in Rumania the people are happy but the correspondents are not. The Soviet Government attaches more importance to the feeling of the people. (Molotov, quoted by Byrnes, *Speaking Frankly*, p. 99.)

D. THE PLACE OF THE U. S. S. R.

The place of the Soviet Union in Communist doctrine and strategy has been a puzzle ever since the Stalin-Trotsky break in 1926-27. The policy of Stalin on socialism in one country, leading to the supposed abandonment of the world revolution, has supported the interpretation of Soviet policy as merely a continuation of Czarist imperialism.

The insistence that the world revolution must be the real objective, and that the doctrine of socialism in one country meant a break-down of the world revolution, has been one of the foundations of the Trotsky heresy. The readiness of Communists to adopt the language of Russian nationalism on occasion has facilitated confusion on the point. Stalin's vigorous comments at Yalta concerning the new boundary between Poland and the Soviet Union could be taken as old familiar nationalism.

Now some people want that we should be less Russian than Curzon was and Clemenceau was. You would drive us into shame. What will be said by the White Russians and the Ukrainians? They will say that Stalin and Molotov are far less reliable defenders of Russia than are Curzon and Clemenceau. I could not take such a position and return to Moscow with an open face. (Stalin, quoted by Byrnes, *Speaking Frankly*, p. 30.)

During the war the Soviet Government leaned heavily upon Russian patriotism as a morale factor, and even referred to the war as the "great patriotic war." They also boasted of the solidarity of the country standing behind the Red Army.

The Red Army has the most stable and reliable rear of all the armies in the world. This is a source of strength of the Soviet Union. There is no doubt that the Soviet state will emerge from the war even stronger and more consolidated.

The relation between the Communist conception of the place of the Soviet Union in history, and their broad theory of history in general, is not made entirely clear at any one point. Lenin's *Theses on the Conclusion of a Separate Peace of January, 1918*, however, offers a first suggestion on the character of the Soviet State and country as the great capital

asset of the Communists in the world revolution. It is made clear that considerations of self-determination for smaller areas, such as Finland, must be entirely subordinate to the survival of the Soviet Communist State.

On the other hand Stalin's report to the Sixteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1930 insists that the Soviet Union seeks no territorial acquisitions. Molotov's comments on the Soviet-German pact in 1939 make plain that they considered the coming war as an imperialist war in which the Soviet Union might properly be neutral, if possible.

The common factor in these apparently contradictory positions is a regard for the Soviet Union as the main force in the army of the revolution, to which all other components are subordinate and auxiliary. Its acquisitions of land are in conformity with the strategy of the revolution, and not based upon mere patriotism or national expansion, even though they may be cloaked in the language of nationalism. The defeat of the Soviet Union would be decisive for the course of history, whereas all other Communist defeats would be merely lost skirmishes. The force of nationalism, while a force outside the play of the class struggle, is a force lying ready to hand for Communists, to use and exploit, as easily as others can use it. Its full utilization without compromising the more fundamental Communist objectives, may make difficulty, *but in general, patriotism, Russian or other, is in the same class with all other non-Communist forces in society—that is, to be used and guided and not to be snubbed in an excess of "leftism."*

The conclusive evidence that Russian patriotism, though a tremendous asset to be cultivated, is nevertheless subordinate to the objective of world revolution lies plain in the record of Soviet domestic policy. Stalin made this plain in his very important speech of February 9, 1946. The security of the Soviet Union in the military sense is so important that agricultural and industrial policies in the Soviet Union must give top priority to defense considerations. But, also, Soviet defense means no more and no less than the preparedness of the Union to play the maximum role in world revolution.

Soviet satisfaction with their military strength reached the stage of confidence as early as 1933.

The Soviet Union has been converted from a weak country, unprepared for defense, into a country mighty in defense, a country prepared for every contingency, a country capable of producing on a mass scale all modern weapons of defense and of equipping its army with them in the event of an attack from without. (Stalin, Jan. 7, 1933, to Joint Plenum of Central Committee and Central Control Commission.)

Stalin's message to Moscow, on September 10, 1947, praised Moscow as the center of two things, not one: On the one hand, Moscow is the center of a centralized State, in which one can read centralized as meaning disciplined unity, and on the other hand of a centralized world movement. The world revolutionary movement consists of the Soviet Union plus the Communist movement everywhere else. The place of the Soviet Union is that of a part in a larger whole, more important than any other part, but not so important as the whole.

The problem of establishing friendly relationships between the Soviet Union and her neighbors, particularly on her western frontier, has been a disturbing and disillusioning factor in the course of postwar diplomacy.

United States representatives have apparently felt that the Soviet Union should mean no more by the term "friendly neighbor" than we would mean by it. It has been clear, however, that to the Soviets the term meant something much more than anything we mean by "freedom loving" and "peace loving." The Communist idea of democratic centralization is carried over into the principle that no neighbor can be relied upon as friendly until controlled by a disciplined Communist Party.

The idea of an exclusive morality, attaching to the party, is carried over and applied to the Soviet Union (Zhdanov's Speech on Cultural Policy, 1946). The people of the Soviet Union must, like the Communist Party abroad, develop its own sense of values, cease to admire features of bourgeois civilization, and focus its eyes upon the twisted moral values of their own system.

Their insistence that their variety of rigid unity deserves the term "democracy" applies fully to democracy in the Soviet Union. Molotov discussed Soviet democracy at length in his preelection speech of November 6, 1945.

The high degree of activity of our innumerable trade unions, production, cultural, sports, and other working-class organizations, the formation of the collective farms, the constant spread of Socialist emulation in the factories and mills, on the collective and state farms, in the mines and railways—all this reveals a flourishing of true democracy of the people that they did not know in the old days and that cannot exist in any other states, divided as they are into classes of oppressors and oppressed, a thing that Soviet power has long put an end to in our country.

In the rapid strides made by our country's cultural life and in the fact that now our intelligentsia, as the most advanced and cultured section of the population has merged with our people and raised the moral and political unity of Soviet society to a still higher plane—in all this we cannot but discern fresh signs of Soviet democracy, inspiring us with new hope and confidence in our country's future.

The organizing force of Soviet democracy and Soviet patriotism as a source of heroic exploits made themselves felt with particular emphasis in the years of the war. It is the good fortune of Soviet men and women that the October Socialist Revolution, which saved our country from being degraded to the status of a second-rate power, released the forces of the peoples shackled by the regime of the nobles and feudal lords, and afforded them, on the basis of Soviet power, opportunities for development such as they had never had before. (Molotov, speech, November 6, 1945, reviewing war and outlining peace program.)

After the election, held in February 1946, Pravda boasted of the result, pointing out that only 48,000,000 of the 60,000,000 qualified voters in the United States had voted in the last Presidential election, whereas 99.7 percent of the qualified voters in the U. S. S. R. cast their votes, and 99.18 percent of them voted for the Communist and nonparty group in power. This, according to Pravda, was a demonstration of democratic strength in the Soviet Union far superior to that in the United States.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The Communist attitude on nationalism has already been touched upon in connection with the place of the Soviet Union in Communist thought and strategy. Their attitude on nationalism has, of course, other aspects as applied to foreign countries. *The general Communist view on nationalism is that the nationalism of the advanced capitalist countries is a factor to be opposed by all means, while nationalist movements in smaller and backward countries are to be used so far as possible.* This use of nationalism or patriotism in the backward countries serves both in efforts to disrupt the political and economic stability of the colonial

empires and to mobilize popular forces which can in turn be played upon by Communist propaganda. Stalin explained, in his book on *Leninism*, the importance of distinguishing between the different types of nationalist movements.

The proletariat should support nationalist movements which tend to weaken and subvert imperialism, not those which tend to strengthen and maintain it. In certain oppressed countries, nationalist movements may run counter to the general interests of the proletarian movement. *Obviously, there can be no question of our helping such movements as these. The problem of national rights does not stand alone; it is part of the general problem of the proletarian revolution, is subordinate thereto, and can only be considered by the proletariat from that angle.* (Stalin, *Leninism*, p. 138.)

He also made a statement which clearly suggests the subordination of nationalism in any form to the overriding importance of the world revolution.

Thus we see that the lack of an international revolutionary outlook threatens us with nationalism and with dissolution. That is why the fight against the danger of nationalism is a matter of such urgency for the party. (Stalin, *Leninism*, p. 305.)

The International as an organization, and the Internationale, the song of the world revolutionary movement, both emphasize the international Communism as against any nationalism whatever. Communist thought also regards the nation state system, with its great number of restricted economic areas, as a major factor in the development of the contradictions upon which they rely as the causes of revolution. *They maintain, however, that any fundamental solution of the problem of world government can come only after the revolution and not before it.*

The problem of European union has been treated by Communists in this light at least since 1915, when Lenin attacked the slogan of "A United States of Europe" as "either impossible or reactionary."

In 1930 and 1931, when the world depression had begun and when the early intellectual movement for a United States of Europe was in its heyday, the Communists took the same line that Lenin had indicated, and which they have taken again in 1947 and 1948. Stalin, in 1930, linked the advocates of European Union with bourgeois militarism.

The most striking representative * * * of the bourgeois movement toward intervention against the Soviet Union is the bourgeois France of today, the fatherland of Pan-Europe, the cradle of the Kellogg Pact, the most aggressive and militaristic country, among all aggressive and militaristic countries of the world. (Stalin, Report to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, June 26, 1930, quoted by Beloff, *The Foreign Policy of the Soviet Union*, p. 43.)

Pravda, in 1931, when the Soviet Union had accepted membership in the commission created under the League of Nations to study the problem of European union, explained that the Soviet Union had done so only in order to wreck the project.

By taking part in the work of the European commission, the Soviet Union will wreck the plans of the leaders of the commission, plans for the secret elaboration of anti-Soviet projects. Let the game be played with the cards on the table. (Quoted by Beloff, *The Foreign Policy of the Soviet Union*, p. 43f.)

The idea that collaboration or cooperation is possible between the world of Communism and the world outside of Communism has a stubborn life. It is, of course, encouraged and played upon by Communist policy during certain periods. Nevertheless, when the issue is distinctly drawn they make clear that in their eyes there are two worlds which

cannot live together and that sooner or later one or the other must triumph. Stalin's *Interview With the First American Labor Delegation in 1927* is one clear statement on the subject, and Stalin's *Letter to Comrade Ivanov* in 1938 is another. These merely reaffirm the line established by Lenin much earlier.

We are living not merely in a state but in a system of states, and the existence of the Soviet Republic side by side with imperialist states for a long time is unthinkable. One or the other must triumph in the end. And before this end supervenes, a series of frightful collisions between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois states will be inevitable. (Lenin, Report at the Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, March 18, 1919. Works, vol. 8, p. 33.)

The establishment of a Soviet Union, together with a world Communist movement, presents an obvious problem of organization. The Communist International (also known as the Third International, and more briefly as the Comintern) was the solution of this problem. It was a league of Communist parties, having an office in Moscow with a secretariat, and governed by a Central Executive Committee with full executive powers between the meetings of its infrequent Congresses. Its Congresses, and its Central Executive Committee, were always dominated by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This provided a solid link in personnel and organization between the Soviet Union and the Comintern. There was always a considerable interlocking through leading personnel between the Council of People's Commissars, or cabinet of the Soviet Union, the Politburo, or supreme executive of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and the Central Executive Committee of the Communist International.

An international organization of Communism, to give common direction to Communist activities in all countries, is very necessary in periods of sharp antagonism. It is not so much needed in periods when collaboration with liberal and progressive elements in other countries is predominant.

The Comintern was therefore a very necessary instrument immediately after the Russian revolution. It was scarcely needed at all in the time of the People's Front in 1935 to 1939, and in the period of the alliance against Hitler from 1941 to 1945. The short period of the Nazi-Soviet alliance was too short for any complete reorientation. The Comintern had become so unnecessary after 1935 that its *abolition on May 22, 1943, was simply a gesture, convenient to suggest the loyal acceptance by Communism of the collaboration against Nazism.*

COMINFORM SIGNIFIED ANTAGONISM

The reestablishment of the Comintern under the new name of Communist Information Bureau, shortened to Cominform, announced on October 5, 1947, was therefore very significant. *It marked the acceptance of the fact that a new time period had been entered upon in which Communist activities would have to be closely controlled and coordinated in many countries. It also marked the admission that it was important to have such an organization even though to reestablish it signified open antagonism on a world scale. It also marked the time when the Communists found it necessary to have a formal international organization again, in order to counteract the effects of too much nationalism in some*

of the parties and countries where they were in control. The communique issued on October 5, 1947, stated clearly why the new organization was needed.

A report on the exchange of experience and coordination of activity of Communist parties was made by Comrade Gomulka. On this question, the conference, having in view the negative phenomena produced by the absence of contact between parties represented at the conference and taking into consideration the necessity for mutual exchange and experience, has decided to create an information bureau. (Communique of Conference of Nine Communist Parties in Poland, issued October 5, 1947.)

The possibility of avoiding revolution finds one new application in the same international situation that brought the birth of the Cominform. As long ago as 1924 Stalin mentioned that some countries, obviously minor ones and not great powers, might under special international conditions pass from capitalism to socialism without a violent revolution. The meaning of this in practice is illustrated in the countries we now call satellites. The absence of any hope of victory in civil war, if civil war were started close under the shadow of the Red Army, means that "peaceful" transition may be possible.

No doubt in the distant future, if the proletariat has triumphed in the chief countries that are now capitalist, and if the present capitalist encirclement has given place to a Socialist encirclement, it will be possible for a "peaceful" transition to be effected in certain capitalist countries where the capitalists, in view of the "unfavorable" international situation, will deem it advisable "of their own accord" to make extensive concessions to the proletariat. But this is to look far ahead, and to contemplate extremely hypothetical possibilities. As concerns the near future, there is no warrant for any such expectations. (Stalin, *Leninism*, p. 118.)

To call this peaceful transition by another name, it is controlled revolution, with none of the spontaneity or enthusiasm of the great historical revolutions, and also, of course, lacking the violence and bloodshed, except as the bloodshed takes the form of police terrorism afterward. With the Red Army in Germany and Austria, the conditions of "Socialist encirclement" is conclusive for any "capitalist" elements in some eastern European countries. The consequences have been clear, most precisely in Czechoslovakia.

F. THE PRESENT WORLD SITUATION

The world today through Communist eyes has the same general characteristics as in the period between the two World Wars. Though Communism has made gains, the non-Communist world is still capitalist, with capitalism evolving still along the lines of imperialism. The Second World War was an imperialist war, they assert now. Two of the capitalist powers, the United States and Britain, eliminated their two greatest competitors in world markets, Germany and Japan. This was one aspect of the war. The other aspect was the attack on the Socialist fatherland—the Soviet Union. The possibility of the great imperialist powers forming a coalition against the Soviet Union failed only because there were still too many such powers and too serious issues to be fought out between them. Stalin stated the Communist interpretation of the Second World War in a nutshell in his speech of February 9, 1946, as follows:

It would be incorrect to think that the war arose accidentally or as the result of the fault of some of the statesmen. Although these faults did exist, the war arose in reality as the inevitable result of the development of the world economic and political forces on the basis of monopoly capitalism.

Our Marxists declare that the capitalist system of world economy conceals elements of crisis and war, that the development of world capitalism does not follow a

steady and even course forward, but proceeds through crises and catastrophes. The uneven development of the capitalist countries leads in time to sharp disturbances in their relations and the groups of countries which consider themselves inadequately provided with raw materials and export markets try usually to change this situation and to change the position in their favor by means of armed force.

As a result of these factors, the capitalist world is sent into two hostile camps and war follows.

Perhaps the catastrophe of war could have been avoided if the possibility of periodic redistribution of raw materials and markets between the countries existed in accordance with their economic needs, in the way of coordinated and peaceful decisions. But this is impossible under the present capitalist development of world economy.

Thus, as a result of the first crisis in the development of the capitalist world economy, arose the First World War. The Second World War arose as a result of the second crisis.

The Communist explanation of why capitalism, in the imperialist phase, must lead to war is spelled out most clearly in the program of the Comintern adopted in 1928:

The growth of the productive forces of world economy thus leads to the further internationalization of economic life and simultaneously leads to a struggle for redistribution of the world, already divided up among the biggest finance-capital states, to a change in and sharpening of the forms of this struggle and to the method of forcing down prices being superseded to an increasing degree by the method of forcible pressure (boycott, high protection, tariff wars, wars proper, etc.). Consequently, the monopolistic form of capitalism is inevitably accompanied by imperialist wars, which, by the area they embrace and the destructiveness of their technique, have no parallel in world history.

The effect of the Second World War upon the structure of world capitalism was formulated in the Manifesto of the Cominform, published on October 5, 1947:

As long as the war lasted the Allied states fighting against Germany and Japan marched in step and were one. Nevertheless, in the Allies' camp already during the war there existed differences regarding the aims of the war as well as the objectives of postwar and world organization. The Soviet Union and the democratic countries believed that the main objective of the war was the building and strengthening of democracy in Europe, the liquidation of Fascism, and the prevention of a possible aggression on the behalf of Germany, that its further aim was an achievement of an all-around and lasting cooperation between the nations of Europe.

The United States of America, and with them England, placed as their war aim a different goal—the elimination of competition on the world market (Germany and Japan) and the consolidation of their dominant position. (*Cominform Manifesto*, Moscow, October 5, 1947. Printed in supplement I to this report.)

The idea that capitalism, because of its contradictions, is subject to recurring economic depressions is an essential. This now leads the Communists to focus attention upon the coming American depression, which they expect. *A depression in the United States would not only fulfill this prediction, it would bring the world revolution to a climax. It might either so weaken the United States that world capitalism would collapse, or it might lead to an American Fascism, with a final struggle between capitalism and Communism.*

REDS COUNT ON CRISIS IN U. S.

The interpretation of the economic situation of the United States thereby takes its place as the top priority problem for Soviet intelligence. The urgency of the problem for them is such that it has produced overt controversy in Moscow. The Varga incident, reported in the New York Times of January 25, 1948, is the best evidence of this. Varga had for a long time been the outstanding Marxist economist. His views on the

development of the United States economy in the near future were apparently more hopeful for us and less hopeful for their expectations than was tolerable to the dominant clique. *This, more clearly than any explicit statement, gives evidence that the dominant line in Moscow today is based on the anticipation of an early crisis in the United States.*

Aside from any coming economic crisis, the Communists believe that the world is even now in a political crisis. The war left unfinished business in great areas. The limits of immediate Communist success have by no means been set. The limits of capitalist recovery and reconstruction have also not been set. Much of Europe and Asia remains at stake, even without recourse to war.

Vishinsky's speech at the United Nations General Assembly on September 18, 1947, and Zhdanov's speech to the Cominform, published on October 22, make this perfectly clear. It is this conception of the present situation that necessarily leads to a radical drive for further Communist gains, at least up to the limits of cold warfare. They believe that large areas of the world are close to revolution at the present moment.

The most critical of all questions of Communist tactics is the question of the time for revolution. The Communists have some reason for self-satisfaction in their past handling of this problem. Lenin's strategy in October, 1917, left little to be desired in this respect. They have generations of thought and experience behind them in which the prediction of M-day for the revolution has been their ultimate strategical problem. The general equation for this problem was stated by Lenin long ago:

We may consider that the time is ripe for the decisive struggle: When all the class forces arrayed against us are in a state of confusion, are sufficiently embroiled one with another, have been sufficiently weakened in combats for which their strength is inadequate; when all the vacillating, unsteady, unstable intermediate elements (the petty bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeois democracy, in contradistinction to the bourgeoisie) have exposed themselves enough before the people, have made a sufficient parade of their utter bankruptcy; when there has arisen and spread widely among the proletariat a strong feeling in favor of decisive and unhesitatingly bold revolutionary action against the bourgeoisie. Then the time is ripe for revolution. Then, if we have kept good account of the afore-mentioned conditions, and have chosen our moment well, our victory is assured. (Lenin, Works, Russian edition, vol. XVII, pp. 180-181, quoted by Stalin, *Leninism*, p. 152.)

Its application to the areas still at issue between the two worlds was implied in every important statement they have made since June, 1947.

G. SUMMARY

In summary, the Communists believe that the capitalist system must create class divisions in society on horizontal lines; that it creates a clash of interests between the upper classes and the lower classes such that a monopoly of force is required in society, and this monopoly of force is the state. The state as the organ of the upper classes to maintain and defend the system of exploitation must be destroyed in a revolution before any fundamental reform or reorganization of society can occur. Only revolutionary violence can accomplish this task, they firmly believe, and it must be followed by the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Capitalism in its advanced stages takes the form of imperialism. This means the final division of the world between the capitalist powers, conflict among the capitalist powers, and between the capitalist powers and the colonial countries. It also begins, they hope, the initial successes of the revolution in one or more countries and the probability of conflict

between the capitalist group and the Communist society. This leads to compound wars of the imperialist powers against each other, and of some of them against the Soviet Union. The eventual anticipated end is the success of the world revolution.

The Soviet countries represent the main wing of the revolutionary forces, and the Communist Parties all over the world represent the subordinate wing. The conduct of the revolutionary movement in strategy and tactics is under absolute leadership, through the disciplined unity of all the parties.

The Communists do not believe in the possibility of world peace before the ultimate revolution. They do not believe in any solution of the problem of continuous full production before the revolution. They do not believe in the possibility of reconciling the advanced nations with the backward or colonial countries before the revolution. Least of all do they believe in the possibility of real collaboration between Communist countries and non-Communist countries, except in brief and special circumstances.

Their dogmatic faith in their system gives them absolute conviction. This, as always, leads them to practice if not preach that the end justifies the means. This permits them to regard all of their minor assets as expendable for the cause. They can, therefore, sacrifice any Communist Party outside Russia for tactical advantage. So much the more are they ready to sacrifice sympathizers or friends who are not disciplined Communists. *They are ready to make any alliance for temporary advantage and to betray that alliance at the first change in circumstances. They are ready to use all forces and all motives which lead, even for a moment, in the direction of revolution.*

The revolution appears, in much of their thought and writing, to be the conclusion of a long argument. *But historically it is clear that the revolution is the one fundamental premise and that all justifying argument is really deduction from this premise.* The revolution was firmly formulated in the Communist Manifesto, the first of their fundamental documents, 100 years ago. Through every controversy and vicissitude it has been the unchanging heart of their belief. *Every growth of doctrine which strengthened revolution was acceptable, and every growth of doctrine which might weaken it has been suppressed as heresy.*

The necessity for violent revolution is the one principle of consistency in the whole history of Communism. An attempt to interpret Communism as consistent on any other basis is a failure. Soviet policy and Communist policy, and Soviet action and Communist action, are alike meant to serve this single end. Economic and political policy and action, collaboration on the surface and subversion underneath, a swing to the right in one period and a swing to the left in another, are meant to serve this single end, the world revolution.

III. THE TACTICS OF WORLD COMMUNISM

A. ENDS AND MEANS

Communist theory is a theory of history, a theory that offers a Marxist explanation for the sequence of events in time; a theory, therefore, of cause and effect in human affairs. Any such theory is also a theory of ends and means. If one knows how to identify the inevitable outcome of a great historical process and feels that that outcome will be

good, and knows what are the factors that cause the outcome, then one is ready and able to participate, making the outcome an end and using the causes as means. This is the heart and spur of Communist fanaticism.

For any case where men try to effect the course of history in a radical manner, there must be a development of thought concerned with causes and effects, a theory of history. There must then also be a development which transforms the first into a system of ends and means, of practical rules by which to operate. The rules of practical action so developed are a system of strategy and tactics.

The characteristic tactical thinking of Communists is concerned with the method by which to distinguish between apparently similar but essentially different sets of circumstances.

To aid and abet the formation of a labor union will generally, but not always, advance the cause of revolution. When should they aid it, and when oppose it?

The rise of a nationalist movement will sometimes run to counter to the purpose of proletarian revolution but will sometimes help to precipitate a crisis in another more important country. When should they join and promote such nationalist movements, and when should they oppose them?

A strenuous drive for power will sometimes succeed in its objectives, and sometimes it will merely provoke a reaction and end in failure. When should they advance, when retreat, when mark time?

There may be times when political means to an end are not ready to hand, or are blocked or already engaged. What other means may accomplish the desired effect?

There may be situations in which Soviet agencies can act to good practical effect, and where a local Communist Party can also act. Should they use the one or the other, or both?

These are the characteristic questions that confront Communist tacticians. The answers to such questions are the parts that make up their tactical system.

Within the wide variety of tactical variations that are possible for the Communists, there are four main phases. These are: First, the tactics of Soviet defense; second, the conduct of Soviet foreign policy; third, the political tactics of Communism outside the Soviet Union and Communist-controlled areas; fourth, their economic tactics.

All of these are used together, integrated and coordinated for common goals. Communists are not dependent upon one or the other of these four phases in their general world strategy but work with combined tactics. Their combined tactics permit a range of maneuver difficult to coordinate and control at times, sometimes getting out of hand. *But they bring to its conduct experience and energy. At times they show a virtuosity that enables them to surprise and outmaneuver an enemy who does not understand the flexibility and resourcefulness of which they are capable.*

B. SOVIET DEFENSE

Soviet defense policy imposes considerations that have a direct effect upon Communist tactics both inside and outside of the Soviet Union.

The first assumption of Soviet defense is the probability of war against the Soviet Union.

The necessary second assumption is about the strength of the probable sides in that war. On this they are fully aware that the United States can at present outproduce them and that the United States has an atomic weapon. *But they also expect that the United States will undergo an economic depression, while they expect to continue their own rapid development.*

Stalin fully explained in his speech of February 9, 1946, how far they are willing to go in order to accelerate the growth of their own fighting power. Under their 5-year plans before the war they consciously took short cuts toward the development of heavy industry, through forced labor, and succeeded to a great degree. They also have the satisfaction of looking back on the 1930's as a decade in which they grew very rapidly in industrial strength while nearly all other countries were in economic stagnation. Judging by their postwar statements, they hope and expect to repeat this performance in the future. This, taken by itself, would incline them to delay a war by all means.

Their third major assumption is the advantage of space. The effect of space upon military operations is more familiar to people who work in transportation than to most people, but it may be measured in the Soviet case by the effect on the two great invasions by Napoleon and Hitler. Air warfare has given an added importance to peripheral space, for this space sets the distance that bombers must fly over territory defended by antiaircraft weapons.

The importance of strategic materials, and the awkward fact that they are where you find them and not elsewhere is another given premise of their strategy as of any strategy.

The fifth important premise of their strategy, and unique to theirs, is the assumption of two fronts in any war, the formal military front, and the class-war front in all non-Soviet countries.

These five factors lead directly to certain consequences at the tactical level. In the first place preparation for war takes precedence over civilian welfare, in the Soviet Union or anywhere else. They will sacrifice civilian interests to promote war production at home on the one hand, or to inhibit war production in countries they cannot control.

Secondly, space considerations shape the political and economic estimate they make of any area. The industrial heart of the Soviet Union in the Urals and Siberia has priority for industrial development over any area more exposed to either invasion or air bombardment. Any industrial area in a vulnerable position must be relatively neglected. This applies with special force in the new areas of Communist control in eastern Europe and Manchuria. Skoda in Czechoslovakia, Mannfred-Weiss in Hungary, and Resitza in Rumania were all heavy-industry developments that might have played a role in the prosperity of their countries on an increasing scale, even if not in the recovery of Europe generally. But dependence upon them would be dependence upon industries that might be lost as those of the Don region were to the Germans in 1941 and 1942. Those countries are, until a great change in the situation, therefore regarded as parts of the Soviets' cushion space.

Outside the peripheral area under Soviet control lie the potential staging areas for attack by whichever side controls them. In Communist

thinking, Germany and Japan have just this character. They are near enough and industrially strong enough to be capable of a dangerous scale of attack in either direction if given time and opportunity, and with the backing of either the United States or of the Soviets. *They are therefore the hot squares on the chessboard.*

The Soviets settled at Yalta for terms that gave them a holding position, a sort of veto, in Germany, and through their invasion of Manchuria a comparable opportunity to make sure Japan, deprived of its large Manchurian component, could not recover her former strength.

Beyond the potential staging areas, the points of intense interest to Soviet defense are, as for us as they are for anyone else, those within strategic bombing range of important targets. The significance of Crete as covering the eastern Mediterranean was in part forgotten when Allied air power made it ineffective in the later years of the war. For a power that could hold its own in the air it would be very important again. Tripoli is also a very strategic area from the air-power point of view, whether for the advantage it would be to the Soviets directly, or for the advantage of denying its use to us.

STRATEGIC MATERIALS

Strategic materials, if near by, are direct targets for Soviet acquisition. The territory in the north ceded by Finland after the war includes the most important nickel mines in Europe. Rumanian oil, and Austrian oil, help take the load of demand off the overburdened Soviet oil industry. The chrome and zinc and lead of eastern Europe are of importance, and one of the greatest copper mines in the world is at Bor, in Yugoslavia. *There is also much unofficial news concerning the pitchblende (uranium ore) deposits in Saxony, and the intensive operations going on there under Soviet occupation.*

The Soviets have visibly gone out of their way to gain control of some of these resources. *In the case of particularly important strategic-material resources far beyond their grasp, there is a task for the foreign Communist parties, to deprive any enemy of the Soviet of such supplies. Bolivian tin, and Congo copper and cobalt are illustrations.* The oil of the Near East is of almost equal importance as a deprivation to us and as an asset to them if they could control it.

The maintenance of a police state at home, and the use of the disciplined parties abroad for both intelligence and counterintelligence is an aspect of tactics arising out of defense considerations. It effects political and social conditions in all countries, and both submerges civil rights in the Soviet Union and threatens them everywhere else. The power of an intransigent and well-organized minority to make civil rights impossible not only for themselves but for others is an extraordinary thing.

The most superficial, but at the same time significant aspect of their police state is the deep suspicion of foreign intentions exhibited by Communists, whether Russian or any other. *Almost every witness on United States-Soviet cooperation during the war testifies to instances where this suspicion was the dominant force in Russian behavior.* General Deane tells of the Russian refusal to allow a group of Allied bombers to assist in the defense of Stalingrad, and of the refusal, until the Teheran Conference in November 1943, to tell the Allies anything of Red Army operations.

Former Secretary Byrnes tells of the Soviet readiness to assume nefarious motives, when they were informed of the negotiations with Kesselring for surrender on the Italian front, and they charged the Western Allies with seeking a separate peace.

The republication by *Pravda* of the so-called Cairo rumor of a separate peace in January 1944, and Molotov's query to Secretary Byrnes on the rumored gold hoard in Japan are other instances. This suspicion is one side of an isolationism that runs deep, and which is related to their development of the different mentality and morality which their theory demands and of which they boast.

The expectation of war and revolution requires this development of a separate and different morality. The two together produce a state of mind of which the police state on the one hand, and universal suspicion of outsiders on the other, are like the heads and tails of the same coin.

In more direct form the police state and its psychology mean the direction of foreign Communist parties through the Soviet police system—the NKVD, later renamed MVD. It is not always possible to document this sort of thing publicly, but the record is clear on the extraordinary rapidity with which all foreign Communist parties can adapt themselves to new party lines. The classic instance was the shift that occurred in the world Communist press in August 1939, when the Nazi-Soviet pact was announced. Other such changes have occurred in wheeling the ranks from pro to con on leading political figures. This control goes deeper than the propaganda line, however, as was exhibited more than once when the Communist Party of the United States or of other countries, has been forced to change not only its line but also its leaders under directions given from outside.

(See Pages 164-166 for specific citations.)

The police state within the Soviet Union is not very well known through any official documents, for obvious reasons. There are at least a few indisputable facts, however. *The NKVD has announced on occasion that it has completed a big construction project somewhere. This means slave labor, on a big scale.* And in June 1946, they announced that they had moved large numbers of people out of the Crimea, on charges of collaboration with the Nazis during the war. The important feature of this case was that until they announced the completion of the move there was no report of it whatever; the outside world did not know it was occurring.

The testimony of many who recently have fled the Soviet “paradise” also is replete with reports of police state terror.

All of these phenomena have one common basis, the assumption that another war is probable, and that the Soviet Union is the prime asset of the Communists for the world revolution, overriding all other considerations. The Soviet Union is the main task force of Communism. The satellites and foreign Communists are the protective screen, expendable at any time for the security of the main force.

C. SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY

Soviet foreign policy, like their defense policy, begins with the assumption of inevitable war. It is the particular function of the Soviet Foreign Office in the grand strategy of the world revolution to play an intermediate role between that of the Red Army on the one hand and

the Communist Parties on the other in creating the conditions necessary for Communist victory.

First of all, since the Communists assume that "time is on their side" the problem is to delay a war.

Second, since the result of the Second World War has greatly reduced the number of strong capitalist states, leaving only the United States and Britain where there were formerly five, the probability of a great war among the capitalist powers is relatively reduced, and the probability of coalition against the Soviets relatively greater. This calls for planning for some time to come designed to maintain the independence of as many capitalist states as possible, and as much anti-American feeling as possible, in order to restore the likelihood of a war between capitalist states.

Thirdly, the Soviet would prefer a one-front war, militarily. They succeeded in limiting their engagement in the Second World War to one front at a time, an achievement matched by no other government.

The Communists prefer a later war to an earlier one. They prefer a capitalist war, with the Soviet in on one side, to a straight Communist-anti-Communist war. They prefer a one-front war to a two-front war. With these objectives or standards in mind, it is the task of the Soviet Foreign Office to use all means of a diplomatic or related nature to attain them.

The range of variation in tactics, by time periods of offense and defense, by geographic zones, by choice of techniques, and by choice of agencies, applies to foreign policy as well as to Communist tactics in general. But the classification of areas is not the same for the Foreign Office as for defense policy or for local Communist Parties.

In Turkey, for example, the Foreign Office must carry a burden, which in France or Italy might be shared, or shouldered, by the local Communists. A nearby country is naturally more impressed by the Red Army as an ultimate weapon, but may also have a weak Communist Party, or none at all.

A more remote country may be outside any consideration of defensive space, yet be particularly vulnerable because of a strong local Communist Party. *In general, therefore, their foreign policy is simply one of several means available for any given end, and the use of foreign-policy methods varies in a way that may be unaccountable unless this is recalled.*

Also, their foreign policy is based on the assumption that depression, stagnation, or collapse in any area not yet under Soviet control can be no disadvantage to the cause of the revolution. *They have no expectation of taking over any prosperous country under any circumstances.* The doctrine of the state and revolution, the heart of Leninism, requires the destruction of the old state, and only for an encircled country is there any idea of reasonably peaceful transition.

And, finally, as in all other activities, they assume that the world revolution is the foundation of a morality both different and superior, in which the end justifies all means.

Within the general framework given by these assumptions or conditions, their foreign policy has certain definite targets; in brief, to

expand the area of Soviet control, and beyond that, the circle of influence; to prevent an anti-Soviet coalition; to encourage colonial rebellions; to weaken all uncontrollable areas; to postpone war for the time being; and to avoid a two-front war.

The practical workings of Soviet diplomacy, assisted occasionally by propaganda from Moscow, or by local party activities, make use of a variety of devices.

THE IRON CURTAIN

The Iron Curtain, as a shield across all controlled as well as purely Soviet areas is a successful means of reducing authoritative public knowledge of what they are doing. This was one of the reasons why the publication of Mr. Byrnes' book was valuable, since much of what he knew, and which would have been publicly known under ordinary circumstances, was known only to official agencies and could not be published by them. The story he tells of Vishinsky's demand for a cabinet change in Rumania is an example of what they can do behind a veil of secrecy that they could not do, or not so readily, in the open. (*Speaking Frankly*, p. 51, Vishinsky's intervention occurred on February 27, 1945; and see his foreword for his own statement of the reasons for publishing.)

In ordinary negotiations they display a fine attention to the difference between those parts of an agreement that will be certain to take effect, and those that can be evaded or delayed.

The Yalta agreement, for example, gave them a hold in Germany, with an understanding that Germany would be united for economic purposes. The Soviet secured its occupation zone most definitely, and ever since has blocked the economic unification on grounds that some other clauses had not been fulfilled.

In the agreement to enter the far-eastern war, the Soviet objectives were immediately and practically attainable, while the Soviet obligations were easy to avoid or postpone. Whenever an agreement with these characteristics could be made they have shown a readiness to make it.

They also show a very agreeable readiness to accept anything that gives us an advantage *that they cannot in any case prevent, and which commits us to a position of which they can make propaganda use.* The Soviet acquiescence to the United States trusteeship in the Pacific islands falls in this class. They made use of timing for ironical effect in this instance, announcing their agreement to the trusteeship on March 31, 1947, on the very heels of our protests to them concerning Hungary, on March 1 and March 17.

They display a tactical readiness to make agreements whenever there is no special reason against them. The more agreements they can make, of an inconsequential kind, the more they can maintain the propaganda pretense that real disagreements are not their fault. The more agreements grant advantages for us that they are in any case incapable of preventing, the more credit they can claim, either in later diplomacy or through propaganda. This holds especially true whenever they can assist us to commit ourselves to anything that they are fairly sure will prove to be an embarrassing mistake. *Some of the conduct of postwar diplomacy is scarcely explicable on any other ground.*

PROPAGANDA MIXED WITH DIPLOMACY

Ever since their very first effort in diplomacy, vis-à-vis the Germans at Brest-Litovsk in 1918, they have mixed propaganda with diplomacy.

Secretary Marshall took note of this at the London Conference of Foreign Ministers in December 1947 as General Max von Hoffmann had at Brest-Litovsk in 1918. *This includes the use of liberal slogans and nationalist slogans against liberals and nationalists, abusive attacks on their opponents' motives, and all the other tricks that go with propaganda addressed to a wider audience than the conference in process.*

Their tactics in international organizations have a special character that has been too little appreciated, though sometimes fully explained by themselves. The comment by *Pravda* concerning Soviet participation in the Commission on European Union in 1931, quoted above (p. XX) overtly declares that they participated in that Commission in order to prevent it from accomplishing anything against their interests. Lenin defined their interest in European union in his claim that a United States of Europe under capitalism "is either impossible or reactionary." It is apparent that to prevent anything against their interests means to prevent any federation of Europe. Their role in international organizations generally has this color.

There are exceptions, such as the World Health Organization, where they as others stand to gain by interchange of information and by establishment of standards and uniform regulations, and where the rest of the world stands to gain by their participation. But their membership in the League of Nations was primarily intended to prevent the League from serving as an anti-Soviet instrument.

Their membership in the United Nations, with their veto power in the Security Council is their guaranty that the UN cannot be used against them, unless or until the Charter can be amended. This leaves the very difficult and laborious process of amending the Charter against their opposition, or of establishing a new organization, as an impediment to any use of an international organization against their interests. *In world politics today this amounts to a first line of defense. Any idea that they would abandon the advantage this gives them is in a class with the idea that they might reduce their air force.*

Their enthusiastic entry into the UNO contrasts with their stubborn opposition to the Baruch proposals for control of atomic energy. *If one examines the Baruch proposals, in their underlying assumptions, it is apparent that they assume the possibility of peace for an indefinite time.*

To Communists this would require the further assumption that the United States is not prerevolutionary, but postrevolutionary in character. This is an impossible thing for them to accept. *They simply cannot believe in any proposition based on stability and peace.* Since they also consider war to be avoidable for the time being, and atomic weapons attainable for them within a reasonable time, they know no reason for accepting a control system that would bar them from acquiring the know-how for production of atomic weapons when we already have it.

The proposal by Secretary Byrnes, for a four-power pact against future German aggression, is parallel to the problem of international control of atomic energy. (*Speaking Frankly*, p. 171.) The proposal

amounts to international control of Germany through a guaranty of joint inspection to prevent German armaments, and joint action in case of violation. Like the Baruch proposals, this makes no sense unless one can assume stability and peace between the United States and the Soviet for a long time to come, and like the Baruch proposals, it proved unacceptable to Molotov, though at one time endorsed informally by Stalin. The Soviet judgment on this proposal, was stated by Tass, the Soviet news agency.

A possible paper certain to hide a retreat from agreements made at the time of Germany's capitulation last year, a possible attempt to divert attention from the Ruhr problems, a dangerous weakening of the machinery already set up to guarantee Germany's disarmament and one more maneuver that was introducing superfluous difficulties for the Foreign Ministers Council in Paris.

Their attitude on international organizations, judging by the cases, may be defined as follows: *Join any organization that has politically neutral service functions; join any organization that might take action contrary to Soviet interest in the absence of Soviet participation; join no organization that might interfere with Soviet reliance on its own strength in an ultimate show-down.*

Such are the guiding principles by which they act. There is one way in which to judge how effective their foreign policy, and their conduct of it, tactically, has been. That is to examine what they have gained or lost by it in the past. On this the record is rich.

Since 1939 they have gained the following territories by annexation, naming them in order from north to south in Europe: Petsamo, Karelia, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Koenigsberg, Eastern Poland, Ruthenia, Bukovina, Bessarabia. In the East they have gained the Kuriles and southern Sakhalin and Dairen. They also hold until further notice the Soviet zones of occupation in Germany, Austria, and Korea.

Aside from direct Soviet control, they have brought under control of the local Communists, supported by the Soviet, the countries we now regard as Soviet satellites, namely: Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and Albania, and since February 1948, Czechoslovakia. *In these countries the effectiveness of Communist tactics is the resultant of Soviet foreign policy coupled with the tactics of native Communists, giving the wonderful opportunity to use each for whatever the other cannot accomplish, or for which either one cannot conveniently accept responsibility.*

Outside of any areas under direct Communist control, there lie the prime targets of pressure, in the present phase called cold war. To list these is a special measure of Soviet gains, for it is a list that lay beyond their grasp a few years ago.

In the west these targets are the Turkish Straits and the provinces of Kars and Ardahan in eastern Turkey, Greece, northwestern Iran, and Germany.

Germany is the prime target on the western front of the Soviets, the acknowledged key to Europe. The other three, if gained, would dominate the whole of the Near East. In Germany they have the advantages of position gained at Yalta and Potsdam.

In Greece and Iran they have only the weapons of diplomacy and local Communists, backed up by Soviet-controlled territory adjacent.

In the case of Turkey they must use Soviet leverage and nothing else. In the east they are pressing on China, a special case where tactics are more varied, and more resources are applicable than anywhere else.

Beyond the immediate targets of pressure lie the areas where Communist influence and strength are much greater than before the war. The prime examples are France and Italy, but Syria, India, Indochina, Indonesia, and Latin America all reflect increased Communist resources.

Still farther from Soviet control or serious constant pressure are certain areas that are not centers of strong native Communist movements, nor important targets of strategic attack, yet are vulnerable to pressure as occasion may demand. The Scandinavian countries, with their dependence on Baltic trade are examples, with Finland and Sweden the most vulnerable.

In addition to control or influence, the Soviets have treaties of alliance, of which those with Britain and France are most important, serving in each case as a partial bar to anti-Soviet action by the other party. And once again, the Soviet membership in the United Nations, and their permanent seat with veto in the Security Council must be mentioned. *For this is worth more to them in the balance of power than any of the territories they have annexed, or of the satellites they dominate.*

In conclusion one must say that *the conduct of Soviet foreign policy as one element in the tactics of world revolution has had considerable success, and to be consistent, one must say that it has been conducted with considerable skill.* It is designed to take care of the interests of the Soviets and of world Communism, not just the Soviets.

It makes very skillful use of a combined strategy that matches the virtuosity of the Nazis in recourse to propaganda combined with the fifth column and the looming threat of arms to support diplomacy. It is not designed to assist in any project for stability and progress otherwise than through world Communism after the revolution. It is designed, especially through membership in international organizations, to impede such projects.

Our reluctance to face the facts concerning Soviet policy, when they have done their best to make its nature explicit, is parallel to our earlier failure to recognize the menace of Nazi ambitions when they were plain in the text of Hitler's book. This reflects our disbelief in the capacity of dogmatists, especially if they take their dogma for a science, to think in theoretical terms and to believe in their own theories.

D. THE POLITICAL TACTICS OF COMMUNISM

The material basis of Communist political tactics outside the Soviet Union is the strength of the parties. Information on the strength of all the Communist parties in the world was contained in the list made public at the conference of Communist parties held in London early in 1947.

STRENGTH OF COMMUNIST PARTIES

[From New York Times, March 16, 1947]

America			
Country	Party name	Party members	Members of legislature
Argentina	Communist	30,000	--
Brazil	Communist	130,000	17
Canada	Labor-Progressives	23,000	--
Chile	Communist	50,000	20
Colombia	Democrat Socialist	10,000	2
Costa Rica	Vanguardia Populair	20,000	6
Cuba	Popular Socialist	152,000	12
Ecuador	Communist	2,500	--
Haiti	Popular Socialist	500	1
Martinique	Communist	--	2
Mexico	Communist	25,000	--
Nicaragua	Partido Socialista	500	--
Panama	Partido del Pueblo	500	--
Paraguay	Communist	8,000	--
Peru	Communist	35,000	5
Puerto Rico	Communist	1,200	--
United States	Communist	74,000	--
Uruguay	Communist	15,000	5
Santo Domingo	Populair Socialist	2,000	--
Venezuela	Communist	20,000	2
Asia			
Burma	Communist	4,000	--
Ceylon	Communist	--	--
China	Communist	2,000,000	--
Cyprus	Akel	4,000	--
India	Communist	53,700	--
Indonesia	Communist	--	--
Japan	Communist	6,000	5
Korea	Communist	50,000	--
Lebanon	Communist	15,000	--
Malaya	Communist	10,000	--
Palestine	Communist	1,400	--
Philippines	Communist	--	--
Siam	Communist	--	--
Syria	Communist	8,000	--
Australasia			
Australia	Communist	25,000	1
New Zealand	Communist	2,000	--
Europe			
U. S. S. R.	Communist	6,000,000	--
Albania	Communist	--	--
Austria	Communist	150,000	4
Belgium	Communist	100,000	23
Britain	Communist	43,000	2
Bulgaria	Workers' Party	450,000	278
Czechoslovakia	Communist	1,000,000	115
Denmark	Communist	60,000	18
Finland	Communist	28,000	41
France	Communist	1,300,000	--
Germany (Soviet)	Socialist Unity	1,576,300	--
Germany (Western)	Communist	350,000	--
Greece	Communist	400,000	--
Hungary	Communist	650,000	70
Iceland	United Socialist	1,000	10
Ireland (Northern)	Communist	500	--
Italy	Communist	2,200,000	108

STRENGTH OF COMMUNIST PARTIES—Continued

Europe—Continued			
Country	Party name	Party members	Members of legislature
Luxemburg-----	Communist -----	5,000	--
Netherlands-----	Communist -----	50,000	15
Norway-----	Communist -----	33,000	11
Poland-----	Workers' Party -----	600,000	--
Portugal-----	Communist -----	--	--
Rumania-----	Communist -----	500,000	68
Slovakia-----	Communist -----	250,000	--
Spain-----	Communist -----	--	--
Sweden-----	Communist -----	46,000	--
Switzerland-----	Parti du Travail -----	21,000	1
Africa			
Algeria-----	Communist -----	--	--
Eritrea-----	Communist -----	200	--
Morocco-----	Communist -----	--	--
South Africa-----	Communist -----	--	--
Tunisia-----	Communist -----	--	--
Total-----		18,592,300	--

NOTE.—The United Press released on May 26, 1947, a list showing the strength of Communist Parties all over the world. It differs sharply from the above list on a few countries only, with higher figures for Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia and lower for a few others.

As a measure of comparative strength the above list is not entirely satisfactory. It indicates, for example, that the Italian party is much larger than the French, yet it is also a matter of fact that the French party can swing a larger electoral vote than the Italian, about 28 to 30 percent in France against about 19 percent in Italy. Such discrepancies as this arise out of differences in strictness of enforcement of the Leninist policy on membership. Party membership in most countries is also subject to sharp fluctuations, due to membership drives, followed by purges, or by periods in which the less faithful are allowed to drift away.

The obvious coordination of the activities of Communist Parties with those of the Soviet Government has made trouble ever since the First World War. The Soviet Government made a large number of treaties with various countries in which there was mutual acceptance of an obligation not to carry on or assist movements designed to overthrow the other government. These were not purely hypocritical on the side of the Soviets. In the decade after the war there were remnants in many countries from the defeated White Russian or anti-Bolshevik movements. The Soviets were genuinely anxious to obtain agreements that would bind their neighbors not to assist such groups.

The Communists within each country for the last 12 years have tended to emphasize national patriotism in their tactics and propaganda.

It was in 1935 that the Seventh Congress of the Comintern adopted the "national traditions" line emphasizing the heritage of the French Revolution in France, of Washington and Lincoln in the United States, and so forth. The transition from their former antipatriotic pose was a contributing factor in the 1930's to the idea that they were becoming more conservative. An interesting thing about this adoption of nationalist or patriotic slogans is that it has now persisted through several major shifts of general policy.

During the two years of the Nazi-Soviet Pact, Communist Parties did not drop their patriotic pretenses of the Popular Front period, but gave them an isolationist color, advocating that their countries should keep out of the "imperialist war." During the alliance against Nazism they of course intensified their use of patriotic slogans in all countries. But since the end of the war they have not changed this particular line, (until recently) while they have changed their major strategy and tactics entirely.

THE NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY LINE

The reason for this has several aspects, yet is very simple in its logic.

First, the veto in the United Nations is the safeguard for the Soviets against adverse action, and the veto rests on the old doctrine of sovereignty. The freedom of Russia from international control is therefore facilitated by insistence upon sovereignty, and numerous statements by Soviet leaders in the United Nations and elsewhere have insisted that the sovereignty of all nations must be preserved.

Second, the doctrine of sovereignty serves as a barrier to such projects as atomic-energy control, and is so used. Molotov in addressing the United Nations General Assembly on October 29, 1946, and Gromyko before the Security Council on March 5, 1947, both urged the necessity of the principle of unanimity of the great powers, the importance of the veto, and the origin of the veto in an initiative taken by the United States.

Third, the slogans of sovereignty and patriotism have a strong appeal in drumming up opposition to the Marshall plan, on the ground that it represents American interference in the recipient countries.

As the *Manifesto of the Cominform*, published on October 5, 1947, declares:

If the Communist parties stand fast on their outposts, if they refuse to be intimidated and blackmailed, if they courageously guard over the democracy, national sovereignty, independence and self-determination of their countries, if they know how to fight against attempts at the economic and political subjugation of their countries and place themselves at the head of all the forces ready to defend the cause of national honor and independence, then and then only no plans to subjugate the countries of Europe and Asia can succeed.

Fourth, it serves as a high-sounding indirect approach for the tactics of "divide and rule." The Soviets have much to gain and nothing to lose by preserving the anarchy of the old system of too many little states with no common organization. They have no desire for any positive collaboration among nations until they are ripe for the "revolution." They carry this to the length of advocating, as Tito did on June 4, 1945, "Carinthia is ours, and we will fight for her," while at the same time Italian Communists were stoutly defending the right of Italy in the same territory.

Fifth, they are particularly anxious that civil war should be possible, and do not wish any international regulation that might interfere. Gromyko, in the debate on Spain in the Security Council of the United Nations, on April 25, 1946, declared in this connection:

Mr. Stettinius * * * pointed out that one of the aims (of the United States Government) * * * was to avoid a repetition of the civil war that had taken place in Spain.

I do not wish to go into detail into an analysis of this problem. It is known that civil wars in some countries have not always had bad results. For example, the historical place and significance of the Civil War in the United States is well known.

Sixth, the doctrine of sovereignty is of the utmost importance in such operations as those by which Communist control was consolidated in Hungary and Rumania in the spring of 1947. The Soviet Government stands back and declares that it is not responsible for the events that occur. The new Communist government is definitely a *de facto* government. Having experimented with direct seizure, as in the Baltic States, it is clear that a controlled and orderly revolution under the shield of the sovereignty of the country concerned is preferable. They had some experience with this technique in Mongolia in the inter-war period, neatly excising Mongolia from China while giving no opening to serious charges against the Soviet Government. As an authority on Soviet foreign relations describes that situation,

By maneuvering in such a way as to prevent coalition between Chinese and Mongols, Russia was able to rule Mongolia by pretending that the Mongols were free, and also to keep the rest of the world from interfering with its monopoly, by allowing it to be inferred that the Mongols were not free.

Here are six distinct motives or ends, all of which can be served by a single means, the advocacy of national sovereignty. On only one occasion since the war have they slipped and talked the other way, so far as has been noticed. That was at the time of debate in the United Nations Security Council over the crisis in Indonesia, just before the Iranian crisis. Mr. Vishinsky, on the 10th of February, 1946, in addressing the Council rejected the plea that to send a Commission from the United Nations would intrude upon the sovereignty of the Netherlands.

I think that we have to consider the relative importance of the maintenance of the strict sovereignty of national states and, on the other hand, the interests of the United Nations; and I would ask whether the United Nations can be an effective organ if national sovereignty is not limited. The nations must sacrifice a part of their sovereignty if the United Nations is to be a real and effective organ.

In this particular case, the rule of favoring colonial rebellion was the one followed, and it may be presumed that sovereignty, as they defend it, does not extend to the sovereignty of colonial powers over their colonies.

DIVIDE AND RULE TACTICS

Within any country, under their ultrapatriotic slogans, they pursue the tactics indicated for them by Lenin's *Left-wing Communism*. That means that *they infiltrate, divide, and so far as possible, rule. This tactic applies from the level of the national legislature down to the neighborhood club.*

In any national legislature in which they have substantial representation their power is very great. *It is not always understood why it is that 10 to 20 percent of a body, at odds with all the rest, can exercise any influence. The answer lies in the fact that any group such as a legislature ordinarily divides by not more than two-thirds against one-third.* More extreme divisions may occur, but are less common.

To give an obstructionist party 20 percent of the votes, and then to try to legislate, needing 51 percent of the votes, means to rally 51 out of 80, or 64 percent. If the Communists have 30 percent, it then takes about 72 percent of the remaining vote to make a majority. If such a majority is gathered together, it will be far more often for a weak compromise than when a lesser proportion are required. The whole quality and character of legislation deteriorate when a disciplined and dissident minority are present.

This ability of the Communists to sabotage the legislative process had its first great demonstration in Germany under the Weimar constitution. In four successive elections for the Reichstag from 1928 to 1932 they won 54, 77, 89, and 100 seats.

In 1930 the Nazis also won a large number of seats, and from then on the two together made up the gross deficit that the legislature had to overcome in any sound democratic legislation.

The tactics of the Communists in the French National Assembly, throughout the autumn of 1947, and continuing into 1949, have been of the same kind. Fortunately, with the advantage of historical experience, the democratic parties of France have rallied together better than their German counterparts in the earlier case. Schumann fought the same battle, a battle over finances in face of a strong Communist minority, that was fought 17 years ago in Germany.

If it is at all possible to work through other parties they stand a chance to exert a leverage beyond their numbers. This does not often happen, but in the United States from 1943 to 1947 the Communists opposed any third party project, and even dropped the name of a party themselves to try to work through others.

In 1947, when the U. S. Party reorganized on an underground basis they created the Progressive Party to fight American foreign policy.

The ability of a minority to embarrass a democratic party finds even easier ground in all kinds of private organizations. Active participation, as distinct from mere hangers-on, is low in most voluntary groups. It may be as easy for a minority to operate a labor union, or a pacifist league, or any other such movement, as it is for a minority group to control a large corporation, when most of the stockholders take no active interest in the management.

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION

Communists have not only the injunction of Lenin to infiltrate non-Communist groups, there are also rich fruits easily garnered. *If only 10 percent of the members of an organization attend business meetings, only a very small group may be needed to dominate it completely.* Communists know that if they go to meetings, and the others do not, they can rule the organization. The others only know that if enough of them go they can block the disciplined minority, they do not know that they can rule, for they are there to divide on unpredictable lines. So the dice are loaded.

This tactic of joining and working through other groups, called infiltration, applies especially to liberal groups of all kinds, pursuing aims that the Communists, more or less sincerely or hypocritically as the case may be, can also support. It also applies to colonial movements seeking independence, where the Communists' hope is to weaken the controlling power to the advantage of the Soviets, and also, if possible, to twist the independence movement into a social revolution by appealing to and mobilizing the underprivileged masses.

The propaganda line that supports the infiltration tactics is made up of about equal parts of ultra-democratic slogans and vituperation against their opponents.

They are for the extension of the suffrage, for tax reduction on small incomes, for proportional representation, for equal rights, for free

speech, and against bosses, politicians, the other parties, misleaders of the people.

In France and Italy today this line of ultra-democracy, ultra-patriotism, and ultra-abuse of their opponents takes classic forms. They are for national sovereignty, for the annexation of the Saar, proportional representation, an all-powerful assembly and a weak executive. As for what they say of the United States, *L'Humanite*, the leading Communist paper of France, started a special feature in the number for October 24, 1947, under the headline, "America degrades the spirit" devoted to the "decadence" of culture in the United States.

COMMUNIST VITUPERATION

The abuse of opponents is such a normal feature of Communist tactics that it scarcely needs to be proved or even illustrated. However, a few examples may be given in order to aid memory. One such was the reaction to the speech by Winston Churchill at Fulton, Mo., on March 5, 1946. *Pravda* ran an editorial on March 11 condemning him for proposing a military alliance against the Soviet Union, for reversing all the truths he had stated during the war, and for reverting to reactionary policies. Two days later *Pravda* printed an interview with Stalin on the same subject, calling the speech damaging to peace and security, adding "one is reminded remarkably of Hitler and his friends," and ending with a description of Churchill's moves as " * * * quixotic antics."

In another instance, Brooks Atkinson, of the *New York Times*, formerly stationed as a correspondent in Moscow, wrote a series of articles critical of the then trend of Soviet policies, published in the *New York Times* for July 7, 1946, and following days. By July 11 *Pravda* had caught up enough to denounce Atkinson as "an untalented calumniator * * * pen bandit * * * and savage."

Other cases may be found in the *Izvestia* editorial condemning President Truman, on March 14, 1947; an attack on President Truman's plea for admission of 100,000 settlers in Palestine as imperialism, in *Pravda* on November 1, 1946; an attack on both the Republican and Democratic Parties as bent upon "impetuous imperialist expansion" in *Pravda* on October 26, 1946, and a general attack on United States policy in all areas from the State of Georgia to the Yangtze River and the Danube, in the Moscow papers on June 23, 1946. Other specimens could be given ad nauseam.

Their outpourings of prodemocratic talk and abuse of their opponents is not wholly indiscriminate. *They turn on a special flood of ink when under attack themselves, in the manner of cuttlefish.* General Deane discovered this in negotiations with the Soviets for good treatment of prisoners of war liberated from the Nazis. * * * every agreement which was made regarding the treatment of American prisoners of war liberated by the Red Army was violated, but when these violations were brought to the attention of the appropriate officials they responded with the most unfounded accusations regarding the treatment of liberated Russian prisoners of war then in British or American hands. *The Strange Alliance*, p. 34.)

In the 1948 presidential election campaign, the U. S. Communist Party manipulated the merger of a group of familiar Communist front organizations into the Progressive Party to support Henry Wallace's

third party candidacy; but they also split off from one front in this merger a new group, The National Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions, to continue specialized agitation to intellectuals in support and defense of the Soviet Union's foreign policy.

APPEASEMENT TACTICS

They also know when and how to emphasize the line of sweet reasonableness, resorting to appeasement tactics, strictly on the psychological level where it costs least. This is less flexible, however, than the resort to abuse, and may be possible only when the direction of general strategy is defensive for a time. Then it is most profuse. But even during a drive toward the left, or rise of the wave of revolution, as they call it, they will use well-timed concessions with an eye to maximum propaganda effect. Their evacuation of Bornholm Island in the Baltic announced on March 16, 1946, and their agreement to the United States trusteeship in the Pacific on March 31, 1947, were both dramatized as symbols of how reasonable Soviet policy can be.

In all countries the Communists give great attention to the tactical importance of the channels of public information, the so-called media. They give very high priority to the development of their own press, both on the level of popular dailies and weeklies, and on the more esoteric level of technical Marxist monthly and quarterly journals.

It also includes as much as possible infiltration by Communists and sympathizers into non-Communist media, including radio, movies, book publishing, and even music and the other arts. In a sense they even regard labor unions and other political and economic organizations as media, using them primarily as channels through which to communicate Communist ideas on particular issues in the ordinary course of activities.

In order to fully understand the logic of Communist infiltration, one must examine their attitude, and some of their practices, in relation to reform or liberal movements that they cannot hope to control. If they entered such movements or groups in order to help achieve the progressive objects sought, even though holding the objects inadequate, they might loyally cooperate with the other members up to the point of success. *But Communist infiltration has no such character. They simply have no place in their minds for any seriously worth-while purposes but their own.*

The case of Poland at the close of the war is the best illustration. The Polish underground led by General Bor was ready to rise against the Germans as the Soviet advance was approaching Warsaw in 1944. But a movement of this kind, out of Communist control, was intolerable to Communism.

The signal for rising was given, and the Soviet advance then stopped long enough for the Nazis to do the work of liquidation. (See the remarks of Hon. Pete Jarman in the House of Representatives on December 4, 1947, for a brief account of these events.) The Soviets were negotiating at the same time for a bombing boundary line drawn far enough to the west to prevent British planes from dropping supplies to the anti-Nazi Poles. (See *The Strange Alliance*, by Gen. John R. Deane, p. 138.)

This attitude is simply the reverse side of the same coin as their idea that any real reform of the capitalist system is impossible except in accordance with their own kind of revolution.

The goal of all the tactics that they carry on when revolution is remote is to bring the revolution closer. And that does not mean very close, for they also understand the technique of revolution down to the finest points, and are ready to crowd and jostle their way to power in situations where no spontaneous revolution could succeed. This involves a general readiness for, and training in, the conditions of underground politics, developed in the world-wide political underworld of the past generation.

The development of a Red army in Korea, the espionage activities revealed by the Canadian spy trials in February 1946, and the development of Greek guerrilla forces based upon aid from north of the Greek frontier are all pieces from the same cloth.

An illustration of the promptness and thoroughness with which they entrench and consolidate positions won is given by the mass discharges of personnel from the Romanian Foreign Office, promptly after Comrade Anna Pauker took charge, reported by the Yugoslav news service on November 16, 1947. The general pattern for seizure and retention of power by a strong minority has been exhibited in many cases in the last three years.

The training for illegal activities includes systematic attention to the commitment of promising personnel to the movement through criminal activities. This is designed to make it difficult, or impossible, for the recruit, once joined, to change his mind. The importance of arms in the critical stages of the struggle has been an important point in Communist thought on the strategy of revolution ever since 1917. The combination of all of these techniques, to permit the use of physical violence when needed, is a side light on the meaning of democratic centralization and party discipline as explained in the documents printed in Supplement I to this report. Their political tactics include helping others to do Communist work whenever there is an opportunity.

But they have always one goal, the revolution, and one standard of preparedness, the state of readiness for all-out violence.

(See also, Force and Violence, Pages 182-256.)

E. ECONOMIC TACTICS OF COMMUNISM

Whereas for Communist political tactics there are a series of zones, concentric from the power center in the Soviet Union, for economic tactics there are just three classes of areas: first, the Soviet Union; second, newly controlled areas; third, areas not yet controlled.

The basis of economic policy in the Soviet Union has already been discussed under the heading of Soviet defense policy above. And as noted there, an extremely concise and clear basic explanation of it is contained in Stalin's speech of February 9, 1946. In brief, the Union must achieve economic self-sufficiency for war in the shortest possible time. It met this test for the Second World War, but as Stalin explained, it is bent upon meeting a similar test again.

This requires the highest possible rate of capital formation through the development of industry and this in turn requires the highest possible level of civilian sacrifice.

In the Soviet Union, the level of civilian sacrifice in terms of standard of living, measured by the proportions of the national income going

into the development of heavy industry, has been comparable since 1928 to the level of sacrifice achieved in the United States only during the war.

This is not guided by private initiative, nor does it bring profit to private individuals, but in all other respects, and in basic economic effect, it corresponds very well indeed with the characteristics ascribed by Marx to capitalism in his worst attacks on it.

Not only must the Soviet develop its economic potential for war as rapidly as possible; also, it must avoid dependence upon the external world. This policy of self-sufficiency, or autarchy, means a general inhibition of trading relationships, marked by the fact that Soviet foreign trade has never equaled the volume carried on by Czarist Russia.

Russian exports in 1913 reached a value of \$775,000,000, and the highest postwar year was 1930 when they reached only \$533,000,000. For imports, the 1913 figure was \$700,000,000 and the highest postwar year was 1931, when they amounted to \$569,000,000.

Whenever relations have been reasonably good with Britain or Germany or the United States, considerable programs for imports of machinery and equipment in exchange for Soviet wheat or raw materials have been entered into, and credit arrangements in moderate amounts have been utilized. In general, however, the degree of self-sufficiency maintained has been very high.

RED EMPHASIS ON GOLD

A curious feature of this system is the emphasis placed by the Soviets upon gold production. Special incentives have been granted to prospectors, and the production of gold from all known sources has been pressed, apparently without intermission. The value of this gold is almost entirely based upon trade; so long as it is more acceptable than any other commodity, and at good prices, it is worth producing. This applies just as long as the labor and other costs involved in gold production can thereby produce more machinery for the Soviets through trade than they could produce directly in other Soviet industries.

As long as gold exerts a unique leverage in trade, receivable without challenge on the ground of dumping, and unimpeded by protective tariffs or any other restrictions, this will remain an instrument of Soviet economics.

It was pointed out in connection with Soviet defense policy that priority for industrial development is given to the areas most remote from foreign attack. This cannot be carried out with perfect symmetry of course. For one reason, the major areas of urban population cannot be replaced immediately, nor for a long time. Leningrad and Moscow are both in this class, as well as the centers of shipbuilding on the Black Sea, and the many large cities of the Don Basin that were not too far away for the Germans to reach. For another reason, the inexorable facts of location of resources cannot be modified by policy. The Dnieper River with its hydroelectric capacity is in the western Ukraine. So is the greatest iron mine in the Union, at Krivoi Rog, and the great manganese deposit of Nikopol.

The organization of the economy is, of course, predominantly under state ownership and planning, with only small sectors of trade, manufacturing, and agriculture still in private hands. Even the remaining private enterprise is subject to planning, and as the entrepreneurs have

learned again and again since the first turn-away from the new economic policy in 1928, subject to liquidation without much notice. Within this socialism, there is, as already mentioned, the "capitalist" feature of capital development—

that production is merely production for capital, and not vice versa, the means of production mere means for an ever-expanding system of the life process for the benefit of the society of producers. (Marx, *Capital*, I, p. 293.)

There is also a wage differential, that is a range between the highest level of pay and the lowest, that is as wide as the range for all but a tiny fraction in such a country as the United States today. And just as there are extreme fringes outside the ordinary range in the United States, so are there in Russia, where popular authors may acquire incomes through royalties that are certainly large and would be so considered anywhere.

The development of the economy is, as is well known, under a state planning system headed up in the Gosplan, or top level planning organization. This has a massive staff of statisticians and other experts, and performs the work of drafting the 5-year plans, and their annual modifications. These provide detailed plans for every industry and phase of economic activity in the Union.

After the Soviet Union itself, the next areas to be considered are those recently brought under Communist control. This includes both the areas recently annexed to the Union, and the countries not annexed, but under Communist governments.

Economic policy in these regions is that of a transition period, involving (a) the introduction of the monopoly of foreign trade by the state, (b) the exploitation of war booty and reparations clauses, (c) the totalitarian disciplining (what the Nazis called Gleichschaltung) of labor unions and agricultural organizations, (d) the reorganizing of the land system and general break-up of property and savings in order to smash resistant classes and groups, and (e) such physical measures as changing over the gauge of rail lines to the wider Soviet gauge.

The introduction of Soviet-type monopolies involves an assortment of methods, not at all as simple as socialization of everything by decree. Some properties are taken over as former enemy property wherever German interest can be found or inferred. This goes so far as the taking over of former Jewish property on the ground that the Nazis seized title to it, and former American or British property, as in Rumanian oil companies, seized by the Germans or by local governments as enemy property during the war. Nationalization by legislative action is of course also applied to selected industries, such as coal, steel, rails, etc.

Since there is nothing like an antitrust policy in any of the regions involved, the range in the power of control enjoyed by the combines that result from these processes is no broader than from plain monopoly to faintly adulterated monopoly.

Austria, which happens to be under partial but incomplete Soviet control, serves as a goldfish bowl in which these policies can be observed more readily than in the fully controlled countries. There the Soviets enjoy full control of the Zistersdorf oil field, the richest in Europe west of Rumania.

They also hold a controlling share in the Danube shipping concern, and a mélange of other industrial property lumped in USIVA (Soviet

Administration of German Properties in Austria). They recently gave an exhibition performance featuring the possibilities that such positions afford them.

Preparatory to laying down their terms for an Austrian peace treaty, late in January, 1948, they first doubled the price of oil out of the Austrian land to the Austrian Government. After a few days in which the impression made could sink in, they then displayed their "essential kindness" by softening the action taken.

The Communist control of unions and other economic organizations is direct once they achieve political power. Removal of all old personnel is seldom necessary. The process is largely after the manner to be understood from Stalin's statement on the possibility of peaceful evolution to socialism in a case of Socialist encirclement. *Only those willing to run the risk of liquidation need be liquidated.*

The use of economic methods for changing the class structure of a country, smashing up the old middle class and landowning groups, and creating the amorphous mass that dictatorship finds most amenable, is particularly the function of land reforms and currency reforms.

LAND REFORM TACTICS

Land reform, as in the Soviet zone of Germany, uses whatever argument from past or present politics or social conditions lies most ready to hand. In the countries concerned, the arguments for land reform are often extremely good, and long antedate the advent of Communist power. But under the guise of breaking up the larger estates it is simple to break up the not-so-large also, creating a class of small farmers with inadequate equipment and know-how, helplessly dependent upon state credit for all further development.

Currency reform, if timed right, can perform a transfer of wealth from the well-to-do to the state, equalizing all in a common propertyless condition. The revaluation in Rumania two years ago in August, caught the better producers largely at the moment when they had sold their wheat crop, which is harvested in June and July. The leu was revalued at the rate of 1 new leu for 20,000 old ones, with the exchange limited for farmers at the amount of 250 to 350 new leu maximum. This kind of limitation on the amount of transfer from old to new currency can catch and fleece all holders of large quantities of the old currency. It does so with a complexity that inhibits criticism and counterpropaganda by forcing the discussion of the subject into technicalities.

There is one issue that draws a line of distinction between the various countries under Soviet control. This is the matter of which side they were on in the war. Countries on the enemy side are subject to reparations claims which eliminate any balance of payments problem for the Soviets in getting what they want of the local resources. Countries on the Allied side get more in return, as Czechoslovakia gets Russian wheat and iron ore in return for her exports.

Soviet and Communist economic relations with the uncontrolled outside world resume the general pattern of coordinated Communist tactics. That is to say, *they are designed to advance the revolution first, the Soviet as the main force of the revolution second, the weakening of all capitalist countries third; and they seek these ends through combined use of Soviet and local Communist methods.*

Russia enters into trade for commercial among other reasons, but all the reasons that affect major political policies are liable to intervene at any time. This has always made Soviet trade a disturbing factor, by making it unpredictable for normal commercial calculations.

They want their imports for strategic reasons, and will take them and pay for them at price terms at which no one expects them to close a deal. Similarly, they export to get the foreign exchange with which to obtain imports whose value to them is not measured by the money cost. They may sell, in order to secure the exchange, at prices impossible to account for on commercial criteria. International trade, from their point of view, is one of the necessary evils of the transition period between the victory of communism in Russia and the final victory of the revolution.

Under their system of planning, with a state monopoly of foreign trade, the measures of bilateral trade are natural methods for them. This, of course, reflects in part a world-wide phenomenon. Insofar as multilateral trade based on convertible currencies is possible, they are capable of entering into it. And insofar as certain technical measures to facilitate trade, such as uniform methods of tariff valuation, freedom of transit, marks of origin, uniformity of formalities and terminology, are of advantage to others they may also be of advantage to the Soviets and the Soviets may participate in developing them.

The Soviet economic role remains in essentials that of a cartel, with a profit-and-loss account calculated not in money but in power. And as has been said of governmental cartels in general, once a government forms a cartel it will pursue its objective more aggressively and more ruthlessly than any private enterprise.

The fact that the Soviet is only a first consideration, and not the only one in the strategy of revolution, is demonstrated time and again, when the aims of trade are visibly a political effect to be gained in the other trading country. Shipments of Russian wheat in 1945 and since then have been clearly directed by political considerations. At this point the Soviet takes on the role of an accessory to the Communist drive in outside countries.

The role of the foreign Communist parties has economic aspects also. Special care is expended to develop the Communist movement in strategically important countries. *Special care is expended within countries to seek control of labor in key industries*—industries rated as of special importance either in potential for war, or of especial disruptive importance.

LABOR AND ECONOMIC TACTICS

Communist activities in all industries and in all countries is very heavily overlaid by apparent concern for the welfare of the worker, for better wages and better conditions of labor. These goals are inherent in the whole of the labor tradition of which Communist proletarian preachings are a branch. But, since the Communists reject all hope of real reform without revolution, their advocacy of these goals lacks certain restraining elements that affect any nonrevolutionary labor leadership. This is most conspicuous under inflationary conditions, where Communists have no thought of any solution but higher wages, no matter how many times the inflationary cycle has already revolved. *They expect a smash, and lack any impulse to avoid it.* This has been apparent in

almost all non-Communist countries recently, but especially in France and Italy and the United States.

Short of the tactics of inflation or of revolution they simply seek positions of maximum advantage through the technique of infiltration, using their disciplined minority and technical skills to control unions as groups within which to carry on propaganda activities.

The immediate advantages are two: The direct indoctrination and recruitment that can be accomplished, and the swinging of the whole group on particular issues, to vote or to use its strength in other ways for Communist or Soviet advantage on political issues. *The ability to slant the support of a group in favor of the Communist choice among non-Communist parties may be a very powerful means of influence in realms of politics where Communist influence seems quite remote.*

When the situation reaches a stage where a drive for power may be feasible, economic weapons play a quite different role. Then the policy of wrecking the existing economy by constantly rising wages becomes intensified, and finds its complement in the checking of production through strikes. *Then the policy of concentration on key industries pays off, for strikes in coal mines and on the railroads cause production losses far beyond the sector of the economy in which organization has to meet the test and strain of striking.* If the production losses can accelerate inflation, permitting a resort to new wage demands in other industries, the Communist-influenced labor front may advance in echelon toward the economic and political smash-up. Then can come the "revolution"—that is, a coup d'état by the professional party leaders, with all elements of popular spontaneity under careful control.

The economic tactics in non-Communist countries have three main phases, of which the mildest is infiltration under normal conditions, the next more intensive is the drive toward inflation, and the last is a general tie-up preparatory to seizing power.

In none of these stages are their economic forces left to fend for themselves. Any effort to ameliorate economic conditions through the cooperation of non-Communist countries is decried by Soviet and world Communist propaganda as an imperialist alinement. The slogan of "sovereignty" can play a role in economic developments as well as in political tactics. Capital formation, though far lower in rate than in the Soviet Union, is denounced as too high a level of profits.

Soviet diplomacy can move to assist local Communism in its economic struggles by embarrassing the non-Communist government, and Soviet trade policy can add its contribution either to further disturb an economy in need of commodity imports, or to grant them for political advantage. And the new development of a complex of Communist states instead of a single one will permit a new flexibility, whereby the several Communist countries can divide the labor of disturbance of other European economies through economic warfare. *The Cominform, in Belgrade instead of in Moscow, can shield the Soviet Foreign Office from the protests of foreign governments.*

F. COMBINED TACTICS

Communist tactics include several different kinds of tactics, such as economic and political. But these make up a single broad set of tactics, of wide variety, understood by them as serving a single goal.

There are four different planes on which they can vary, and each of these offers choices for Communist policy.

First, there is the choice of defensive or offensive tactics according to the prevailing situation. This is the basis for the great periods of Communist defensive or offensive policy from 1917 to the present.

Second, there is the series of zones, with its center in the heart of the Soviet Union, requiring the adaptation of tactics to both the needs and the possibilities of each area, in terms of geographic remoteness, strategic remoteness, and political remoteness.

Third, there is the range of choice between economic, political, and psychological or propaganda weapons and methods.

Fourth, there is the range of choice among various available agents, from the Red Army and the Soviet Foreign Office, through the satellite governments to the Communist parties in non-Communist countries.

This combination involves nothing more complicated than, for example, the tactics of amphibious warfare, or the plane-tank-infantry team of the modern war of movement on land. The practice of combined tactics in cold warfare was demonstrated for several years by Hitler, to great effect, and his final defeat does not at all change the fact that he gained successes through his combined tactics that contributed enormously to his power. The lesson of history is plain: That there can be a tactic that combines consideration of when to stand still and when to attack, with a recognition of geopolitical factors, and with a free-handed adaptability in use of economic, political, and psychological weapons, and with the use of the central power of a government supported by satellites and "fifth columns."

Obviously no such system of tactics can exist unless there are clearly understood goals, a clear sense of which available assets are more expendable than others, a common knowledge of the effects that can be gained by each available weapon, over-all control of the basic strategy of offense and defense, and good communications.

This means teamwork. And teamwork is not a requirement which the Communists lack. It is only another name for the "iron discipline" that Lenin demanded and knew how to create. The most obvious basis of high-grade teamwork among Communists is in the rules of "democratic centralization." If there is no more discussion, but unanimous obedience after a decision, then teamwork of course follows. But to have such a system, and not to lose large minorities after every decision that involves any controversy, means a considerable degree of morale and loyalty.

WHY COMMUNISTS ACT ALIKE

There are some features of communism that lead to similar behavior by Communists everywhere. A Communist in Borneo or in Alaska will try to "organize the unorganized" if he can find any unorganized labor to work on. That is as simple a consequence of the Communist creed as going to church on Sunday is for Christians. A common faith refreshed from common books is sufficient to maintain such a pattern of similar behavior. *But teamwork is something else than merely similar behavior; it is dissimilar behavior for a common purpose.* Teamwork requires a shared purpose, but it also requires constant communication, signals, and organization in terms of authority, assignments, and specific training.

All of these things the Communists have. Their leading personnel, the kind of members who are on the executive committees of national parties, have had very severe training. They have studied theories, and they have discussed them. For years they have been through the mill of party debate about how to work out the right tactics for new situations. *Their knowledge is professional in intensity, and as integrated to practice as medical or engineering knowledge.*

Now, if one found that a lot of good civil engineers could get together to build a dam or a TVA, and that each would understand what the other said, and know how to divide the job into assignments and each do his part, it would be not at all surprising. They have a common theoretical and practical training. *So have the Communists!*

Or if one looks at a historical case, such as the Crusades or early Islam, or the religious wars in Europe a few centuries ago, or any modern nationalist movement, one finds one is dealing with the power of a common emotional fanaticism. *Communists have such fanaticism!*

Or if one views the conduct of war by the Germans, with the planning of campaigns through a general staff according to strategic principles and tactical principles worked out in advance but adapted constantly to changing circumstances, or the conduct of war by the American Joint Chiefs of Staff in the last war, one finds one is dealing with an organization working in terms of common rules of how to get things done, a common sense of the objective and of how to use the means on hand to accomplish the end. The great military organizations have a general staff at the center to coordinate the actions of every part of the army. *So have the Communists!*

They have professional leadership, emotional faith, and a general staff type of control. The professional training is based on the study of many textbooks for the Communists—theoretical, perhaps, but such theory as can be applied to action. They are no more theoretical to Communists than a law text to a lawyer, or a medical text to a doctor.

(See Pages 80, 149 to 256 for the specific texts, also Pages 615-636.)

The general staff organization, developed in the Comintern with its staff school in the Marx-Lenin Institute at Moscow, though truncated from 1943 to 1947, has been revived fully for the critical sector of Europe by the creation of the Cominform. *Let there be no doubt, then, that they are equipped by training and organization to conduct a combined strategy and tactics in a systematic and coordinated manner.*

The maintenance of identical professional standards rests upon factors as obvious and simple as those of any other profession. They hold conventions, and they have professional journals, they hear speeches by outstanding professional leaders, and they use such open channels of communication as the world press.

When a local party, such as the party in the United States, shows signs of difficulty in accepting a new turn of strategy, they can send a "big shot" like Duclos, from France, to lay down the logic of the new line, and support an Eisler who may not be imposing enough to accomplish it. *When they find that some of the comrades will not conform to the line, they cut them off, almost in the manner of a disbarment proceeding for lawyers who transgress the standards of the bar.*

While there was no Comintern from 1943 to 1947, the coordination of action in all countries was affected through liaison rather than through

direct joint staff activities. For the period concerned liaison through NKVD agents or others was quite adequate. There was no perceptible confusion in negotiating the left turn executed in 1945 and 1946, beyond the scattering of comrades who could not follow the signals, and this was a normal feature of all such swings. The more intensive campaigning of 1947 to 1949, however, require a very close planning and very fine synchronizing of activity in various countries. Also the time had come for the movements in the new Communist countries, depending upon the energies of local nationalism for part of their power and drive, to be brought more into harness, to pull together rather than against each other. *The advantages of having them legally independent would be lost if they became independent in any other sense. So the Cominform was set up.*

COMMUNIST TACTICAL FLEXIBILITY

The advantages of all this to the Communists are many. *It is extraordinarily easy to outmaneuver the opposition if one has a more flexible but well-coordinated system of tactics.* Consider the way in which the Germans baffled an equally large army of French and British in 1940 as a case in point.

The Communists, when they find a political move countered and stopped by a countermove in politics, shift into economic or propaganda activities. When a move in one area, say Iran or Greece, is blocked, their next move is in Germany, or Turkestan, or Korea. When the Soviet is blocked the play may be taken up by satellite governments, or by the parties in non-Communist countries.

Each branch of their tactics is as highly developed as is the system of coordination between them. They have experts in the conduct of work in trade-unions in advanced industries, as in the United States or Germany, and experts in work in backward and colonial areas. They have American specialists and Asiatic specialists. And they have psychological tactics as elaborate as those used by the late Dr. Goebbels, economic tactics that lack nothing known to the Nazis, and political tactics for the coup d'état stage of politics that were the basis of Hitler's technique in 1933.

They have fully assimilated everything new and effective from the last 15 years of political violence. This gives them an advantage like the temporary advantage of the Nazis. None of their weapons is inimitable. *But until the opposition accepts the logic of the game as they play it, and learns the matching system of defense, they enjoy a sort of monopoly.*

In addition they hold the assets that were discussed under the heading of foreign policy above. They have the veto in the United Nations, and the effect is that there is no international organization that can act against them without extremely difficult procedures.

They hold a strangle hold on Germany, not the control they would like to have, but enough to make any development of Germany adverse to them extraordinarily difficult. And they hold positions in the Far East that give them strategic advantages. Also there is real distress, disillusionment, and political disorder in much of the world, and they stand, apparently strong and confident, and ready with an assured remedy for every ill.

Much of the world is afraid that there may be another depression, as the Communists predict. After all, no non-Communist government is

being run on principles that have stood the test of preventing a depression long enough to be convincing. *If we now have such principles, we have still to test them. So, whether or not we can do it, the Communists have, for the time being, the advantage of the doubts that persist, because it has not yet been proved that we can avoid depression.*

(See also, *The Domestic Situation*, Pages 84 to 128.)

RED TACTICAL WEAKNESSES

With all these advantages of their tactics, and the advantages they hold in terms of positions from which to use their tactics, they also have tactical weaknesses.

Even for those who doubt that the non-Communist democracies can survive, the Communist outline of the remedy is not attractive. It leads through violence and dictatorship to whatever future it may have. The Communists promise only for the remote future the economic welfare that many non-Communist countries already enjoy, and only for a still more remote future the chance to enjoy freedom and self-direction.

The strain imposed on Communists themselves by the tight discipline and radical shifts of policy and tactics have high costs. The doctrine that the end justifies the means runs out into a revolt of the means against the ends, when the means are human beings.

There has been a constant loss of people, including the central professional type. Trotsky was the most famous, but Lovestone, Gitlow, Budenz, and Browder are other examples from the party in the United States, and Kravchenko, Barmine, and others can be mentioned from the Soviet system.

The number of desertions from the Red Army in Europe has been high, and has been much publicized, though no precise data are available in the nature of the case.

Labor in many countries has shown signs of rebellion against Communist leadership, when the inflation lesson has exhausted the hope that one more raise can remedy the rising cost of living.

National opposition groups have developed or hung on in areas under Communist control, where the price of Communism has been too high and where nationalism is the only available channel around which to organize an opposition, as in the Ukraine or Hungary.

The weaknesses that result from the too strenuous demands of Communism upon its followers are apparent in some features of their tactics that exist only to cover these weaknesses. The Iron Curtain would have no purpose if the peoples behind it were immune to what might come through it.

The police state would be unnecessary if opposition were not spontaneous and chronic. Purges of the party, and mass transfers of populations would not occur where dissent was not bred by the automatic effect of the system upon the people who have to live in it.

There are human and material shortages that prevent the full exploitation of the positions already held, or prevent the full support of external Communism by the Soviets, or of the Soviets by the foreign Communists. These shortages bear fruit in the satellite countries in the immediate grasping self-advancement of Communists in power, and the impossibility of purging the grafters for lack of replacements.

Finally the system of tactics, by itself, imposes costs that cannot be met. Communism for two generations has been degenerating from a theory of history, and a dream of human betterment, into a technique for power. The revolution as the dominant element, the controlling concept, permits the deterioration of the whole system into a drive for power. There may be flexibility at the tactical level, but this very flexibility requires a degree of training, of detailed expert mastery on the level of means that inhibits the development of mastery on the level of ends. The end has become a dogma, and if that dogma is wrong the whole technique of the means is wrong too.

They pretend that Marxism is a science. But they are inflexible and dogmatic at the fundamental level where science is flexible, the level of most fundamental theory. Physics is a science, in which the ideas of Newton were upset in theory by Einstein before they were upset in practice by the atom bomb. *Communism is no science, for it refuses to admit that its starting point in the Communist Manifesto is unchallenged and unchallengeable.* It rests on the assertion of faith, and the strains produced by experience that contradicts the faith have grown and are continuing to grow.

These weaknesses will be felt over the long pull, but they do not show up in the details of action. A skillful army may win a lot of skirmishes, even in a losing battle.

From the point of view of immediate results, Communist tactics are good. They use local resources in many areas where they can be checked only by committing a part of our main strength. The Communist threat to Greece, for example, probably costs the Soviet absolutely nothing, while to counter it has cost us a material outlay running to \$300,000,000.

The Communists can act in France or Italy or the Ruhr at no cost to Moscow, but to meet them may cost us, by present estimates, \$6,800,000,000 for 15 months. And as they threaten one front after another, and we cover their threats with our countermoves, they have yet other fronts to which they can turn.

This is the great significance and the great advantage of their four planes of choice, the basis of the variety and resourcefulness of their tactics. But the limits of this variety and resourcefulness and the means to meet it, provide heartening answers to the threat of Communist totalitarianism.

IV. THE APPROACH TO COUNTERACTION

A. OUR PROBLEM

For the Communists the present world situation is the continuation of a long succession of events. They have, they believe, predicted these events, and they have played, they think, a rational role based on understanding and expectation.

Their movement has been based on the expectation of great wars and revolutions growing out of the explosive forces generated in modern society. Their movement has grown in a hundred years from a trickle to a flood. Its growth has accelerated in the last 30 years, first through the capture of power in Russia, then through the building of the might of the Soviet system, then through the fruits of victory in war. And it has

grown in relative power even faster than in absolute power, for the breaking of nations in two world wars has left the Soviet power as one of only two great centers of political power in the world.

Today they see the whole process on the brink of its final culmination. Between them and the United States lie broad areas of cracked and repaired but shaky political structures, under severe economic and political strains. *We are the only power with strength to spare to prop the weak, and that power, as they see it, is liable to have its own troubles with an economic crash, and soon.* Short of running any decisive risk, they know and have announced their own solution to the problem of the present.

For us the situation is radically different. We cannot claim to have expected the present situation, for only two or three years ago we ignored it and denied it. How to face it is therefore a very different problem for us than it is for them.

Where they have only to follow the book, we have to adapt ourselves. We have to learn to recognize and identify the key elements in the problem, assess our own means, and devise methods by which to apply our available resources. We have to take account of stock in a situation we did not anticipate. They have kept a running account in their own terms, and think they know exactly where they stand.

In taking account of stock we can begin by examining the immediate weaknesses and disadvantages of our position. We can then examine our general position in our own terms, and in their terms, and measure our strength to meet the situation. On that basis we can perhaps set ourselves some practical rules on what is to be done.

B. OUR HANDICAPS

The first category of handicaps under which we find ourselves is the same as a list of their recent gains. We granted to them, in that remote but recent era of the alliance, the veto in the United Nations, the hold upon Germany under the Potsdam agreement, and the opportunity to introduce the "new democracy" in eastern Europe. We also induced them to intervene in eastern Asia, with great benefit to their side of the balance and damage to our side.

These things leave us unable to use instruments that should have been available for the projects of reconstruction, and blocked from any action in areas upon which other areas are partially dependent. We lost these assets through agreements that were final as soon as they were made so far as concerned what we granted. They were subject to future delivery dependent on good will, for the return benefit to us. The results were summed up by Senator Vandenberg when he said:

Too many words, as at Yalta and Potsdam, and in Poland at this very hour, have been distorted of all pretense of integrity. (Senator Vandenberg, speech at Grand Rapids, Mich., March 8, 1947.)

The next category of our handicaps is the reverse side of their present opportunities. Much of the world is in distress or disorder or both. Much of the world, while reluctant to accept Communism, is at best dubious about the prospect of stability under non-Communist auspices. They saw the United States blunder into the world depression, and they know no proof as yet that we are not subject to a repetition.

Anti-Communist morale is low. It may be high in certain places or circles, and it may be higher in many places than a year ago; but by comparison with what it once was, or what it would have to be for reconstruction to be called a success, it is low. There are unsolved economic and political problems of vast scope, and for some of them we have not yet pretended to offer solutions. Mr. Byrnes put it succinctly when he said:

If we regard Europe as the tinderbox of possible world conflagration, we must look upon Asia as a great smoldering fire. (*Speaking Frankly*, p. 204.)

The fact that we are handicapped today by reason of our own past mistakes points the finger to weaknesses in our way of conducting our own business at home.

Our agencies of Government that make policy have been too obviously hampered by conflicts of principle within their own ranks. Wrong policies are wrong either because they are made by officials whose ideas are wrong, or they are wrong because they reflect compromise of the bad sort after internecine struggle. Ours have been neither as right as they should be, nor as clear. This lack of clarity has extended of course to relations between the branches of Government, and the Congress has exhibited at times the skepticism that is inevitable when the case as presented is not clear and candid and consistent. When inconsistency has been necessary, as it must be in a time of transition, explanations and the fullest possible presentation are called for and must be forthcoming.

Insofar as communications between the Government and the Congress have left something to be desired, so have communications between the Government and the public. No democracy can act firmly, with the courage of its own convictions, unless the people know what it is about. A government that tries to correct its past mistakes, without admitting that it ever made any, cannot quite succeed at the same time in reducing confusion. And public confusion is a real handicap in our kind of system.

C. THE LINE OF LEAST RESISTANCE

Our handicaps, our partial confusion, and the disillusionment of facing an unpleasant situation on the heels of a romantic dream of peace, are enough to account for the desire of some to extend the dream. This is an easy thing to do.

We could have some time yet of entirely sweet relations with world Communism, if we took no measures to block its aims. We could extend that time without limit by the simple device of turning Communist en masse. But even people in misery and danger do not do that.

Granting concessions to an antagonist is not always wrong. Disraeli granted concessions to Bismarck, and gained a peace. One can grant concessions even to an overt enemy, without betraying oneself, if one gets a fair bargain. And one can yield to an enemy what one cannot practically withhold, and not regret it later.

But the things we want from the Soviets today are major things, stabilization of the world and an acceptance of the possibility of peace. What have we to offer? We have already given them what they thought was enough to assure their position; we do not still have those things to give.

The stakes now in play include all the areas that are not settled as areas for their system to control or ours. These areas would settle the issue of power once and for all. The only concessions we can make now that would buy immediate peace involve these areas. They are not fools. They think they will win their bets, and they will not sell for any discount. *And the price is just too big to concede.*

We have granted all that can be granted without giving away what would be decisive. When we did it we thought we were setting the foundations of trust and neighborly relations. We have found that we only gave them the means and opportunity to grasp for more. *Now the issue is how to recover from that disadvantage, not how to add enough price to buy the original article.*

In the past we have granted to the Soviets concessions in terms of power and position that are of the highest degree of importance. We did so in the agreements concerning the veto in the Security Council, and in the agreements concerning Germany and the Far East. These were very great concessions made in hope of appeasement. They did not have the anticipated effect. We have reached the end of such a policy. There are no more comparable concessions that could be made without fatally weakening our own position.

This does not mean that we must no longer bargain with them. We should bargain with them on practical terms of mutual advantage whenever occasion arises. But we cannot afford to regard them as distrustful children who need a demonstration of our kindness in order to be reassured. They are distrustful, but they are not children.

D. OUR CASE IN THEIR LANGUAGE

An assessment of the world situation today has been laid out, as they see it, in some of the major statements of Communist authorities since the war. The situation as seen from our point of view has not lacked for eloquent statement in recent times also. But the differences between the two styles of thought and expression leave it far from clear just what the differences are. *An effort to state our case in their terms may clarify some of the issues.*

To begin with we can take the major Communist assertions about the condition of the United States today, its place in history, the logic of its development and its coming fate, and see how they apply and to whom they apply most.

(a) *According to the Communists we are the prime embodiment of the capitalist system.*

What they mean by this has been discussed above, in particular the deprivation of the producing class of the fruits of production. If there is any country in the world of which this is more true than of any other today it is not, however, the United States but the Soviet Union. And at the same time there is no country in the world where labor gains the benefit of high production so much as in the United States.

(b) *They charge us with being in the monopoly and imperialist phase of capitalism.*

Yet they maintain a foreign trade monopoly and we do not. They have monopolies in every major industry and we in none.

(c) *They claim that labor is exploited in our system.*

But it is they, not we, who use the slave labor of millions on political grounds (See Communism in Action, H. Doc. No. 754, 79th Cong., ch. V), plus the slave labor of war prisoners by the hundreds of thousands.

(d) *They claim that our trade-unions are a false front, designed to betray the interests of labor, and covertly under capitalist control.*

But it is their unions that are iron-bound organs for state control, with strikes prohibited, used only as instruments to prevent labor from seeking justice.

(e) *They hold that we have a vast spread between the rich and the poor.*

But their army has a wider range of pay than ours, and the general wage spread in the Soviet has increased while ours has decreased (Communism in Action, ch. IV).

(f) *They claim that our form of Democracy is a sham and theirs is the true one.*

But in ours the party in power can lose an election, voters can shift their allegiance, new parties can be organized. What they call democracy involves a vote of more than 99 percent for the party in power, with no criticism of policy. Lenin once quoted Engels to the effect that when the state withers away:

The authority of the Government over persons will be replaced by the administration of things and the direction of the processes of production.

In no country in the world is there a closer approach to this than in the United States, except that our Government does not direct production. In no country in the world today is there such a high degree of authority over persons as in the Soviet.

(g) *The Communists hold that our parties mislead and deceive the voters.*

No party in the United States has ever deceived all the voters if it deceived any of them. The single party in the Soviet enjoys unchallenged monopoly of the art of deception.

(h) *The Communists declare that the capitalist press is the corrupt instrument of capitalist controlled propaganda.*

There has been much discussion on this issue in recent years. The Communist point of view was stated by N. Baltisky in *War and the Working Class*, in an article that was reprinted in the *Washington Post* of January 25, 1945. This article was an answer to the arguments put forward by Mr. Kent Cooper of the Associated Press. The text of the Stalin-Stassen interview, published in the *New York Times* for April 15, 1947, also had much to say on the subject of press freedom. The simple fact that the Communist side of the case can be covered by citations to the American press should make further comment unnecessary. But it may be added that their theory of the party and of democratic centralization provides a role for agitation and propaganda, "agitprop" in their vocabulary, but no role for freedom of information.

(i) *They hold that corruption is characteristic of our system, and cite our prolific scandals in evidence.*

But scandal as such depends upon standards of public behavior, and scandal is rarest just where corruption has become the rule instead of the exception. Corruption is, in the nature of the case, an impossible subject on which to make accurate comparisons. The existence of corruption in the Soviet is not unheard of however, and standards of public honesty in the United States have made enormous progress. The evolution of their tactics on the basis that "the end justifies the means," is really a sort of systematic universal corruption, instituted and legitimized.

(j) *They call us reactionary.*

Yet we are the land of maximum progress toward freedom and welfare for all, and the Soviets the land of maximum reassertion of the ancient characteristics of tyranny. Their thinking rejects the possibility of peace while ours asserts it, and theirs rejects the capacity of freemen for self-direction while ours asserts it. Their eminent journalist, Ilya Ehrenburg, some 20 years ago wrote a fine chapter in a novel, in which he drew a parallel between a Bolshevik commissar and the grand inquisitor of Dostoevsky's fable, told in *The Brothers Karamazov*. No account has been publicly given of how Ehrenburg made his peace with the commissars, but his original viewpoint, in contrast with his present career, throws light on both the character of the Soviet system with its reactionary rejection of freedom, and on the meaning of integrity and of careerism in the Soviet press.

(k) *According to Marx and his followers the capitalist class are too hide-bound, and too limited in vision by their own special interests, to see the necessary way out of the contradictions of capitalism into a system where production will be unimpeded.*

Both production and democracy in the United States have been less hide-bound than anywhere else. And in the Soviet, while production has grown it has grown only for the power of the state, and democracy in the sense of freedom has not grown at all.

(l) *The Communists hold that we are doomed to suffer another great economic crisis.*

It is too early yet to claim that we have proved the expectation false. If we can prove that it is false we will have to go on proving it for a long time to come. But we have already gone past the time when they expected it. Meanwhile they are set in a condition called permanent revolution in their theories. This is not precisely the same as an economic depression, but it is a condition requiring dictatorial controls, the sacrifice of welfare for capital formation, the maintenance of an Iron Curtain, agitation and propaganda instead of a free press. Permanent revolution is only another way of saying that they live permanently with the conditions that we know only as the consequences of depression.

(m) *They denounce us for economic imperialism.*

Meanwhile we have given freedom to the Philippines, and our imperialist partner, Britain, has granted freedom to more people than any conqueror ever conquered. The United States has freely given away

more than the amount of foreign investments ever held by any imperialist power. And the Soviets have grasped every economic means to exploit territories under complete or partial control.

(n) *They equally denounce our political imperialism.*

But it is we who aid others, not to become "Yankee stooges" but to get on their feet and be themselves, and it is they who can tolerate no independent power whatever except for the time being and pending the "inevitable conflict."

(o) *They call us "war mongers."*

But it is we who have believed that there need not be another war, and we who are disillusioned at the prospect of preventing one, now that the difficulties are apparent. And it is they who lay down as fundamental doctrine that there must be a final ghastly struggle.

(p) *They accuse the capitalist world of resorting to terrorism against the challenge of revolution.*

The roots of Communist terror may originate in Communism or in Russian brutality. Russia never went through the historical development of humanitarianism that has reduced brutality in western countries. But this question need not be settled here. The modern classic on terrorism is Trotsky's *Defense of Terrorism*. He was a Bolshevik in good standing when he wrote it, and for years afterward. How much the Hitler terror owed to lessons from the Communists is a story not yet told, though many scraps of evidence have been published.

(q) *They regard us as "hard to get along with," and attribute this naturally to our capitalist-imperialist designs.*

An opinion on the subject has been expressed by a source with which few will choose to differ. Mrs. F. D. Roosevelt, in her column in the *Washington Daily News* for January 3, 1948, said:

I do not think we have always been wise or tactful in our approach to the Government of the U.S.S.R., but basically we have been the ones to make the constructive offers and they have been the ones to refuse.

(r) *Their general charges against any idea of hope or successful reform in our system, are variations on the old charge that all such hopes offer the workers "pie in the sky."*

But if conditions for labor in the United States today are "pie in the sky" or if recovery in other countries by immediate American aid is so described, what figure of speech can be devised to cover the withering away of the state only after a world proletarian dictatorship, which will not begin until after one more great holocaust of war, which may itself not occur until after three or four more 5-year plans have armed the Soviet, as prescribed by Stalin?

Such a catalog of Communist charges and answers may not be conclusive on each single point, but its general weight suggests a sharp discrepancy between the Communist mythology and the facts.

A direct approach to the questions that this raises may be made through an examination of Stalin's list of the three great "contradictions" of capitalism, quoted above on Page 21.

These contradictions are the one between the capitalist class and the working class within a capitalist country, the one between the competing

imperialist nations, and the one between the imperialist nations and the subject peoples.

Now the Communist idea of the post-revolutionary condition of human life on this planet may be defined as one in which these contradictions have been removed. If we were to add anything, it might be that after the revolution production will be freed of the restraints imposed by the profit system.

So far as the first contradiction goes, the working class in the United States, while not finally and forever satisfied now enjoys life in a system that gives the average worker a heavily larger share of the benefits of production than is true in the Soviet; and the largest share of production ever known in history. *Marx included in his original theory of capitalism the conclusion that the rich must get richer and the poor poorer until the revolution. Under rising wage standards, and with graduated income and inheritance taxes, just the opposite has occurred.*

As for the second contradiction, and the third one, both have been succeeded by the present tendency toward the granting of freedom to former colonial areas.

The United States has played a small part in this for the simple reason that it has had but few colonies to turn loose.

But Britain has spent a century in freeing her dominions from colonial status, and has now extended the process to India and Burma. The "imperialist powers" are loyal participants in the United Nations, where such a case as that of Indonesia can be heard and dealt with, not to immediate and total satisfaction, but at least not conforming to imperialist tradition.

THE FREEDOM QUESTION

The relative freedom of nations in our system or theirs is explicit in their own argument. As long as ours endures, they themselves expect wars between the capitalist nations. On their side they assume a monolithic bloc. *It is clear from this that the preservation of free states by our aid, would not necessarily nor probably mean an anti-Soviet bloc, while any group under their auspices could not fail to be an alliance designed for world revolution and war.*

All of this suggests the novel idea that we have evolved solutions for the causes of the revolution, that we are now postrevolutionary in character, not prerevolutionary.

An examination of the history of Communism on the one hand and of the advanced nations on the other, throws additional light on this point.

Communism was initially based upon observations made by Marx and Engels of the most advanced industrial nations in the mid-nineteenth century. It found its first practical application in Russia in 1917, a country at that time intermediate in industrial development.

Lenin and Stalin have found adequate explanations for the occurrence of the revolution in Russia rather than in any of the more advanced countries. What they failed to notice was that the very ease with which they found the explanation suggested that there might be good reasons why the revolution did not come in the advanced countries. The advanced countries were in fact not so close to revolution as they had been in the time of Marx and Engels. The revolution had receded instead of approaching.

Set this against later experience in the advanced countries. In 1922 in Italy Mussolini came to power, and the Communists have ever since considered this an exhibit of the last form of capitalist resistance to the revolution. Yet even with Mussolini gone the proletarian revolution has not occurred in Italy.

In 1933 Hitler came to power in Germany. In the same period Austria evolved a curious breed of government sometimes called "clerical fascism." These forms, as is now evident, were not the last stage of capitalism before the revolution. Hitler's dictatorship was far more like the Jacobin dictatorship of the French Revolution than any other counterpart. These occurrences, whatever their nature may have been, were occurrences unknown to and unaccountable for by any theories of Marxism. They were events that could occur only in countries more advanced than anything Marxism could deal with. This strengthens the suggestion that the advance of economics and politics has simply passed by and beyond the conditions for which Marxism is pertinent.

The case of the United States expressed in Marxist terms would be somewhat as follows: The United States has passed through and beyond the capitalist system as described by Marxism. The contradictions of capitalism have been eliminated, or are on the way to elimination through genuine and adequate remedies. The United States is post-, not pre-revolutionary, in character.

The problem of world organization is therefore actually soluble without a further stage of revolution. "The United States of Europe" or the same thing in effect, is neither reactionary nor impossible.

The rationality of freemen, self-directed, is still superior to the rationality of a rigid theory and a disciplined organization. It has solved and is solving the problems that Communism holds are soluble only through and after violent revolution.

The anarchy of the system of sixty-odd nation states is evolving into international cooperation.

The rich are not getting richer and the poor poorer. Production is not impeded by capitalism, and the worker gets a much larger share of the product in the United States than in the Soviet.

It is Communism which antedates in character the American Revolution, and is obsolete. The United States does not antedate the Russian Revolution, and is not obsolete. *It is the United States today that represents most nearly the conditions laid down, even by the Communists, as conditions to be achieved after the revolution. Our present objective must be to fulfill this promise.*

E. NEGATIVE COUNTERMEASURES

The first conclusion to be drawn from the strategy and tactics of world Communism is that we have to do something about them.

Whether the revolution is inevitable or not, their ability to disturb and disrupt is such that they might make a revolutionary smashup unavoidable.

To prevent this, to make sure that there will not be another world war and a violent world revolution if it is humanly avoidable, requires that the non-Communist world have the chance to prove itself. In order to do so it must be insulated against Communist tactics. Communist action will increase the economic and social strains in non-Communist

countries, and if they have free opportunity to do so there may be a catastrophe that would not have occurred without them.

In order to take protective measures we must be clear about what part of the world must be protected. A positive goal of economic stabilization, international collaboration, and peace cannot be worked out by each nation for itself. All are dependent in large degree upon the iron necessities of material requirements. Modern industry and modern civilization cannot exist without materials that are found in no one country. The abolition of the causes of war cannot go on in each country by itself.

Certain areas must be included in the non-Communist world if that world is to try the experiment of proving that it is past the stage of world revolution.

Some of these, such as the Near East must be included because they have necessary materials. The oil of the Near East is indispensable to the energy and power basis of civilization in the non-Communist world.

Others must be included, because their human resources, in numbers and skills, are such that if they passed from one side to the other there would be a great increase in the Communist power to hamper the stability of our side, and a great decrease in the power of resistance on our side. Such countries as France and Italy and Germany and China must be included on this account.

This means that the area within which an experiment, to prove that war and revolution are obsolete, can be conducted with hope of success is approximately the same as the present non-Communist world.

Within this non-Communist area, the all-important measures will be the positive ones. But the positive ones cannot be carried on unless Communist sabotage and interference is fended off. In order to fend them off, the following measures are needed.

First. We must analyze Communism more thoroughly than in the past, and this study of Communism must not be only by specialists on the subject, but must be clearly expressed in terms that can reach the democratic peoples of the world.

The fact that Communists do not believe in peace, nor in economic recovery, and that their hopes are only for chaos and dictatorship must be clearly seen by all. The fact that sincere cooperation for our goals is impossible must be put beyond dispute.

Second. We must deny the Communists any favors or special opportunities to practice their infiltration tactics.

This does not mean that we must seriously modify our own constitutional system, nor that we can build an absolute Chinese wall against them, but it does mean that we must reduce their opportunities to cut or cross the wires of our system. While we should not deny them the rights of all men under our Constitution, it is hardly consistent with our security, nor required by our conception of rights, to permit them to hold positions in Government departments.

Third. Certain measures of political defense must be taken in many non-Communist countries.

Ultrademocratic features, such as proportional representation and supreme power in the hands of the legislature alone, play into the hands of the Communists. The United States cannot by itself control these matters in other countries, but it can at least lend a more sympathetic

and understanding support to measures for stronger democratic government, and a less sympathetic support for the ultrademocratic tactics of Communism than in the past.

Fourth. Measures of economic defense are needed, by the United States and by all other non-Communist countries.

These must not slide into the naive solution of barring all trade with the Soviets.

But trade with the Soviets should be placed and kept on a basis of even advantage to both sides, and an equal respect for obligations. *Contracts that transfer industrial knowledge should be screened with particular care.* Aid and loans to governments that have not met international obligations within the plain meaning of the words of such agreements should not be made without substantial considerations granted by the recipients. In general, the conduct of all economic relations with the Communist-controlled countries should be designed for equal benefit in all cases, and a balance of benefit to them in none.

Fifth. Our propaganda to the Communist-controlled countries should not be conducted on the defensive.

We should tell them that we are more advanced than they are, that we are already postrevolutionary, that we promise peace, not war, while they can only promise war, not peace. We should emphasize every success as a success toward the fulfillment of this promise.

Sixth. We must avoid a drift into recrimination and abuse.

It may be that neither side really knows what the world situation today means, that neither one can penetrate the mystery of present development. In that case war may of course be expected as a feature of life in the future as in the past. But to accept this is to accept their doctrine about us, for that is just what they believe about us. And if they are right about that we have no case against them. Our argument is that we do have a case against them. That case calls for mastery, not for drift, and recrimination is a form of drift.

Seventh. If we succeed in the only kind of project that can make positive sense, one of the accompaniments will be a new turn of Communist policy from a radical offensive drive to a moderate defensive policy.

When we have brought them to such a turn we will have gained time. It must then be one of our incidental aims to keep them from ever turning back to the offensive. But that aim will be a byproduct of our positive actions, not of our negative ones.

F. POSITIVE COUNTERMEASURES

Former Secretary of State Byrnes uses a quotation from Lincoln at the opening of his recent book that deserves emphasis in the United States today. "If we could first know where we are, and whither we are tending, we could better judge what to do and how to do it." We have not known clearly in recent years where we were in relation to Communism, nor whither we were tending in relation to Communism, and we have in consequence not known very well what to do nor how to do it.

The first and most indispensable thing we have to do is to keep our economy on an even keel, and go forward without a depression.

We need not totally abolish all signs of the old "business cycle"; economic fluctuations of moderate scale can, and even should, remain a

part of our system and of its superior flexibility. But if we have one more real smash it may shift the scales of power beyond repair. If we have any faith that we are right and they wrong, this is the most immediate test our faith must meet, and faith can meet it only with intelligence.

Second, we must clarify our own argument.

One factor in the weakness of morale in the non-Communist world, and in the strength of morale in the Communist world, is the clarity of their ideas and the vagueness of ours. This does not mean that we must have as neat a cut-glass theory as theirs. But that ours has been unnecessarily vague in the past has been testified by good witnesses. Winston Churchill complained during the war, in speeches to Parliament, that the policies of the United States were not as clear as seemed desirable to him. He was echoed by Senator Vandenberg in his speech to the Senate on January 10, 1945.

Yet it cannot be denied that our Government has not spoken out—to our own people or to our allies—in any such specific fashion as have the others. It cannot be denied, as a result, that too often a grave melancholy settles upon some sectors of our people.

Actually our Government has said much of what ought to be said. But it seems to take it for granted that what has been said has been said once and for all, that the Congress and the people have memories of infinite capacity.

CLEAR POLICY MUST BE STATED

The Truman doctrine and the Marshall plan make sense as the bumper to fend off Communism on the one hand, and the positive policy of assisting in creative development in the protected area on the other. Yet official statements never attempted to make this relation clear, and public discussion went on for many months on the question of whether the two were in harmony or contradiction with each other.

President Truman made three speeches in rapid succession a year ago, at Baylor University on world trade, at Mexico on inter-American relations, and in Washington when he appealed to the Congress for aid to Greece and Turkey. These three speeches might have been placed side by side as statements on three aspects of the world situation and United States policy. If that had been done the apparently negative character of the policy on Greece and Turkey would have taken on another aspect.

We have a policy toward the United Nations, a policy of hope that it can serve greatly in the mastery of the causes of war. We have a military establishment of our own, designed to guarantee that no power will find an opportunity to start a great, aggressive war with hope of victory.

We have a policy on the international control of atomic energy, designed to place this control above the sovereignty of nations, and to make atomic energy a great factor in civilization instead of in war.

We have a policy on world trade, designed to make increasing trade a factor in economic stability and economic progress.

We have, with our near neighbors, the policy of the good neighbor designed to introduce a common means of mastering common problems, in an area where such common problems are more intense than in the world as a whole.

We have followed a policy extending loans and free gifts to countries needing aid in order to pass more quickly through the postwar adjustments of reconstruction, and in order to shorten the opportunity of Communism to take advantage of their difficulties.

We have a policy expressed in our adherence to the Bretton Woods agreements, on the World Monetary Fund and on the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, designed to afford means for stabilization and reconstruction to supplement the atrophied use of gold and to assist other means of credit.

We have been extending the good neighbor policy in many ways to all areas of Europe and Asia that show any readiness to cooperate. There is little quarrel with most of these principles of our policy taken singly. But the fact that they add up to make a program is almost unknown.

We have been forced by the events of the last two years to admit to ourselves that the Communists do not believe in the things we believe in, and cannot collaborate with us in the work of peace. This has brought us reluctantly to admit that we have ourselves a will, on our own responsibility, to safeguard the chance of the non-Communist world for peace and reconstruction. This requires, as they recognize more clearly than we do, that we also accept on our own responsibility the unavoidable position of the center of the non-Communist world, the main force, the one that must be strong if men anywhere are to be free.

In a nutshell, our objective is to prove that Lenin was wrong. He believed that there could be no solution of the faults of capitalism without violent world revolution. We have gone through two World Wars, from which Communism benefited. There are good reasons for believing that the third one need not occur, that the mastery of human affairs has reached the point where man no longer need be the passive victim of automatic forces in history.

In America today we have a freedom and a power that more and more confirm each other. This is the newest thing in the world, the first fulfillment of all the dreams of all the revolutions. It is so new that we scarcely recognize or trust it ourselves. There are those among us who deny that freedom and power can exist together, and who predict strife and conflict. The Communists, gazing through eyes covered by the horny scales of dogma, cannot see it at all. In their books it belongs to the future. But there are many signs of it in the present: American equality, and American production, and even the careless generosity of American aid to Russia in her need and beyond her need.

It was laid down in our tradition as long ago as Milton that freedom would approach the goal by the shortest route. The Communists turned their backs on this, and have postponed freedom until after power, seeking to impose truth through a system before men can be trusted to seek it. They claim that the world revolution lies in the future, and that freedom lies beyond the revolution. In those terms, our faith is that the worst of the world revolution lies in the past. The time to prove how men can live is now.

Stalin once paid us a compliment, which we may try to deserve beyond the way in which he meant it. He said:

The best antidote to revolutionary fantasy is practical work imbued with the American spirit. Such businesslike, practical endeavour is an unquenchable force, one

which recognizes no obstacles, one which, by sheer common sense, thrusts aside everything that might impede progress, one which invariably carries a thing once embarked upon to completion (even though the affair itself may seem a puny one), one without which any genuine work of construction is impossible. But the practical, businesslike American spirit is liable to degenerate into unprincipled commercialism, if it be not allied with revolutionary zeal. (Stalin, Leninism, p. 176.)

To pursue our goals with zeal but without fantasy, to be revolutionary in the sense of progress, but not in the sense of violence and turmoil, this means to accept and to use those American qualities that we have proved in the past, in which we have confidence. We have been marked by history as the only possible candidate for an important role. If we can still show the qualities of businesslike, practical endeavour and sheer common sense, with a modicum of attention to "where we are and whither we are tending," we may deserve also for this age the terms used by Milton, in his *Areopagitica*:

Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks: methinks I see her as an eagle mewing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eye at the full midday beam, purging and unscaling her long abused sight at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance, while the whole noise of timorous and mocking birds, with those also that love the twilight, flutter about, amazed at what she means, and in their envious gabble would prognosticate a year of sects and schisms.

A NEW, UNCHARTED ERA

Your committee points out, in conclusion, that the most important single fact about the entire problem of Communism is that the world is entering an entirely new period of strategy and tactics which presents broad and monumental questions for decision that are equally as perplexing to the Communist theoreticians as they are to anti-Communists.

In the entire 100 years march of world Communism, from the publication of the *Communist Manifesto* in February, 1848, to the present "cold war" between the Communist and non-Communist forces in the world, no comparable historical situation has existed.

We have shown that Communism is based on the theory that economic capitalism and parliamentary democracy are beset with basic internal contradictions and it believes these internal contradictions will lead to chaos; consequently a Marxist "scientific" interpretation of history inevitably demands that Communists seek to destroy economic capitalism and parliamentary democracy to impose a dictatorship of the proletariat (the working class) over all other classes to solve the chaos resulting from these contradictions.

We on the anti-Communist side, however, believe that freedom and liberty, for which mankind has struggled upward from slavery through the centuries, provide the indispensable atmosphere in which the conflicts and contradictions of any society may be solved peacefully for the benefit of all mankind.

Careful study reveals that history and time are forcing world Communism into new and uncharted fields of activity in which Communism is encountering contradictions of its own that place the whole "cold war" situation in a new perspective.

Your committee has presented herewith an analysis of the broad outlines of this world situation, and we call attention to the inescapable fact that the future of humanity for centuries to come will be determined by the decisions of the people of the United States on these matters.

OUR POSITIVE POSITION

The positive position of the "American Way" in contrast to the position of world Communism has been cited specifically on Pages 70, 71 and 75 of this Report, as follows:

"* * * It is clear * * * that the preservation of free states by our aid, would not necessarily nor probably mean an anti-Soviet bloc, while any group under their auspices could not fail to be an alliance designed for world revolution and war * * *. This strengthens the suggestion that the advance of economics and politics has simply passed by and beyond the conditions for which Marxism is pertinent. The case of the United States in Marxist terms would be somewhat as follows: The United States has passed through and beyond the capitalist system as described by Marxism. The contradictions of capitalism have been eliminated or are on the way to elimination through genuine and adequate remedies. The United States is post-revolutionary, not pre-revolutionary, in character * * *;"

This analysis goes on to state that:

"* * * We have been forced by the events of the last two years to admit to ourselves that the Communists do not believe in the things we believe in, and cannot collaborate with us in the work of peace. This has brought us reluctantly to admit that we have ourselves a will, on our own responsibility, to safeguard the chance of the non-Communist world for peace and reconstruction. This requires * * * that we also accept on our own responsibility the unavoidable position of the center of the non-Communist world, the main force, the one that must be strong if men anywhere are to be free * * *. In a nutshell, our objective is to prove that Lenin was wrong. He believed that there could be no solution to the faults of capitalism without violent revolution * * *. There are good reasons for believing that the mastery of human affairs has reached the point where man no longer need be the passive victim of automatic forces in history * * *. In America today we have a freedom and power that more than confirm each other. This is the newest thing in the world, the first fulfillment of the dreams of all the revolutions! * * *."

This vital truth stands as a solid rock against which Communism's pseudo-scientific theory has begun to splinter with each attack it makes against human freedom, dignity and liberty!

Hardened Communists have clung tenaciously to their Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist theories because they have proved ruthlessly successful as a science of revolution. *But Communism's greatest contradiction is that it basically is nothing more than a ruthless, inhumane science of materialistic revolution and conspiracy*, in which any elements of constructive accomplishment for the benefit of humanity are vague promise with neither a technique nor a moral atmosphere that produces performance.

As long as Communism's unproved, untried, untested perfectionist promises were agitated and propagandized against the contradictions and imperfections of an existing economic capitalism and parliamentary democracy; and at the same time Communists could conspire, plot and betray in total disregard of the fundamental morals and decencies of

human relationships; Communism maintained a strategic and tactical advantage on which it capitalized to achieve the most ruthless expansion and dominance over great masses of humanity in world history.

Communism has vaulted into the saddle but it is finding that it does not know how to ride. Its enraged response is to kill the horse.

Communism is discovering new failures and contradictions, now that it is forced to try to go beyond its unquestionably successful but despicable theory of how to run a revolution:

In this situation, it has launched a mammoth "back to Marxism" program throughout the world Communist movement in an attempt to solve its mounting problems and also to control and suppress dissenters to achieve the indispensable discipline it needs now that it is being moved relentlessly by events to showdowns which were not foreseen by its pseudo-science.

In succeeding sections of this fifth report, the documented proof of the Communist goal of world revolution by force and violence is presented. In directly following sections, on *The Domestic Situation* and *The California Situation*, your committee presents analysis of the contradictions that now confront World Communism and their relationship to legislative, legal and civic action in the American way to meet the menace of this grandiose conspiracy to rule all humanity under a bloody dictatorship.

PERTINENT OFFICIAL COMMUNIST DOCUMENTS

Legislators, public officials, attorneys and researchers will find invaluable reference material in the compilation by the Congressional Foreign Affairs Committee Subcommittee No. 5, of a Supplement to its Report on The Strategy and Tactics of World Communism. (Copies may be obtained from the U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.)

Your committee presents herewith a brief explanation why this supplement, containing the full text of basic Communist documents, was published and a complete listing of the documents with their page listing in the printed House Committee Supplement.

The publication of such a collection of documents requires some justification. There are several reasons why it is needed.

First, though chosen quotations can pin-point the chief ideas of Communists, from Marx and Lenin to Stalin and Molotov and Zhdanov, quotations cannot carry the massive impact of larger texts.

Also, a modern audience is sophisticated enough to be aware of the arts of quoting short statements out of context, and this skepticism of the audience should be met by telling the whole story. The use of brief quotations in the report is, therefore, backed up by this presentation on a larger, though still moderate, scale.

Second, though there have been other collections made from the Communist classics, none of these serves the present purpose. In some cases, as that of Emile Burns' *Handbook of Marxism*, the selection emphasizes the economic theory of capitalism far more than is appropriate in the present case and the world-wide strategy and tactics of Communism and of the Soviet Union far too little.

Other collections are too narrow in range, either in the matter of the time span covered or in the subject matter selected. And no prewar

collection can demonstrate that they think the same today. The items in this collection do so demonstrate.

Third, issues change as times change, for us no less than for the Communists. It is all too clear that only recently the United States was still ready to interpret a temporary phase of Communist tactics as a fundamental change in Communist ideas. In fact, there seems to have been, ever since the first turn-away from radicalism in 1921, a general tendency toward overoptimism in the interpretation of major changes in the Communist line. When they have turned to the right, observers have hailed it as a fundamental change. "They are going capitalist or democratic."

Only when they have turned back toward the left have observers admitted that there might be something unchanging; an unchanging faith in revolution and an unchanging faith in the adaptation of a zigzag course to the turns of history. Past studies have permitted, more than they have prevented, the recurrent idea of fundamental change in Communism. In this set of examples from the thought of the fathers of Communism, and from its present leaders, complete texts show both what is constant and what can change in Communism.

Fourth, a study designed to serve those who must act is very different from a study designed for cogitation only. The latter may navigate the seas of theory on a historical or philosophic level. The former should show not only the theory that guides the action but the way in which the theory is applied, the practical fusion of the theory with the facts of a situation, from which is derived tactics. For it is tactics that must be met, and the tactics of Communism must be one basis in the design of our own tactics if ours are to be relevant.

The problem of what is constant and what is changeable in Communism is one of the greatest problems we have faced. It is one object of this new compilation of Communist writings to show that this problem can be solved. It is theory, the general plan, that is constant, and only tactics that change. This collection deals with it in terms of words only, but the words themselves declare that their theory is constant and that only their tactics change and the most recent of their words do this most strongly.

They insist upon violent struggle today as Marx and Engels did a century ago. And they bring to the present phase of struggle all the carefully garnered fruits of a century of intense thought and of most practical experience. Experience is coming to us with a rush as we face the consequences of victory, and demands for action press upon us. Insofar as we have misinterpreted Communism in the past, we have wasted some of our thinking; and insofar as we have wasted thought, we have a deficit to catch up.

At Page 17 of this Report on the *Strategy and Tactics of World Communism* several tentative conclusions were stated, as follows:

1. The Communists have one goal: World revolution.
2. They assume that the revolution will be violent.
3. They are incapable of accepting the idea that peace can endure from now on, and they expect one more catastrophic war.
4. The Soviet Union is regarded as the main force of the revolution.
5. They fear a coalition against the Soviet Union.

6. They therefore fear reconstruction or federation in the non-Communist world.

7. They utilize the most modern and effective means of cold warfare to strengthen their own forces and to weaken all others.

8. The Communist parties outside the Soviet are junior partners or auxiliaries.

9. The tactics are based upon a definite theory, and the central propositions of their theory do not change.

10. The division of Europe and Asia between the victors of World War II is to be settled by power politics and not by negotiation.

Insofar as these propositions can be proved by words written by Communists, the proof beyond that already cited, can be found in the following listed Communist documents.

COMPLETE TEXTS AVAILABLE IN SUPPLEMENT I

1. The Communist Manifesto, by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, February 1848, with Engels' Preface of 1888 -----	1
2. The United States of Europe Slogan, by Lenin, August 23, 1915 -----	27
3. Theses on the Conclusion of a Separate Peace, by Lenin, January 20, 1918 -----	30
4. "Left-wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder, by Lenin, April 27, 1920 (selections) -----	34
5. The Tasks of the Youth Leagues, by Lenin, October 20, 1920 -----	65
6. The Foundations of Leninism, by Stalin, April 1924 (selections) -----	70
7. Interview With the First American Labor Delegation, by Stalin, September 9, 1927 (excerpt) -----	120
8. The Programme of the Communist International, September 1, 1928 (selections) -----	121
9. The American Communist Party, by Stalin, May 6, 1929 (excerpt from speech before the American Commission of the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International) -----	140
10. The Capitalist Crisis, by Stalin, July 27, 1930 (excerpt from Report of the Central Committee to the Sixteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union) -----	141
11. Letter to Comrade Ivanov, by Stalin, February 12, 1938 (with the letter to Stalin from Comrade Ivanov posing questions about "socialism in one country") -----	148
12. Some Questions of Theory, by Stalin, March 10, 1939 (excerpt from Report on the Work of the Central Committee to the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union) -----	152
13. The Meaning of the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact, by Molotov, August 31, 1939 -----	157
14. The Dissolution of the Comintern, May 22, 1943 -----	165
15. Speech, by Stalin, February 9, 1946 -----	168
16. On Cultural Policy, by Zhdanov, August 1946 (excerpt) -----	178
17. Plays, the Theatre, and Life, by Simonov, November 23, 1946 (publication date) (excerpt) -----	181
18. Message to Moscow, by Stalin, September 10, 1947 -----	183
19. Speech on Warmongers, by Vishinsky, September 18, 1947 -----	184
20. Establishment of the Cominform, October 5, 1947 (publication date) -----	207
21. The International Situation, by Zhdanov, October 22, 1947 (publication date) -----	211
22. Thirtieth Anniversary of the Revolution, by Molotov, November 6, 1947 (excerpts) -----	230

The magazine, *Sovietskaya Kniga* (Soviet Book), on October 1, 1947, published some statistics on past publications within the Soviet Union, including some data on items included in this supplement.

The Communist Manifesto has been published in 196 editions, totaling 6,036,000 copies, in 50 languages. This is not counting 29 editions

between 1917 and 1924 for which the numbers are unknown. (All within the Soviet Union.)

Lenin's Left-Wing Communism has gone through 74 editions and 1,885,000 copies, in 30 languages.

Stalin's Foundations of Leninism has had 99 editions and 2,598,000 copies, in 47 languages.

Stalin's Letter to Comrade Ivanov has had 90 editions and 8,567,000 copies in 47 languages.

Stalin's Report to the Eighteenth Party Congress, 111 editions, 22,695,000 copies, in 68 languages.

Stalin's Speech, February 9, 1946, 246 editions, 16,574,000 copies, in 57 languages.

OFFICIAL UNITED STATES PROTESTS

Supplement II to the report on *The Strategy and Tactics of World Communism* is a compilation of United States protests against the actions of Communist-controlled governments. It covers 30 months, from July 1945 to December 1947. These 30 months cover the period from the Potsdam Conference to the meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers in London. This is the period of the transition from apparent loyalty and friendship between the wartime Allies to the present disturbed condition.

The collection is not intended as a definitive work on diplomatic history. Only those protests by the United States that have been made public are included.

The assemblage of these protests in one place, so that they can be readily examined all together, is meant to facilitate consideration of the range of subjects that have become bones of contention, of the tactics of Communists that have caused us to protest, and of the areas in terms of geography and the span in time in which such Communist activities have occurred.

REFERENCE LIST OF PROTESTS

Each of the numbered items in the collection deals with a single incident or subject. In some cases two deal with the same subject, but at different times. Several documents may be included in a single numbered item, as in cases where both the United States protest and the reply are given.

The arrangement is by countries, with the countries listed in alphabetical order. Under each country the order is chronological.

Albania

1. American Mission to Albania Withdrawn (November 5, 1946) ----- 1

Bulgaria

2. Regarding Conclusion of Peace Treaty with Recognized Democratic Government of Bulgaria (August 18, 1945) ----- 2
3. Bulgarian Elections (November 16, 1945) ----- 2
4. United States Urges Inclusion of Opposition Parties in Bulgarian Government (February 22, 1946) ----- 3
5. Reply to Soviet Inquiry on U. S. Aide-Memoire to Bulgaria (March 10, 1946) ----- 4
6. United States Efforts to Secure Free Elections in Bulgaria (September 24, 1946) ----- 5
7. Views Expressed on Arrest of Bulgarian Opposition Leader (August 23, 1947) ----- 9
8. Execution of Nikola Petkov Declared Travesty on Justice (September 23, 1947) ----- 10

China

9. Industrial Enterprises in Manchuria (February 9, 1946) ----- 12
 10. United States Position on Control of Dairen (January 3, 1947) ----- 13

Hungary

11. United States Requests Action to Halt Hungarian Economic Disintegration (July 23, 1946) ----- 14
 12. Economic Situation in Hungary (September 21, 1946) ----- 21
 13. United States Opposes Intervention in Hungary by Soviet High Command (March, 1947) ----- 23
 14. United States Reiterates Position on Soviet Activities in Hungary (March 17, 1947) ----- 25
 15. Protest of Arrest of Hungarian Smallholders Party Leader (June 11, 1947) ----- 27
 16. American Citizen Arrested in Hungary on Charge of "Anti-Democratic Utterances" (August 4, 1947) ----- 29

Iran

17. American Proposal to Withdraw All Foreign Troops from Iran (November 24, 1945) ----- 32
 18. United States Position on Soviet Troops in Iran (March 6, 1946) -- 34
 19. Soviet-Iranian Matter for Security Council Agenda (March 20, 1946) ----- 35

Korea

20. Exchange of Letters between Lt. Gen. John R. Hodge, Commanding General, United States Army Forces in South Korea, and Guard Col. Gen. I. M. Chistiakov, Commanding General, Soviet Forces in North Korea (May 9, 1946-February 28, 1947) ----- 36
 21. Exchange of Notes Between the Secretary of State and the Soviet Minister for Foreign Affairs (April 8, 1947-May 12, 1947) ----- 46
 22. United States Holds Korean Independence a United Nations Problem (October 18, 1947) ----- 60

Poland

23. Views on Arrangements for Polish Elections (August 19, 1946) ----- 62
 24. United States Position on Polish Nationalization Developments (October 30, 1946) ----- 64
 25. United States Position on Polish Elections (November 22, 1946) ---- 66
 26. United States Position on Polish Elections (January, 1947) ----- 67
 27. United States Position on Conduct of Recent Polish Election (January 28, 1947) ----- 71
 28. Poland Opposes Industrial Plan for Germany on Grounds of "Unilateral Action" (September 14, 1947) ----- 74

Rumania

29. Recognition of Rumania Government (February 5, 1946) ----- 77
 30. Protest to Rumania Against Nonfulfilment of Assurances to Tripartite Commission (May 27, 1946) ----- 78
 31. Further Protests to Rumania on Election Matters (June 14, 1946) -- 81
 32. Electoral Preparations in Rumania (October 28, 1946) ----- 83
 33. United States Reiterates Position on Rumanian Elections (November 15, 1946) ----- 84
 34. Concern Over Drastic Deprivation of Civil Liberties in Rumania (June 24, 1947) ----- 84
 35. Concern Continues Over Suppression of Civil Liberties in Rumania (August 5, 1947) ----- 85
 36. Answer to Charges That Americans Were Implicated in Conspiracy Against Rumanian Government (November 14, 1947) ----- 87

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

37. Soviet Press Charged with "Libelous Attack" on the President (September 25, 1947) ----- 88

Turkey

38. Relating to the Problem of the Turkish Straits. Exchange of Notes (August-October 1946) ----- 90

Yugoslavia

39. Recognition of New Yugoslav Regime (December 22, 1945) -----	94
40. United States Note on the Capture of General Mikhailovich (March 30, 1946) -----	95
41. Request to Yugoslavia for Submitting Testimony in Trial of General Mikhailovich (May 7, 1946) -----	98
42. Protest Against Yugoslav Obstruction to Allied Military Government (May 20, 1946) -----	99
43. Protest Against Entry of Yugoslav Forces into Zone A (August 15, 1946) -----	102
44. Protest Against Yugoslav Attack on American Plane and Detention of American Personnel (August 20, 1946) -----	103
45. Reply to Yugoslav Note Alleging Improper Treatment of Yugoslavs in Venezia Giulia (September 17, 1946) -----	115
46. Further Protest to Yugoslavia Against Disregard for Allied Military Regulations in Zone A (September 27, 1946) -----	118
47. United States Condemns Yugoslav Use of Americans for Slave Labor (October 18, 1946) -----	120
48. Denial of Misconduct by United States Military Forces in Yugoslavia (September 23, 1947) -----	124
49. Reconsideration Requested in Case of American Journalists Expelled from Yugoslavia (November 2, 1947) -----	128

Since the compilation of this list, Communism's brutal, totalitarian aggression and inhumane persecution of dissenting individuals has continued apace, followed by numerous protests by the United States and other freedom-loving nations.

The roll call of brutality and oppression includes the persecutions and mock trials of Cardinal Joseph Mindszenty and other Catholics in Hungary, of Protestant ministers in Bulgaria, of Jews, Protestants and Catholics in Czechoslovakia, in the wake of a Communist coup in that unhappy nation. Each week's news stories bring to an incredulous world new evidence of inhumane Communist brutality and dictatorship.

(See also, Communist Anti-Semitism, on Pages 551-552.)

*"The American Soviet government will be organized along the broad lines of the Russian Soviets. * * * The American Soviet government will join with the other Soviet governments in a world Soviet Union."*

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, *Chairman, Communist Party, U. S. A.*

THE DOMESTIC SITUATION

The first section of Part One of this report is an analysis of the broad world problems facing all Americans, that have been imposed by the march of conquest of the Communist world revolution under the dictatorial and totalitarian control of the Kremlin Communist leadership toward their self-proclaimed goal of world revolution.

This second section of Part One deals with the identical issues and phases of this Communist conspiracy in the United States, and particularly in California.

Your committee has attempted to deal with the situation in the same broad manner in which *The World Situation* was discussed, so we could provide the Legislature and the people of California with indispensable material they must have to meet the danger of Communism with intelligent legislation, investigation, legal prosecution and community action to protect and preserve our institutions.

In the following sections of Part One of this report, the committee has provided documentary proof and analysis of the basic facts that must be faced squarely *that the Communist Party, U. S. A., is an agent of a foreign power and an advocate of overthrow of government by force and violence.*

Additional sections are provided also for *Citations of Communist Fronts by Official Agencies, Citations of Communist Publications by Official Agencies*, and valuable information from the first *Joint Conference of State Committees on Un-American Activities*, held in Los Angeles, September 20-21, 1948, which is included in Part Two.

All of these following sections of Part One of this report provide invaluable and indispensable reference material to be used in conjunction with this brief report on the Communist menace in America.

Your committee realizes with heartfelt relief that many Americans are awakening to the true horror of Communism as a result of the foreign affairs developments cited in the first section of this report.

But the committee is well aware that with few exceptions, the majority of Americans do not understand Communism and are unwilling or unable to take the time to study its twists and turns of intrigue or do not know where to get reliable information.

We therefore publish herewith, a revised, edited and amended text of our analysis of the Seven Basic Periods of the Communist conspiracy,

taken from the texts of our 1943, 1945 and 1947 reports, which accurately analyzed and correctly predicted every major Communist aggression, every major twist and turn of strategy and many variations in the Marxist art of treachery and treason.

Here, in plain English, is the simple, factual story of the tricks and twists of Communist strategy, as they have taken place, and as they are carefully documented in copious detail in the committee's files, much of which has been published and documented in our four preceding reports to the Legislature and to the people of California.

This brief, plainspoken analysis provides a ready guide through the maze of Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist direct quotations which the committee presents in the immediately following sections of this report to give the Legislature and the people the proof in incontrovertible form that will stand up in any court, from a bar of justice in free America to the court of public opinion—and even before any qualified court of international justice—to prove conclusively that the Communism of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin is a self-proclaimed, murderous, bloody conspiracy to overthrow every government in the world by force and violence and to murder freedom and liberty everywhere by a proletarian dictatorship.

I. SIX PERIODS OF COMMUNIST STRATEGY IN THE UNITED STATES

The average man cannot be blamed for being confused by the Communist conspiracy in America. Distorted news items and tricky editorials scattered through Communist Party organs and the periodicals of front organizations have carefully smudged and obscured the real objectives of these conspirators. This program of deceit and hypocrisy is part and parcel of Communist Party tactics.

The greater part of the Communist press is disguised, and for public consumption it purports to be anything but what it really is.

Front organizations, periodicals and magazines do most of the Trojan Horse work. Like its cowardly members, hiding their Communist Party affiliations under fictitious names, many of these disguised Communist periodicals and magazines find their way into the homes of unsuspecting and ordinarily patriotic Americans. There is little wonder that the average citizen is confused.

Although it is termed the Third or Communist International, the Communist International has never been international in the generally accepted sense of the term. The Bolshevik revolution, under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky, which overthrew the republican government, culminated in what is known as the Communist International (also known as the Comintern). It was founded in the Kremlin in Moscow in March of 1919 by 35 delegates and 15 guests.

It is significant, in considering the international aspects of the so-called Communist International, that all but one of the founders were Russian. From its beginning up to the present time it has been characterized by a greedy and stubborn nationalism.

The Communist parties that later developed in the other countries of the world, including the United States, have, in fact, only been branch parties of the Russian Home Office of the Comintern and these parties scattered throughout the world reflect in every instance, from the very beginning down to the present time, the foreign policy and the interest

of Soviet Russia, and the Communist goal of world revolution. Thus it is, that the policies, purges, leadership and the "party line" of the Communist Party in the United States have always turned on Soviet events, ambitions and needs.

To understand clearly so-called American Communism, it is necessary to examine its history since its inception in Chicago in 1919. This can be done intelligently only by a parallel examination of the history of the Soviet Union for the same period.

Eugene Lyons has roughly divided Communist development in the United States into Five Ages, each period turning on events in Soviet Russia and reflecting in each period the needs, ambition and foreign policy—not of the United States, its workers or its people—but of Soviet Russia. To the Five Ages cited by Eugene Lyons, your committee had added a Sixth, and prognosticated a Seventh. In order better to clarify the findings of your committee in the field of Communism, we briefly outline these six periods of Communist conspiracy in the United States.

FIRST PERIOD (1919 TO 1921)

The Bolshevik Government found its territory invaded and besieged by foreign armies and effectually blockaded in 1919. It needed a militant internationalism in non-Bolshevik countries to break the strangle hold of the economic blockade and it sorely needed a pro-Bolshevik sentiment in non-Bolshevik countries to bring about the withdrawal of the armies that were invading its boundaries.

Consequently, the Communist parties throughout the world were ordered to be militantly revolutionary and to work in their respective countries for the saving of the Soviet Union.

In the United States, the Communist Party, emerging from its Chicago convention in 1919, was fanatically revolutionary and conspiratorial and openly rebellious, calling for the immediate overthrow by force and violence of the Government of the United States and the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat. It likewise propagandized for the Soviet Union and attempted to create pro-Bolshevik sympathies in America.

SECOND PERIOD (1921 TO 1928)

This period saw the launching of the so-called New Economic Policy (NEP) in Russia. The new economic policy was, in fact, a compromise between state and private economy.

The Soviet Union found itself in many economic difficulties and began to feel the need for exchange and traffic with other governments. To effectuate this it created the fiction of a separation between the Soviet Government and the Communist Party of Russia. This fiction was carried further by apparently effecting a separation between the Communist International and the Russian Communist Party. These fictions, it was believed, would soften the attitude of capitalistic governments and permit the Soviet Union to deal with them.

As a result of this desperate need for exchange and traffic with other governments, the Communist Parties scattered throughout the world were ordered to retreat from their plotting and to soft-pedal their demand for open revolt and to do their propagandizing within the laws of their respective countries.

A lull in the world-wide revolutionary propaganda ensued and the comrades in the United States busied themselves with trapping and exploiting sympathetic liberals and progressives and in creating friends for Soviet Russia. The key phrases of this period were "United Front" and "Boring from Within."

THIRD PERIOD (1928 TO 1935)

This period saw the launching of the first Five Year Plan in Russia and the exiling of the so-called Communist Party "leftist," Leon Trotsky. The New Economic Policy, was violently wiped out.

Private farming came to an end and the forcible socialization of farming began. The most brutal "speed-up" in the world's history began in Russian industry. Soviet Russia more and more turned to greedy nationalism. Workers' control in industry was completely abolished and Soviet Bureaucracy took over. History will undoubtedly reveal that the Fascization of Soviet Russia began in this era.

Purges and official mass murders terrorized the entire country. The old Bolsheviks and the heroes of the revolution were slaughtered without compunction, sympathy or trial. Soviet Russia began to look for military alliances and started to woo Germany and Italy.

A new revolutionary upsurge was ordained for the Communist Parties in the United States and throughout the world—a new revolutionary upsurge, not so much against capitalism, but more against socialists, conservative labor leaders and trade unionists, liberals and progressives—all lumped in one terrible category—"Social Fascists."

This period of Soviet need and ambition undoubtedly cleared the way for Hitler and Mussolini.

FOURTH PERIOD (1935 TO 1939)

Soviet Russia's unsuccessful wooing of Hitler and Mussolini led to the change of policy introduced to the world in 1935. The Seventh World Congress, held in Moscow in 1935, gave birth to the new Trojan Horse policy of Dimitrov and the subsequent creation of "Peoples" and "Popular" fronts.

The fear of a German and Japanese invasion of Soviet Russia gave rise to a "collective security" policy and the Communist Parties in the United States and throughout the world were ordered to carry these new policies into effect.

Despairing of any alliance with Germany or Italy, Soviet Russia decided to appear to be "democratic" and "anti-Fascist" and ordered the branches of the party throughout the world to propagandize and advertise Soviet Russia on this basis.

The Communist Party in the United States became "Twentieth Century Americanism"—the real "friend" of democracy and the self-proclaimed "guardian" of freedom and civil liberty. The Communist Party of the United States went to great lengths to advertise Soviet Russia in this new "democratic" light.

Soviet Russia, meanwhile, subscribed to the Kellogg Pact and made nonaggression pacts with her neighbors. Although Lenin had called the League of Nations the "League of Robber Nations," Stalin now entered the league. A broad new constitution for the Soviet Union was drawn but never put into effect and a short time later Stalin

physically liquidated two-thirds of the members of the committee who drew the constitution. The threat of world-wide Communist revolution was laughed away and Stalin later lightly described it all as a "comic misunderstanding."

Anti-Nazi leagues flourished in the United States and in California the Anti-Nazi League of Hollywood grew to considerable proportions. The comrades in America and California exploited to the fullest the growing horror in the minds of all Americans of the brutality rampant in Hitler's Third Reich. The ruthless and barbarous persecution of the Jews by Hitler and his bloody minions, the unspeakable and unbelievable tortures inflicted on the innocent scapegoats of "Fuehrer Aryanism," stirred up a righteous indignation in the hearts of every liberty-loving American citizen.

V. J. Jerome (whose true name is Isaac Romaine), and now a key U. S. Red, personally supervised the organization of the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League. Jerome had been sent to Hollywood some time before by the Communist Party Central Committee to take over the duties of Stanley Lawrence in "improving cultural work" in California.

It was V. J. Jerome who brought John Howard Lawson to Hollywood. He was a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the United States and co-editor of its magazine, *The Communist*, now known as *Political Affairs*, (See Plate No. 1, Page 189), as well as being chairman of the Cultural Commission of the Communist Party of the United States. The Anti-Nazi League banked some \$89,892.51 between May 14, 1935, and August 16, 1939.

In spite of this exploitation by the Communist Party of the emotional upsurge against Hitler and his regime, the American Communist regarded the war in Europe as purely an imperialistic struggle.

The party line during this period was to heap abuse and vilification upon—not only Nazi Germany and its Axis partners—but also upon the victims of their aggression. Some 30 days before the amazing and abrupt termination of this fourth period of Communist strategy, Foreign Commissar V. M. Molotov stated:

* * * there is nothing surprising in the fact that at the end of April the head of the German State in one speech scrapped two important international treaties—the naval agreement with Great Britain and the non-aggression pact between Germany and Poland. There was a time when great international significance was attached to these treaties. But Germany made short work of them, disregarding all formalities. Such was Germany's reply to the proposal of Mr. Roosevelt, President of the United States—a proposal permeated with the peace-loving spirit. (*Soviet Union and the Peace Front*, by V. M. Molotov, International Publishers, Inc., p. 5.)

FIFTH PERIOD (1939 TO JUNE 22, 1941)

The Soviet Union amazed the world and many of its deluded Communist members in the United States, by signing a pact with Nazi Germany, August 23, 1939, which made it possible for Hitler to launch World War II; and it then joined the Nazis in the rape of Poland.

The Comintern immediately ordered its parties in the United States and throughout the world to renew their revolutionary character. "Collective Security" was immediately scuttled and the Communist parties everywhere became isolationists and belabored Great Britain and the "British Imperialist War."

In the United States, the Communists launched the slogan, "The Yanks Are Not Coming," and attacked President Roosevelt viciously as a "warmonger." Strikes in war and defense industries were fomented and viciously carried on by Communists throughout the United States.

Meanwhile, Soviet Russia attacked Finland and partitioned Poland with her Nazi comrade-in-arms. Nazi Bundsters and American Communists joined hands in sabotaging United States aid to Great Britain. Members of both organizations began a penetration of the America First Committee. Conscription and lend-lease proposals were viciously and bitterly opposed.

Anti-Nazi leagues in America were quickly abandoned for American Peace Mobilization fronts and new name-calling, including "warmonger" and "imperialist," was shouted at anyone who criticized Nazi brutality and aggression.

The fifth period of Communist development in the United States will always be remembered for its sharp curve in 1939 with the signing of the Nazi-Soviet Pact and its breath-taking flip-flop June 22, 1941 when Hitler's hordes swept into the Ukraine.

About a week after the signing of the Stalin-Hitler nonaggression pact, Foreign Commissar Molotov wrote in *The Meaning of the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact*, Workers' Library Publishers, August 31, 1939, page 3:

* * * the conclusion of a pact of nonaggression between the U. S. S. R. and Germany is of tremendous positive value, eliminating the danger of war between Germany and the Soviet Union.

Commissar Molotov continued in the same article (page 8):

As you see, Stalin hit the nail on the head when he exposed the machinations of the Western Europe politicians who were trying to set Germany and the Soviet Union at loggerheads. It must be confessed that there were some short-sighted people in our own country who, carried away by over-simplified anti-Fascist propaganda, forgot about this provocative work of our enemies. Mindful of this, Stalin even then suggested the possibility of other unhostile, good-neighborly relations between Germany and the U. S. S. R. It can now be seen that on the whole Germany correctly understood these statements of Stalin and drew practical conclusions from them. The conclusion of the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact shows that Stalin's historic pre-vision has been brilliantly confirmed.

In Molotov's *Report to the Supreme Soviet*, October 31, 1939, Workers' Library Publishers, Inc., page 5, the foreign commissar further solidified Soviet Russia's new policy toward Germany, in the following language:

* * * Germany is in a position of a state which is striving for the earliest termination of war and for peace, while Britain and France, which only yesterday were declaiming against aggression, are in favor of continuing the war and are opposed to the conclusion of peace. The roles, as you see, are changing.

And further in the same report, page 8, Molotov continues:

The relations between Germany and the other Western European bourgeois states have in the past two decades been determined primarily by Germany's efforts to break the fetters of the Versailles Treaty, whose authors were Great Britain and France, with the active collaboration of the United States. This, in the long run, led to the present war in Europe * * *. The relations between the Soviet Union and Germany have been based on a different foundation, which involved no interest whatever in perpetuating the post-war Versailles system. We have always held that a strong Germany is an indispensable condition for a durable peace in Europe.

On page 23 of his *Report to the Supreme Soviet*, Foreign Commissar Molotov asks some questions about the United States:

In any event, our country, as a neutral country, which is not interested in the spread of war, will take every measure to render this war less devastating, to weaken it and hasten its termination in the interests of peace. From this standpoint, the decision of the American Government to lift the embargo on the export of arms to belligerent countries raises just misgivings. It can scarcely be doubted that the effect of this decision will not be to weaken the war and hasten its termination, but, on the contrary, to intensify, aggravate and protract it. Of course, the decision may insure big profits for American war industries. But, one asks, can this serve as any justification for lifting the embargo on the export of arms from America? Clearly, it cannot.

Thus it was, in compliance with Soviet foreign policy, that the Communists in the United States and in California launched a campaign for isolation and nonintervention, joining hands with the America First Committee, The German-American Bund and many other antiwar, isolationist organizations.

Harry Bridges' union, the Maritime Federation of the Pacific, originated the slogan "The Yanks Are Not Coming!" and this defiant expression of nonintervention became the password of every Communist-front organization. Labor's Non-Partisan League of California circulated thousands of paper bookmatches bearing this slogan. It was heard from the rostrum of many Communist-front organizations, such as the American Peace Mobilization and American Student Union.

So that no doubt be left in the minds of anyone, the Committee quotes the above-mentioned V. J. Jerome, the American Communist bellwether of the fellow-traveling cultural clique, in *Social Democracy and the War*, Workers' Library Publishers, Inc., 1940 (pages 45-46):

Since the warmongering campaign opened, innumerable trade unions and other mass organizations have adopted resolutions against this country's involvement. A. F. of L. and C. I. O. State labor bodies and city councils, national unions and locals, the unemployed, church bodies, and the vital youth movement are saying, with the national convention of the C. I. O.: Labor wants no war or any part of it.* * * The voice of militant labor rings forth in ever-swelling volume in the slogan first sounded by the Maritime Federation of the Pacific: "The Yanks Are Not Coming!" The Communist Party of the United States declares: "* * * we Communists will continue the broadest collaboration with all elements in the labor movement to advance the struggle for working class unity by educating, rallying, and unifying the workers against capitalist reaction and exploitation and to keep America out of the imperialistic war."

In April of 1941 circulars were widely distributed throughout California, carrying to the uninformed and the innocent, the Americanized Communist version of the foreign policy of Soviet Russia. *Pamphlets demanding and proclaiming: "Get Out and Stay Out of the Imperialist War! No Convoys! No A. E. F.! The Yanks Are Not Coming! Friendship With the Soviet Union!" were distributed at the University of California at Berkeley and throughout the State.*

The Communist Party in California, acting through unions which it dominated and controlled, launched an amazing epidemic of strikes in key defense industries and were successful in many cases in tying up production of armament, die-casting, steel, planes and ships, that later resulted in death for American boys in World War II combat.

Communists had infiltrated the State Relief Administration and the Communist front, the Workers Alliance, headed by the known Communist, Alexander Noral, worked with reds in SRA to sabotage and corrupt the relief system and aid to the unemployed.

SIXTH PERIOD (JUNE 22, 1941, TO JUNE 1945)

The Sixth Period of Communism in the United States began with Hitler's invasion of Soviet Russia.

The Communist press in the United States up to this event was still attacking President Roosevelt as a "warmonger" and belaboring the "British Imperialist War." Strikes all over the country were conducted by Communist dominated unions.

But with the startling news that the "Red Fatherland" had been attacked by Hitler's hordes, the strikes stopped in defense and war industries throughout the United States.

Peace mobilization fronts and leagues evaporated into thin air. "All Out Aid to Soviet Russia, Great Britain and China" replaced the former slogans of "Stop the British Imperialist War" and "The Yanks Are Not Coming."

This latter slogan was soon considerably amended to read "The Yanks Are Not Coming—Too Late!"

President Roosevelt became an overnight hero instead of being a "warmonger." Every Communist in California and throughout the United States became a chauvinistic patriot and "Unity Leagues" of this and that for "Victory" mushroomed throughout California and the United States.

Although the antireligious campaign of Soviet Russia was flourishing up to the day of the violation of the Soviet-Nazi Pact and Soviet Russia's League of the Militant Godless was still vigorously functioning, the Communist Party of America began, in this period, to extol the religious tolerance of Communism. *The American Communists were ordered to emphasize the "democracy" of Soviet Russia and its fervent championship of civil liberty.*

Dictator Stalin's "historic pre-vision," as Foreign Commissar Molotov had hailed it, was thrown in the ash can as Hitler's panzer divisions went crashing over the Soviet frontiers and the nonaggression pact simultaneously. New slogans and proclamations appeared in the familiar mimeographed circulars and booklets of the Communist Party pamphleteers as soon as the comrades had caught their breath and determined the new foreign policy of their "Red Fatherland."

On September 16, 1941, another circular appeared at the University of California at Berkeley, this time urging the students to: "Unite the campus to defeat Hitler and Hitlerism! Defend America by full and immediate aid to Great Britain and the Soviet Union! Aid China! Embargo Japan! Make the campus a fortress of Democracy! For unity and victory—Join the American Student Union!"

Your committee here wishes to point out that on June 22, 1941, it was Russia, and NOT the United States that was invaded by Germany. The news of this event, however, was attended with repercussions in the United States and in California which were immediate and profound.

A strange and significant quiet prevailed over America's leftist labor front.

Overnight the Imperialist War of June 21, 1941, was changed by some strange, international magic, into a people's war which involved the Soviet Union. The American Communists would now send all the Yanks they could. American Communists were declaring that "Now * * * this is our war * * *." *Foreign Commissar Molotov now ordained*

that it would be all right for America to lift the embargo on arms to belligerents; particularly to the Soviet Union and Britain.

THE LESSONS OF HISTORY

Your committee wishes to emphasize the significant lesson to be learned from this period of Communist strategy. *Americans everywhere should concern themselves seriously with the changes which came to California and the United States; changes which effected the release of defense industries from the strangle hold of Communist dominated unions, the sudden change in propagandizing in our state educational institutions. It should carefully be noted by all students of these matters that these changes were caused, not by anything happening directly in or to the United States. Again they turned on the need and foreign policy of a foreign government thousands of miles away.*

Your committee wishes to emphasize the fact that there exists in the State of California an organized group of subversive individuals, completely dominated by a foreign power, Soviet Russia, which has sufficient influence in our American labor movement to launch a strike epidemic in our defense or war industries when the purpose suits Soviet Russia, and to turn it off again like water from a tap when the foreign policy of Soviet Russia commands.

While the needs of Soviet Russia dominating this group in California and the United States may correspond presently (your committee reported in 1943) with our own needs, it may well be, in the future, that the needs of the dominating force exerted on these American subversives may be detrimental in the extreme to our own needs and purposes.

Your committee believes that it is high time for the people of this State thoroughly and completely to understand and realize that the members of the Communist Party are organized into an iron disciplined group and controlled, unquestionably, by a foreign power, Soviet Russia.

These people should be regarded for what they actually are—agents of a foreign power, and should not be, in any way, looked upon as super-patriots and saviors of the working class of America and California, as they would like to lead us to believe.

The official mass murders of Soviet Russia's Fifth Period, together with its amazing trials in which every defendant attempted to out-confess the other; literally bubbling over with the admission of treasonable crimes against the Soviet Government, fantastically, eagerly and enthusiastically inviting the death penalty are now being sold to the American people by the Communists as far-visioned statesmanship on the part of Dictator Stalin.

Ambassador Joseph E. Davies' book, *Mission to Moscow*, is pounced on by the Communists of America as corroborating evidence of the statesmanship of Joseph Stalin in defending the "democracy" of Soviet Russia and the United Nations. This phase of Ambassador Davies' book, *Mission to Moscow*, should be read in conjunction with the reports on the trials by Dr. John Dewey, *Men and Politics*, by Louis Fisher and reports by writers who were in actual attendance at the trials in Russia and who possessed a knowledge of Communist ideology and tactics.

Hewlett Johnson, the aged Dean of Canterbury, has written a book, *Soviet Power*, and this volume is now being given widespread circulation by the Communist Party of America. (Over a million copies had been

distributed by 1948) Eugene Lyons, who spent considerable time in Soviet Russia, calls this book by the Dean of Canterbury "a topsy-turvy book * * * an Alice-in-Wonderland volume that can only be catalogued as literature of hallucination * * *."

COMMUNIST PRE-WAR TREACHERY

The members of your committee realized on the morning of June 23, 1941, that an era of Communist strategy had come to an end in California and in the United States. The committee had been preparing a series of hearings connected with the strikes at the North American Aircraft Company in Inglewood. This plant had been closed June 6, 1941, by the C. I. O., but it had been reopened several weeks later by the United States Army, acting under the direction of the President of the United States.

While the committee did not have an opportunity to fully investigate this strike it learned that its leaders in the C. I. O. were the same old Communist and fellow-traveling crowd. Communists Wyndham Mortimer and Philip M. Connelly—Lew Michener, Elmer Freitag—who was registered as a Communist in 1938—and lesser lights such as Jeff Kibre and Don Healy, were the Stalinist leaders of this piece of defense sabotage in America. It was all over, of course, when Hitler's panzer divisions drove into Russia June 22, 1941.

Your committee knew that the Communist Party of the United States would receive new instructions; that the revolutionary character of the Communist Party of America would be disguised; that the Communists of California would, as long as such tactics assisted Soviet Russia, be the most enthusiastic patriots for the defeat of Hitler and the enemies of the Red Fatherland.

What love of the United States, its Constitution, Flag, traditions and way of life could not accomplish in its appeal to men like Wyndham Mortimer and Lew Michener, invasion of a foreign totalitarian dictatorship accomplished overnight.

The people of California and the United States should never forget that the defense efforts of our great Nation would have been ruthlessly sabotaged by what purported to be an American labor movement—had it not been for the need of a foreign dictatorship thousands of miles away.

SUMMARY OF SIXTH PERIOD

Your committee reported, therefore, that, in this Sixth Period of Communist development and strategy in California and the United States, the war efforts of our State and Nation were then safe from Communist interference and sabotage. Every real Communist in the United States would sacrifice, fight, and die if need be, just so long as the sacrificing, fighting and dying assists the Red Fatherland—Soviet Russia, the committee observed.

Meanwhile, Americans should make no mistake about the true situation. The Communist Party of the United States of America is NOT willing to sacrifice, to fight or to die, to preserve American Democracy, its Constitution, its Flag, its tradition, or its way of life. *The long range objective has not changed and will not change. The revolutionary spirit was temporarily on ice. The Seventh Period of Communist development in this country may see it in all its grim horror if the needs, ambitions and foreign policy of Soviet Russia so ordain, your committee warned.*

The committee also warned in 1943:

Those who have read thus far are well capable of drawing their own conclusions. Your committee's investigators already report plans of the Communist Party in California for the formation of soldiers' and sailors' councils in the Army and the Navy, patterned after similar councils set up in the armies and navies of the Czar and the republican government in Russia in 1917.

Reports reaching your committee from closed meetings of Communists groups throughout California tell of plans for Soviet governments throughout Europe upon the collapse of Hitlerism and the weakening of the Nazi yoke.

While it is not the province of your committee to prognosticate the future, the committee, must, nevertheless, state to you with all the emphasis at its command that this, the Sixth Period of Communist development and strategy, is not the last period.

The committee warns the people of California and of the United States that there will be a Seventh Period of Communist strategy in America. Only the vigilance of the American people and the devotion to the Constitution and traditions of the United States on the part of public officials can successfully block the Seventh Period of Communism from being the last period of the American way of life.

This warning brings to an end the revised and edited wording of the analysis of the Six Periods of Communist strategy from the committee's prophetic 1943 Report. The committee reported further on the Seventh Period in its 1945 and 1947 Reports and basic subsequent developments are sketched out in the following excerpts from the 1947 Third Report:

II. SEVENTH PERIOD OF COMMUNIST STRATEGY

The Sixth Period of Communist strategy came to an end with the termination of World War II.

In conformance with the blueprints for world domination and conquest carefully mapped by Lenin and Stalin, the defeat of Hitler heralded the necessity for the revival of the old class antagonisms between the Communists and capitalist governments, and these antagonisms were resumed immediately with full vigor.

An excuse to restore the American Communist Party to its full pre-war revolutionary militancy had to be found.

There were only two things that Earl Browder could possibly do. He either had to voluntarily admit that he had ideologically blundered in adopting his capitalist appeasement program, or submit himself to a critical attack on that ground by someone else. It would not have been expedient or convincing for the leader of the American Communist Party to raise his own voice in self-criticism, particularly after having persevered in his ideological error for 18 months. To suddenly have reversed himself would have thoroughly convinced the American public of the deceptive role he had played during the period of Soviet Russia's frantic need for military supplies and assistance. The ruse was shabby enough at best but Muskovite devotees and half-witted Soviet Firsters had to be kept in line for future Communist window-dressing. Browder was compelled to make the supreme sacrifice.

Jacques Duclos, leader of the French Communist Party and confidant of the Kremlin for many years, was selected as the outstanding Marxist theologian to excoriate Browder for his heresy, and thus reestablish militant, revolutionary, prewar Communism in the United States. Consequently Duclos penned the critical article revealing Browder as a blundering Marxist who, caught in the toils of Capitalist luxury, had betrayed Saint Lenin, Uncle Joe, the hierarchy of old Bolsheviks (except those liquidated in Stalin's Blood Purges), and the "toiling masses."

For 18 months prior to the Duclos epistle not a single American Communist voice had been raised in criticism of Browder's policy. For 18 long months every Communist from 13th Street in New York City to Sixth Street in Los Angeles beat their chests and their Marxist voodoo-drums in applause of Browder's brilliancy in outwitting Hearst, the Tenney Committee, and Capitalism in general.

Five days before the appearance of the Duclos letter, Comrade Browder was swamped with congratulatory messages from all over the United States on the occasion of his birthday. He was lavishly praised by the big Commissars and the little comrades for his 15 years of "outstanding Marxist leadership."

If any American Communist mentioned Comrade Browder's alleged aberration during this period there certainly is no record of the fact. It took the Duclos epistle to do the trick.

Five days after heaping praise and adulation on America's "outstanding Marxist leader," a short letter from a Frenchman struck with lightning force. Most amazingly, it struck instantaneously, simultaneously and with shocking effect it brought every comrade to his feet with but a single idea: Browder has been wrong! For 18 long months they had been his dupes; they had been hypnotized, while Marx, Lenin, Stalin, and the "toiling masses" had been sold down the river to luxury and capitalism.

It is significant to note that Browder has not shared the fate of Jay Lovestone or Leon Trotsky. As yet there are no hated "Browderites" to take their places with the Lovestoneites and Trotskyites. This fact is the real tip-off on the ruse played by Joseph Stalin and his stooges in the United States.

Browder dutifully made a new pilgrimage to Moscow and finally emerged as a Soviet book-salesman, at last properly registered as the agent of a foreign government with the State Department of the United States.

The pressing need for Communist collaboration with American capitalism had passed. Browder, the scapegoat, had played his part. He was removed from his high position of leadership and replaced by William Z. Foster, who immediately restored the party to its former blood and thunder role. The old revolutionary hymn of hate was again sung by the revived Communist Party of the United States of America. The party's educational institutions mushroomed throughout the country; Communist-front organizations and transmission belts were created for every possible phase of American life (see 1948 Fourth Report) and the process of infiltrating Communists into strategic positions in government, labor, American social and economic life was revived with fanatical zeal.

In light of the foregoing it should be reiterated here that the Comintern was not actually dissolved in 1943 as announced by Moscow. Documentary proof was produced by Igor Gouzenko consisting of official records of the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa. These documents were turned over to Canadian officials, and they prove conclusively that the Comintern continues to function with accelerated activity; directing, correlating and coordinating the treasonable work of every Communist Party in the world and, moreover, that it is being utilized as a master instrument in Soviet espionage.

SEVENTH PERIOD RED SHAKEUP

During his 15 years as the chief Communist Commissar in the United States, Browder developed a personal following of party members. Many of these comrades, because of their personal admiration for Browder, committed the unpardonable sin of continuing to agree with his policies even after he was deprived of his position and was succeeded by William Z. Foster in 1945. Many of the ordinary rank-and-file members, imbued, perhaps, with some degree of instinctive intellectual honesty, either resigned in protest or were expelled quietly because they continued to express bewilderment for this sudden twist in the party line.

Most prominent among the individuals who severed their connections with the Communist Party is Louis Budenz, a charter member of the party and one-time editor of the monthly ideological magazine, *The Communist*. Budenz was a member of the editorial staff of the *New York Daily Worker*, the national organ of the Communist Party of the United States. When his resignation was made public the news created a distinct upheaval in Communist Party circles, and, of course, Budenz has been attacked by the Communist press and the "smear" squads with the usual viciousness reserved for such cases. Since severing his connections with the party he has been teaching political science at Fordham University and is doing a real public service in exposing the traitorous activities of the Communist Party and its members in the United States.

In San Francisco, Vern Smith, a Communist of many years standing and former political and labor news editor of the *People's Daily World*, was summarily dismissed from the staff of the Communist periodical on August 28, 1946. On the following day, the same publication carried the news of Smith's expulsion from the Communist Party.

THE RED YO-YO ROUTINE

It is not difficult to understand why the abrupt and inconsistent changes of the Communist Party line, bouncing like a yo-yo, throws the rank-and-file membership of the party into a state of bewildered confusion.

During the period of the Hitler-Stalin Pact (August, 1939, to June, 1941), the members of the party had been told that it was perfectly possible for the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany to collaborate.

When Germany invaded the Soviet Union the American Communists were then told that the war had assumed an entirely different character; that the imperialist war had become a "people's war."

The more honest Communists must have believed that someone had committed a mistake by believing such collaboration possible in the first place.

Every Communist had been indoctrinated with the idea that Capitalism and Communism were deadly enemies and that it was a fight to the finish with no quarter asked or given until one or the other conquered. Without warning Comrade Browder announced that Capitalism and Communism could get on very well together and apparently all the little comrades believed it.

No one appeared to challenge his statement for 18 months.

A French Communist, 3,000 miles away, suddenly awakened to the strange love-fest going on in America between the Communists and the Capitalists and started screaming that such collaboration is a Marxist

sin and that Comrade Browder was a half-wit for ever having conceived such an idea.

Obviously the Duclos denunciation carried the implication that the American Communists had been as half-witted as their half-witted leader in following him. Ignoring the contemptuous implication of the Duclos criticism, the majority of their Communist sheep raced to New York, liquidated the Communist Political Association, deposed poor old blundering Browder, reestablished the Communist Party of the United States and applauded the fine Marxism of Commissar Foster, who had followed right along behind Comrade Browder during the Communist-Capitalist marriage, now duly annulled.

The delegates returned to their respective spheres of influence, resumed their hostility toward American institutions, intensified their technique of fomenting strikes, racial antagonism, confusion and chaos; frantically renewed the distribution of the familiar mimeographed propaganda sheets and resumed doing their level best in creating upheaval for the purpose of "softening up" our government for the time when Comrade Stalin is ready for the kill.

HARDENED REDS STILL WITH US

The committee is aware of the repercussions and confusion that ran up and down the State of California as a result of the twists and turns in the Communist Party line, together with the attendant resignations and expulsions of dissident members from the Communist Party.

However, the hard, militant, thoroughly indoctrinated and disciplined core of Communist professional revolutionary cadres remain intact. The committee finds, as a matter of fact, that the Communist Party in California has emerged from its recent controversies stronger and more militant than ever before.

The committee believes that the American public, long suffering and tolerant of things Communistic, has been recently electrified into sudden appreciation of the real and imminent danger of Communist activity in the State of California and in the United States. *The committee is of the opinion that the international situation is largely responsible for altered public opinion on Communism in general and the Soviet Union in particular.*

The committee, in former reports, has emphasized a fundamental aspect of Communist theory embodied in the "day-to-day struggle" technique. The continuous application of the principles involved in this technique constitutes an undermining erosion of capitalist institutions and governments. The present period of Communist strategy will intensify this technique, and every economic and social problem will be magnified and ballooned out of all proportion to its real importance.

In discussing the Sixth Period of Communist strategy in the United States, the committee, at page 102 of its 1945 Report made this prophetic statement:

"The sixth period of Communist strategy in the United States may have ended with the Teheran Conference and the frantic name-changing in official Communist Party organizations. The committee is entirely too close to the picture at this writing to definitely state whether the sixth period closed with this event or whether it was a logical development of the same period. Whether it was merely a continuance of the sixth period or the ushering in of the seventh, the committee states unequivocally that a new period in Communist strategy in the United States will begin when the war is

concluded. The Communists of America have carefully laid the ground work and are prepared for the events that are to come. They expect social upheaval and economic disruption to follow in the wake of war. They believe that there will be a bitter and discontented people throughout this broad country of ours; widespread unemployment, rising prices and staggering public debts. Hundreds of thousands of war veterans will be attempting to adjust themselves to civil life. The ground-work for race riots is already laid. There will be confusion and chaos. Hundreds of thousands of workers will be discharged from closing wartime factories, swelling the army of the unemployed. They believe they will be in a position to foment dissension. The Communists of the United States and of the world have a program. Although, as has been shown in this report, there is nothing 'scientific' about Marxism, it is, nevertheless, a blueprint for revolution."

FUTURE COMMUNIST ACTIVITY

The American people are now faced with the greatest agitational activity in the history of American Communism. If our country is unfortunately plunged into a new economic depression accompanied by widespread unemployment, the Communists will take full advantage of the situation, will foment strikes, strife and unrest on a scale that has never before been experienced in the United States.

There is a ray of hope, however, shining through the dark clouds of Communist intrigue—the awakening of the American people to the real character of international Communism. There is a growing alertness in the public mind. The American public is beginning to recognize the professional Communist revolutionary for what he actually is—the agent of a foreign government, mouthing allegiance to the Constitution and the Government of the United States, while working industriously for the destruction of both.

The people of California are becoming more and more familiar with the transmission-belt front organization of Communist creation.

As the committee has gathered facts in public hearings in various parts of the State, the people, through the press, have become familiar with the same old Communist names that parade through the multitudinous network of Communist fronts.

It is not mere coincidence that the names of the same individuals consistently appear on the letterheads and literature of a long list of Communist-front organizations. The public hearings and reports of the committee have brought this indisputable fact to the attention of Californians.

III. THE GREAT CONTRADICTION

Since the launching of the World Communist movement a century ago the Communists repeatedly have contradicted themselves as a routine matter of strategy and tactics.

The "Big Lie" that would be most useful at any particular period invariably has been used without hesitation and with remarkable skill and effectiveness.

Today in the United States, the whole concept of Communism of the Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist brand and the position in American affairs of the Communist Party, U. S. A., are on trial in the courts and before the bar of public opinion.

The Communists say that they simply are advocates of progress through socialism and that Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist socialism is the highest type of socialism.

Lovers of freedom contend that Communism is a murderous, brutal world conspiracy, dedicated to the one goal of world revolution and which

advocates, teaches and carries out in practice a strategy and tactic that is subservient to one power, Soviet Russia, and dedicated to the overthrow of every non-Communist government in the world by force and violence.

The Communists refuse to disavow Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism; but they hypocritically assert that it says and means a peaceful support of democracy (which cannot be found in any of its classic texts) while freedom-loving opponents of Communism assert that it means only dictatorship and slavery.

The great contradiction of the many that now confront Communism in its bid for power is Communism's bland assertion that it believes in progress by peaceful change, whereas it never has accomplished any progress and it has changed governments across the globe by brutal, bloody use of murderous force and violence.

In the United States, while still seeking to dupe Americans with fake propaganda about Communist love for peace and democracy, American Communists without deviation have supported and praised this march of violent revolutionary conquest by World Communism and have conducted front activities and propaganda to support it actively.

The test of what Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism actually means, therefore, becomes of supreme importance in this controversy. Communists and befuddled apologists for and appeasers of Communism must be confronted with specific and documented facts to prove the real truth.

Your committee, therefore, in the immediately following section of this report, presents a detailed analysis, copiously documented from the official Communist texts. These texts—the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Molotov, Dimitroff, Browder, Foster, Dennis and others, the Cominform official newspaper, *For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy*, the *Daily Worker* and *Political Affairs*, and the classic textbook, *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*—all tell in plain English what the Communism of the Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist brand *says* it believes in and *is going to do*.

THE PROOF OF THE PUDDING

Your committee is convinced that the Legislature and the people of California will want to judge Communism by this simple test: Does Communism assert in its formal statements and official texts *what it believes in and proposes to do*; and if so, *did it and is it now doing what it says it believes in doing*; and how extensively does its performance conform to its self-avowed promises?

An important corollary question is this: *Does the Communist Party, U. S. A., believe in the same things, does it approve the translation by any Communists anywhere of the word of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism into deeds that bear the stamp of the Hammer-and-Sickle of World Communism; and would it do the same things if it thought the time was opportune?*

These questions are the most important before free people throughout the world today. These questions must be answered conclusively and precisely once and for all if human freedom is to survive in this world.

They must be answered conclusively and precisely because if Communist belief is what it says it is and Communist action confirms that it does what it says it believes in, then we must act to fight it with every

means at our command; for we already have shown that the United States has been placed by history in the position of being the core and center of the anti-Communist, freedom-loving world.

COMMUNIST CONTRADICTIONS

Events since the launching of the Seventh Period of Communist strategy in the United States have involved all Communists in a web of contradictions.

In order to carry on their march to the one goal of world revolution, the Communist must conspire under total discipline, in the manner laid down in the classic texts of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism, to promote the class struggle to the point of revolution and to seize power wherever they can.

But in order to fool the gullible and divide their opponents they must continue to lie about their objectives; misrepresent their immediate purposes and, as Lenin said in *Leftwing Communism, An Infantile Disorder*:

The strictest loyalty to the ideas of Communism must be combined with the ability to make all the necessary practical compromises, to "tack," to make agreements, zigzags, retreats and so on * * * and properly to select the moment when * * * by a determined attack of the proletariat, to defeat them all (the natural opponents of Communism) and capture political power.

The Communists in the past did accomplish these feats of chicanery and did lull their opponents to sleep and outwit them. But history is recording a series of murderous Communist accomplishments across the globe that negate their hypocritical pretension in America that they merely are peaceful advocates of progress through a benign socialism.

Here is the record of bloody and barbarous Communist aggression that points an accusing finger at Communist traitors in America in this momentous year of decision:

THE MARCH OF VIOLENT COMMUNIST REVOLUTION

The American Communist Party, together with the Communist Parties in other countries, might well be likened to spokes in a wheel, the hub of which is the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. All of the parties are working together under the central control and guidance of the Soviet Communists toward a single aim—the subversion of the world to a Soviet dictatorship.

The Communist Party in this country has functioned as a section of the world Communist organization since the day of the party's organization here in 1919.

The continued existence of the Communist International after its supposed dissolution was evidenced by the assumption by former Communist International leaders of controlling positions in European countries which have been subverted to Soviet puppet states, during and since the Second World War.

In every instance, the legally constituted governments of these countries were overthrown by Communist resort to force and violence.

Among the Comintern leaders who thus assumed positions of power are: Georgi Dimitrov, former general secretary of the Communist International and now Prime Minister of Bulgaria; Clement Gottwald, former member of the Comintern Executive Committee and now Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia; Anna Pauker, former member of the Comintern

Executive Committee and now Foreign Minister of Rumania; Boleslaw Bierut, a leading Polish Comintern agent and now that country's President; Matyas Rakosi, former member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and now Deputy Prime Minister of Hungary.

Open, above-ground activity by the Communist International was resumed in September 1947 as a result of a meeting of European Communist leaders in Poland. It comes as no surprise that this new version of the Comintern, which is called the Communist Information Bureau or Cominform, has openly enrolled the Communist Parties of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Poland, and Hungary where the old Comintern officials are in command.

Also avowed members of the Cominform are the Communist Parties of France and Italy. The Yugoslavia Communist Party was a member until Tito fell out with Stalin in 1948.

Master of the international alliance, however, is the Soviet Union, which sent two of Stalin's most trusted lieutenants to help organize the new information bureau, and to serve as permanent representatives of the Russian Communist Party. These were A. Zhdanov (now deceased) and G. Malenkov, both of whom served on the powerful Politburo of the Soviet Government and on the secretariat of the Russian Communist Party. They presented the leading reports at this conference.

U. S. Reds and the Cominform

Undoubtedly reasons of expediency have prevented Communist Parties in other nations from declaring open affiliation with the Cominform. This is admitted by the Communists of the United States, who support the Cominform enthusiastically but explain that they cannot affiliate officially because unfavorable reaction to the party will increase among citizens of the United States. Here is how the National Board of the Communist Party, U. S. A., put it:

The establishment of an information bureau by nine Communist Parties of Europe is of great significance. * * *

These Communist Parties are the leaders of the working class and peoples of their countries. They are the champions of national freedom, social progress, economic reconstruction, democratic advance, and world peace. * * *

It is already clear that their joint declaration of views and their formation of an information bureau has everywhere strengthened patriots defending national freedom and the cause of peace, making more effective their resistance to the program of imperialist expansion, intervention, and war, of which Wall Street is the chief instigator.

Considering the question of whether or not to seek affiliation to the new information bureau, the national board of the Communist Party has concluded that the present political situation in the United States is such that the Communist Party should not affiliate. The reactionary and pro-Fascist forces now whipping up anti-Communist hysteria and war incitement in our country would undoubtedly seize upon such action by the American Communist Party as a pretext for new provocations and repressions against the Communists and all other sections of the American labor and progressive movement. * * * (*Political Affairs*, December, 1947, p. 1141.)

The Cominform's official publication, entitled, in accordance with typical Communist double talk, *For a Lasting Peace; For a People's Democracy*, is a new vehicle for directives from the Soviet Union to the other Communist Parties of the world. Words from Soviet Communist leaders are given the greatest prominence in this publication, which was printed at the Cominform headquarters in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, and translated into many languages. After Tito and Stalin split, it was moved to Bucharest, Rumania.

A front-page editorial in the initial issue of the Cominform organ, dated November 10, 1947, lays down the rule that:

Communist Parties everywhere must become a leader or organizer of the popular masses in the struggle for peace and a people's democracy.

The same editorial explains that the leader of the "struggle for peace" is the Soviet Union, which has sworn to resist the attempts of the United States to plunge the world into another war. A people's democracy is interpreted as the form of government found in the Soviet Union and its satellite states, in contrast to the "fascist-like" United States, where monopoly capital allegedly rules.

The initial issue of the Cominform organ also prints the following unmistakable command:

The plan for the economic and political enslavement of Europe by American imperialism is being supplemented by plans for the economic and political enslavement of China, Indonesia, the South American countries. * * *

Under these circumstances it is necessary that the anti-imperialist, democratic camp should close its ranks, draw up an agreed program of actions, and work out its own tactics against the main forces of the imperialist camp, against American imperialism and its British and French allies, against the right-wing Socialists, primarily in Britain and France. * * *

VI. U. S. REDS AND FOREIGN COMMUNIST PARTIES

We have given proof how slavishly the American Communist Party has devoted itself to the revolutionary strategy, tactics, and principles of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, involving advocacy of and resort to force and violence.

Considering the fact that the Communist Parties in other countries are part of a world party, controlled by Moscow, considering also that the Communist Party, U. S. A., is a disciplined part of this world organization, it is relevant to examine the attitude of the Communist Party, U. S. A., toward the present tactics of some of these Communist Parties to determine to what extent they have actually put into practice a policy of resorting to overthrow of constitutional government by force and violence, which has been aided and approved by the U. S. A. party.

If the pattern of the world Communist Party is viewed in its proper perspective, it must be realized that foreign Communist Parties engaged in open, civil conflict, are replicas of the American party, merely in a more advanced stage of revolutionary development. *What the Communists in China or Greece are doing today is what the American Communists would do under similar circumstances.*

Demonstrating that the Communists resort to force and violence in other countries is merely an extension of the same fundamental Communist principles to which the American party is similarly devoted, as an agent of a foreign power, is the fact that the domestic Communist Party, its press and spokesmen have given unreserved support to these foreign movements.

There has never been any repudiation or criticism of their resort to forcible and violent methods by the Communist Party, U. S. A., despite its claimed repugnance for such tactics.

(A.) CHINA

The revolutionary plans of Soviet leaders regarding China are virtually a matter of public record. Joseph Stalin himself declared before

the enlarged executive committee of the Communist International on November 30, 1926:

Chinese Revolution

One thing is clear, that it is the chief duty of the Chinese Communists to fight to prepare the way for the development of the Chinese revolution.

The Soviet-directed Communist International issued the following declaration on the subject during its world congress in Moscow in 1928:

Armed Insurrection

In China the revolution will place before the party the preparation for and carrying through of armed insurrection as the sole path to the completion of the bourgeoisie democratic revolution * * * the overthrow from power of the Kuomintang * * * and the creation of the rule of the Soviets.

Like an echo are the words of the leader of the Chinese Communists, Mao Tse-tung, in 1938:

Armed Struggle

Armed struggle is the salient form of China's Revolution. We Communists never conceal or disguise our political aims. Our future or ultimate program is to advance China into the realm of doubted.

There are few tactics of violence that the Chinese Communists have not used in pursuing their revolutionary objective. Open, armed assaults by Communist armies in China are the subject of daily reports in the press.

Freda Uteley, a former Communist who first saw China in 1928 when she delivered instructions from the Comintern in Moscow to Chinese Communist leaders, and who has frequently revisited China since then, has stated:

* * * Not only is there abundant evidence that the Chinese Communist Party leaders have wholeheartedly adopted the same philosophy as the rulers of Soviet Russia; not only do they believe that the end justifies the means and that lying, cheating, political chicanery, cruelty, even murder are the means which must be adopted to win and retain power for the Communist Party, they have already advanced some distance along the same road to tyranny as the Russian Communist Party trod long ago * * *. (Freda Uteley, *Last Chance in China* [Bobbs-Merrill Co., New York, 1947], p. 161.)

Mrs. Uteley also found that "like the Bolsheviks before them," the Chinese Communists "have already started to solve the agrarian problem by the mass murder of 'kulaks.' " She further pointed out that not even Japanese onslaught on China in World War II called a halt to Chinese Communists' brutal aggression against fellow Chinese. In her recent book, "*Last Chance in China*," she stated:

Lin Yutang, who was sympathetic to the Communists in the early years of the war, has written: "For every Japanese they claim to have killed, the Communists have killed at least five Chinese. For every town they have captured from the Japanese they have captured 50 towns from other Chinese. Of the hundreds of 'clashes' per year they claim to their credit, a fair percentage must include those with the Chinese 'enemy'—half of their weapons have been robbed from other Chinese guerillas and regular units. * * *" (*Ibid.*, pp. 163 and 203.)

Coupled with reports of the brutal and wholesale destruction of life and property in the Chinese civil war are numerous accounts of direct military support to the Chinese revolutionaries from the Soviet Union.

Dr. William M. McGovern, Northwestern University professor who recently made a survey of the Far East in the capacity of special investigator for the House Foreign Affairs Committee, reported to his committee in March 1948 that Russia has been supplying arms and ammunition to the Chinese Communists for two years, using both captured Japanese stocks and new weapons and material produced with equipment taken from captured Japanese munition plants.

Evidence that Russia's military intervention extends back to the earliest days of the Chinese civil war, however, has been offered by George E. Sokolsky, author and columnist who served as American correspondent in China from 1920 to 1930 among other varied duties in that country. Mr. Sokolsky stated in his newspaper column of November 28, 1947:

I can testify, from personal knowledge and experience, that this Chinese Communist group was organized by Michael Borodin, who, with Marshal Bluecher, then called General Galens, and about 100 Russian civilian and military advisers, came to China in 1924 and remained until 1927, when they were dismissed by Chiang. * * *

The top command of the present Chinese Communists group consists of men who were then in the Third International, some of whom studied in Red Army schools, attended conferences at Baku and at Moscow, and whose relationship to the Third International was recorded in the official minutes of this body as released in several languages in its official organ called the International Press Correspondence. (*These Days*, by George E. Sokolsky, Washington Times-Herald, November 28, 1947, p. 15.)

U. S. Communists and China

What has been the attitude of the Communist Party of the United States toward the Communist forcible methods in China?

Has it, as the professed opponent of overthrowing the Government by force and violence, condemned its fellow Communists for the inestimable bloodshed and suffering inflicted on the Chinese people? To the contrary, the Communist Party of the United States has joined the Chinese Communists in calling for the overthrow of China's legally constituted government.

As a practical method of aiding the Chinese Communists, the American party has concentrated its efforts on an all-out campaign to prevent any American assistance which might help the Chinese National Government repel its Communist attackers. To this end, the American Communists unleashed barrage after barrage of propaganda attempting to show that the Chinese Communists are heroically struggling to save democracy from a Fascist dictatorship imposed by the legally constituted Government. This propaganda even goes so far as to maintain that the United States itself is responsible for the Chinese civil war. For example, the *Daily Worker*, official organ of the Communist Party of the United States, asserted on October 26, 1947 (p. 4):

Further American aid can only postpone but cannot prevent Chiang's inevitable defeat. The Chinese Communist Party has now declared, after years of working for conciliation, that there is no place for Chiang Kai-shek in the democratic coalition government that will be formed as soon as the Kuomintang dictatorship has been overthrown.

The people of the Kuomintang areas are rallying increasingly to support the democratic front, led by the Communist Party, which is now the main leader of the national struggle for independence and democracy.

Political Affairs, an official monthly magazine of the American Communist Party, stated in the July 1947 issue (pp. 597 and 600) :

* * * United States imperialist intervention in China is directly responsible for the civil war * * *. In scope, magnitude, and strategic significance, the United States-sponsored war directed at preventing China from becoming united, democratic and free, is the decisive postwar military operation of the imperialist forces * * *.

Mass meetings and petitions are favored tactics in the American Communists' propaganda campaign which proceeds not only under the open auspices of the Communist Party itself but also through Communist-supported organizations, such as the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy. William Z. Foster, chairman of the American party, emphasized the importance of such meetings in the *Daily Worker* of December 2, 1945 :

On the international scale, the key task * * * is to stop American intervention in China * * *. The war in China is the key of all problems on the international front and it is here, above all else, where we have to deal the hardest blow to reaction.

On the question of China, which is our key concentration * * * we want to hold 500 meetings all over the country to mobilize all the forces of the people that we can reach to put a stop to the intervention in China. Our party must use every ounce of its strength and skill and organizational ability to make these 500 meetings a success.

Entirely in line with the task outlined above was the conference on China and the Far East held in San Francisco October 18-20, 1946, under the auspices of the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy. Among the Communist-line ballyhoo produced by this front group were the proclamation of a "Get Out of China Week" and a resolution asking for congressional action.

The Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy repeated this performance in January 1948 by holding a National Conference on American Policy in China and the Far East in New York City, at which protests against any aid to the National Government of China were again made and another "China Week" planned. The conference won high praise from Chairman William Z. Foster of the American Communist Party.

Speakers at this conference significantly included Anna Louise Strong, former editor of the *Moscow Daily News*, and Frederiek V. Field, also a writer for official Communist publications.

Sponsors included such figures as Ferdinand C. Smith, under deportation proceedings as an alien Communist; Ben Gold, avowed Communist union leader; Harry Bridges, identified as a Communist by the *Daily Worker* itself; Albert Maltz, Hollywood screen writer whose Communist Party affiliation was exposed by the Committee on Un-American Activities; and Ella Winter, *Daily Worker* writer.

Thus we find complete support by the American Communist organization of force and violence as practised by the Chinese Communists.

(B) GREECE

While China is locked in a bloody life-and-death struggle with Communist revolutionaries, on a neighboring continent the nation of Greece is desperately trying to cope with a civil war of the same brutal pattern.

Greek Communists scarcely waited for World War II to end before launching their plans for the violent overthrow of the lawful Greek

Government. Today those plans have progressed so far that the Communists have set up within Greece their own independent state under whose banner Communist armies daily do open battle with troops of the Government. Encouragement or aid to the Greek rebel state from the Soviet Union and Soviet satellite states bordering Greece have added serious complications to the civil war.

The Greek situation has been found to be so urgent that millions of dollars worth of military and economic aid have already been rushed to the legal Government of that country from the United States. Government leaders, from the President on down, have been outspoken in their denunciation of the activities of the Greek Communists.

In a report to Congress on aid sent to Greece, President Truman said on February 16, 1948:

* * * Greece has been subjected to ever-increasing pressure by the Communist minority, which, subservient to the foreign influences from which it draws support, would impose its will on the Greek people by force of arms. * * *

It is significant that the guerrilla warfare is directed not against the Greek Army but against the people of Greece. The deliberate and wanton destruction of Greek villages does not result from military engagements. It is determined and ruthless destruction intended to render people homeless and drive them from the soil; to force them into overcrowded urban centers where they become charges of an already overburdened state, and to create for them conditions of misery and hardship in the hope that this will make them susceptible to political agitation. * * *

These bands which traffic in human misery and chaos are small, too small to claim any truly representative character. They total about 20,000 of which a large portion are known to have been unwillingly impressed into the guerrilla ranks under threat of death to themselves and their families. (*New York Times*, February 17, 1948, p. 16.)

The Soviet Union, both directly and through the Communist Information Bureau, which she controls, has been outspoken in her support of the Greek rebels.

It should be noted that the official organ of the Cominform, *For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy*, printed this encouragement of the Greek revolutionaries on the front page of its December 1, 1947, issue:

The valiant troops of the Greek democratic army who are setting heroic examples in the struggle for freedom and independence are frustrating the intentions of the Anglo-American warmongers to enslave the Greek people and to convert Greece into a springboard for a new war.

The Cominform organ also does not hesitate to make a direct appeal for aid to the Greek Communists:

The working people of the world, the democrats of all countries have every right—and it is their sacred duty—to render assistance to the much-suffering Greek people. This assistance should take the form of a world-wide demand that the Anglo-American troops be withdrawn from Greece and that American intervention cease; it should take the form of moral and material support for the Greek people who are fighting for their freedom and independence.

The same appeal for aid includes the announcement that:

At their recent conference in Belgrade the representatives of the trade unions of Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Rumania, and Albania discussed the political situation in the Balkans and asked the World Federation of Trade Unions to appeal to the working people of all countries to render moral political assistance to the fighting Greek people, to collect funds, and give other material assistance to the victims of Fascist terror in the country.

It should be noted that the "Greek people" referred to by the Cominform organ are the Communist guerillas, and that the "Fascist terror" is the legally constituted Government of Greece.

The stand taken by Soviet leaders before the United Nations organization has also been steadfastly on the side of the Greek Communist rebels and their Soviet satellite collaborators. Arbitrarily rejecting the majority report of the UN Balkan Inquiry Commission which found that Greece's puppet neighbors were promoting the civil war, Soviet representatives wielded the veto power to block any action by the UN Security Council toward solving the Greek crisis.

In one bitter harangue after another Soviet spokesmen such as Andrei Gromyko and Andrei Vishinsky tried to blame the civil war on the legal Greek Government and the United States and to represent the accused satellites as peace-loving nations minding their own business.

U. S. Communists and Greece

In lock step with the U. S. S. R. and her satellites in the plot to overthrow the legal Greek Government is the Communist Party of the United States.

In a furious propaganda campaign the American Communists are repeating and amplifying Soviet vituperation against the legal Greek Government in an attempt to convince the American public that the Communist revolution in Greece is justified. And despite the fact that the United States is spending millions of dollars to help Greece ward off its Communist attackers, the Communists within the United States are following the line of the Communist International or Cominform and promoting moral and material aid for the other side.

Eugene Dennis, general secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, in outlining some of the party tasks at a meeting of the party's national committee in February 1948, said:

* * * We must now help organize the widest support and Nation-wide demonstrative activity to * * * render the most complete political, moral, and economic aid to the people's democratic movement in * * * Greece. (Eugene Dennis, report to national committee, Communist Party, U.S.A., February 3-5, 1948, reprinted in *Political Affairs*, March 1948, p. 211.)

Dennis made it clear that by "people's democratic movement" he meant the Greek Communist rebels, not the lawful Government supported by the United States. All of the Communist propaganda relies heavily on such misleading phrases in an attempt to confuse the issues and to curry popular support for what is fundamentally unpopular with truly democratic peoples.

Typical of the Communist propaganda in behalf of the Greek revolutionists is the following statement in the *Daily Worker*, official organ of the American Communist Party, which, it should be noted, has adroitly transformed proven charges against Greek Communist guerillas into charges against the Greek Government:

Today, the Greek people are still fighting for their freedom. This time they are fighting a minority of monarchists and Fascist quislings who stay in power only because Washington is sending them money and ammunition.

The establishment of a genuinely democratic Greek Government in northern Greece, under the leadership of General Markos, puts the Athens clique even more nakedly on the spot as a government of usurpers backed by a foreign power.

Wherever the people of a nation defend their democratic liberties and national independence, the reactionaries see the hand of "Soviet invasion." This is a compliment to the Soviet Union's stand for freedom, however false it may be in fact. But it is an alibi for our interference with the governments of every nation in the world. (*Daily Worker*, December 29, 1947, p. 9.)

On another occasion, the *Daily Worker* was even more violent:

* * * Greece is a hell house of fear, persecution, and murder, where the collaborators of the Nazis are sitting in the seats of power thanks to the intervention of Churchill in 1944 and Truman's intervention since then. (*Daily Worker*, December 9, 1947, p. 4.)

The same Communist organ devoted an entire page of its November 19, 1947, issue (p. 8) to an optimistic summary of the Greek rebels' progress in "liberating" Greece. It said in part:

The shaded areas on the map of Greece opposite, represent the territory liberated and governed by the democratic army under Gen. Vafthiades Markos. * * * Self-governing bodies, people's councils, courts, schools, banks, and trade exchanges are functioning in many localities. * * *

The guerrillas' job is to protect the freed heart of their land, and fight for the independence and liberty of all Greece. * * * The threat of American troops coming to carry out the mission which President Truman calls restoring order makes their struggle more urgent, their resistance more determined. They've fought in their mountains for 7 years now—and their answer to American threats is their record: "The Greek people will never give up, they will never be beaten."

Confidence in the eventual success of the Greek Communist revolution was also expressed by William Z. Foster, chairman of the Communist Party, U. S. A., in the official Communist magazine, *Political Affairs*, for June 1947 (p. 497). "In Greece," Foster said—

* * * Anglo-American imperialism is in control and it is making every effort to keep the old reactionary cliques in existence.

Nevertheless, he said, it was safe to say that Greece—

will not be able to withstand very long the new spirit of democracy and international cooperation that is sweeping through the peoples of central Europe and the Balkans * * *.

Functioning again as a cheering section for the Greek guerrillas, the American Communist Party through its *Daily Worker* on January 18, 1948, related the evils flourishing in Greece as a result of American intervention and concluded:

Both the Athens puppets and the American officials engineering them are reaching the point where it is difficult to decide what to lie about next. A lie good for the United States Congress does not go over with the Greek people. More and more Greeks are recognizing the free Greek government as their only hope for peace, and are going to the mountains to take up arms to defend it.

Mass meetings, picket lines, and petitions play an integral part in the American Communists' campaign for their Greek colleagues.

For example, the New York State committee of the Communist Party sponsored a lunch-hour demonstration on a New York City street corner on December 10, 1947, to rally support for the Greek Communists as well as Communists uprising in other foreign countries. To encourage American unionists' support, for which this particular rally was intended, the *Daily Worker* in announcing the rally spoke glowingly of the need for American support of Greek labor. After speeches by such leaders as John Gates, *Daily Worker* editor; Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, head of the women's commission of the Communist Party; Robert Thompson, New York party chairman; and Ben Davis, Communist Party

representative on the New York City Council, it was startlingly clear that support for Greek labor was synonymous with support for Greek Communists.

The anxiety of American Communists to ensnare unions into supporting Greek Communists had been evident, also, from *Daily Worker* articles appealing to A. F. of L. and CIO unions to protest American policy in Greece. With national leaders of both the A. F. of L. and CIO on record as fully behind the Marshall plan and other American efforts to halt the revolutionary spread of Communism in Greece and other foreign countries, however, Communist success has been limited to those individual unions within the CIO and A. F. of L. where the Communist membership is in control.

Another type of mass organization through which the campaign of the Communists has been promoted is the American Council for a Democratic Greece, which picketed the Greek consulate in New York City on February 18, 1948. *The Daily Worker* prominently heralded the event as follows:

A demonstration to protest American military intervention on the side of Greek fascism has been called for tomorrow [Wednesday] afternoon, 4 to 6 p.m., in front of the Greek consulate, Sixth Avenue and Forty-ninth Street, the American Council for a Democratic Greece announced today.

Robert Thompson, State chairman of the Communist Party, called on the citizens of New York to "raise an outcry to stay the hand of the Greek monarchist-Fascist executioners."

"The Truman administration is in the first place responsible for this terror," Thompson said. "American officers, sent by Truman, are inciting an unwilling Greek citizenry and even an unwilling Royalist-Fascist-led Army to make a war of brother against brother."

Many prominent citizens and trade-union leaders have announced their support for the demonstration. * * * (*Daily Worker*, February 17, 1948, p. 2.)

On the day after the event, the *Daily Worker* joyfully reported that more than 200 persons had taken part in the picketing of the consulate, during the course of which a memorandum was submitted to the consulate listing the "Athens Government's atrocities and persecutions of the Greek people" and asking withdrawal of American military support from Greece.

It should be noted that among the Communists in strategic positions in the American Council for a Democratic Greece are Peter Harisiades and D. Christophorides, on the national board; Oreste Stephano, executive vice president; and Stephen Leondopoulos, treasurer. The Justice Department is now seeking to deport Harisiades as an alien Communist seeking to overthrow the United States Government by force and violence. It should be noted further that among the signers of the memorandum presented to the Greek consulate during the February demonstration were: Ben Davis, Communist city councilman in New York; Max Perlow, whom the *Daily Worker* identified as a Communist Party member on July 18, 1933; Walter Garland, former Communist Party candidate for the New York State Assembly; and Ella Winter, *Daily Worker* writer.

OTHER BALKAN STATES

In the five other countries that complete the Balkan group—namely, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, and Yugoslavia—Communist minorities staged one successful revolution after another against

the legally constituted Balkan governments. In each case, the revolution was speeded by the threat or actual presence of armed troops of the Soviet Union, in whose shadow the Balkans lie; and it was praised and supported by the U. S. Communist Party.

(C) CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Most recent Balkan state to be brought under a reign of terror is the historically democratic nation of Czechoslovakia. Although the Government of the Czech Republic had been cooperating with the Communists and supporting Soviet foreign policy for years, it was not until February 1948 that the Communists made their successful bid for total power.

That the Communists had long made careful preparations for the final February coup was all too evident. Even while they ostensibly cooperated with non-Communist parties in a Czech "national front" government following World War II, the Communists were quietly worming their way into control of the police forces, trade-unions, and radio and press of Czechoslovakia.

It was the non-Communists' sudden realization of the Communist inroads on the country's police forces that touched off the crisis leading to the country's downfall, in fact. Learning that the Communist Minister of Interior had just replaced eight powerful police officials in and around Prague with Communists, an alarmed majority of the Czech Cabinet on February 13, 1948, ordered the appointments suspended. The Minister of Interior refused to obey, and 12 non-Communist cabinet members resigned in protest on February 20, 1948.

With the conspiracy against Czechoslovakia thus exposed and challenged, the Communists abandoned all pretenses and made a swift, violent strike for total power. Klement Gottwald, Communist Prime Minister and former member of the Communist International's central executive committee, replaced the protesting cabinet members with pro-Communists; ordered the organization of action committees or revolutionary soviets; and forcefully suppressed opposition with the aid of the Communist-controlled police.

The success of the Communist revolution in Czechoslovakia was announced to a horrified world on February 24, 1948. The ruthless violence of the Czech Communists in their coup was the subject of one bulletin after another in the American press.

Communist discovery of a "plot" against the Czech Government by the Czech National Socialist Party—significantly the largest opposition party in the country—is familiar Communist tactic. In the summer of 1947, the Communists had unearthed an alleged plot against the Slovak Democratic Party, in an obvious attempt to discredit the majority party of Slovakia. Evidence that the Communists themselves were the real plotters of conspiracy has now been brought to the eyes of the world.

The Moscow-directed Communist Information Bureau has been unusually blunt on the subject of the Czech revolution. A *New York Times* correspondent reporting from the Cominform headquarters in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, on March 15, 1948, said:

The bulletin of the Communist Information Bureau (Cominform) charged today that reactionary forces, recently defeated in Czechoslovakia, "have merely gone underground" and called for a thorough "purge" in that country.

The unusually frank report on the situation in Czechoslovakia, signed by R. Slanski, acknowledged that the Communists were a minority force, but asserted their

determination to stay in power through such mechanisms as "action committees," which played a major role in assuring a victory in the latest crisis. * * *

Discussing recent events, the Cominform paper said the crisis was provoked because anti-Communist members in the previous government had a majority and were able to vote down Communist proposals. * * * (*New York Times*, March 16, 1948, p. 14.)

The Communist outrage against the Czech Government has been bitterly condemned by a number of the high-ranking Czech diplomats.

Juraj Slavik, Czech Ambassador to the United States, and Frantisek Nemec, Czech Minister to Canada, resigned on March 3, 1948, declaring they would carry on in exile a fight against the seizure of Czechoslovakia. Slavik charged that Communist domination had made his country a "totalitarian police state" and said, "I cannot accept as legal the government headed by President Benes under duress and terror."

Dr. Jan Papanek, permanent Czechoslovak delegate to the United Nations, demanded a United Nations investigation of the Czech situation, in a blistering statement issued on March 10, 1948. Dr. Papanek's statement said in part:

* * * Today I feel that I can no longer postpone action without failing to do my duty to my country and to my terrorized, silenced, and enslaved people. And I take recourse to the provision of the Charter of the United Nations in a specific situation, a situation in which one member of the United Nations has violated the independence of another.

The Government of the Czechoslovak Republic, legally constituted by the general parliamentary elections of May 1946, had been undermined and openly placed in jeopardy on February 22, 1948, through force by a Communist minority. This Communist minority was encouraged and given promise of help, if necessary, by the representatives of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics who came to Prague for that purpose, led by V. A. Zorin, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The political independence of Czechoslovakia, a member of the United Nations, has thus been violated by threat of use of force of another member of the United Nations, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, in direct infringement of paragraph 4, article 2, of the United Nations Charter. * * *

It is very clear that the coup by the Communist minority by force was effectuated successfully only because of official participation of representatives of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and because of the threat of the use of military force of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in readiness on the northwest boundaries of Czechoslovakia. Official and military representatives of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics participated in closed and public meetings of the Communist Party and stayed long enough to see organized terror take hold of the free democratic Czechoslovak people.

Pictures taken in the streets of Prague, published in the world press, show officers of the Soviet Union with armed police, clad in new Czechoslovak uniforms, participating in the meetings and demonstrations. * * *

The Communist usurpers spread terror and break every law which establishes and protects the freedom of men and democratically established institutions, even while they say they are carrying out the will of the people. * * *

The President is prevented from executing his constitutional powers. Political parties have been forced to change their leaders. Many regularly elected members of Parliament have not only been removed from office, but deprived of their parliamentary immunity. Many have been brutally beaten and jailed. * * *

The official lists of names of individuals faithful to their democratic principles who have been arrested without legal grounds are increasing daily. * * * (*New York Times*, March 11, 1948, p. 2.)

To many, a silent but no less eloquent protest against the Communist betrayal of Czechoslovakia occurred in the death of Czech Foreign Minister Jan Masaryk, whose body was found lying in a courtyard below his window on March 10, 1948, two weeks after the new regime came into power. Some felt in Washington that the famed son of the founder of the Czech Republic jumped out of his apartment window because he

was hopeless of defying successfully or even moderating the course of the Communist minority terrorism. Many experts, close to the Czech situation are convinced that Masaryk was murdered, by this convenient, and not unheard of, method.

The Czechoslovak outrage has also had violent repercussions in America. "The tragic death of the Republic of Czechoslovakia has sent a shock throughout the civilized world," President Truman told Congress. At the same time the President condemned the Soviet Union for its aggression in the rest of the Balkans and Europe.

Since the close of hostilities, the Soviet Union and its agents have destroyed the independence and democratic character of a whole series of nations in eastern and central Europe.

It is this ruthless course of action, and the clear design to extend it to the remaining free nations of Europe, that have brought about the critical situation in Europe today. * * * (*Congressional Record*, March 17, 1948, p. 3084.)

U. S. Communists and Czechoslovakia

In the midst of American indignation at the Czech disaster, there remained one discordant note. This was sounded by America's Communists who raucously defended the Czech Communist terrorists all along the line.

William Z. Foster, the head of the American Communist Party, unblushingly made the following statement after Czechoslovakia bowed to the Communists:

The basic significance of the stirring events of the past week in Czechoslovakia is that American imperialism has been balked in its attempt to set up its control over Czechoslovakia under the Marshall plan. * * * Its plans for provoking a crisis, and very probably a civil war in that country, have failed completely.

Wall Street has been defeated by the class solidarity of the workers and the national independent spirit of the Czechoslovak people. * * *

The massed workers, full of revolutionary spirit, went into a counteroffensive of their own. They compelled Benes to accept the resignations of the 12 reactionary cabinet ministers and also to recognize the new democratic cabinet headed by Gottwald. Their prompt and resolute action, under determined Communist leadership, saved Czechoslovakia from the disastrous civil war that the reactionaries were counting on. * * *

The American warmongering press is now shouting that the governmental change in Prague is the result of a Moscow plot. This is a stupid, Red-baiting lie. It is the yelp of a wounded, frustrated reaction, one of whose most dearly cherished imperialist projects has been shattered on the rocks of the people's democracy. * * *

The democratic victory won in Czechoslovakia forecasts the eventual victory of all of the people of western Europe. * * *

The peoples of Europe, who fought so hard to free themselves from the tyranny of Hitler, are not going to submit to the tyranny of Wall Street. The events in Czechoslovakia are a great victory for democracy. All of Europe, sooner or later, must and will go truly democratic and start to build the socialism that the great masses of the peoples desire. (*Daily Worker*, February 27, 1948, p. 3.)

The following statement by another leading American Communist not only illustrates the American party's support of the Czech Communist revolutionaries and their open violence but also offers an unusually crass example of their readiness to deny their use of violence in the face of clear evidence. It is made by Joseph Starobin, foreign affairs "expert" for the official organ of the American Communist Party, the *Daily Worker*:

* * * there isn't the slightest shred of evidence that Czechoslovakia is any less an independent country than before the government crisis, not a fragment of evidence that the Soviet Union had anything to do with the country's political upheaval. * * *

Czech Communists have stopped another Munich, far from having perpetuated one, as our papers (which see everything upside-down in their Alice-in-Wonderland mirrors) would have us believe.

They [Communists] have exercised the defensive powers of the State to protect the State—and there is every evidence that the crisis will be settled within constitutional limits. Even if it were settled beyond those limits, there are certainly crises which demand that. (*Daily Worker*, February 29, 1948, p. 3.)

The Stalinist line maintained by the American Communists on the Czechoslovakian situation has been described by the newspaper *PM*, in an interesting survey (on February 29, 1948, p. 17) of the treatment of the Czech crisis by the *Daily Worker*.

The survey showed that when the Czech storm broke with the resignation of 12 non-Communist Czech Cabinet members over the stacking of the police with Communists, the *Daily Worker* story of February 22, left out the reason for the cabinet resignations. The following day's story in the *Daily Worker* stated as a fact rather than as a Czech Communist allegation that the crisis had been brought on by "capitalist exploitation" and "plots against the Republic." The *Daily Worker* of February 24 was the only New York paper to say that documents proving a plot against the Communists had been discovered; no description of the documents were offered. The February 25 *Daily Worker* heralded the decision of the Czech Social Democratic Party to reverse its position and work with the Czech Communists but did not mention the fact that the party vote reversing its stand followed a police raid on the party headquarters or that the vote was taken while a police guard of 125 men with rifles stood outside the building.

The *Daily Worker* on February 26, instead of reporting an attack on protesting Prague students by the Communist-controlled police as other newspapers did, printed a so-called exclusive story which told how Czech security police had arrested 15 spies working for a secret service organized in the United States zone of Germany. The *Daily Worker* said the conspiracy had support from "as far away as Connecticut." A *Daily Worker* editorial in the same issue hailed the Communist-controlled Czechoslovakia as "free today, gloriously rid of all big-money intrigues and conspiracies."

On February 27, the *Daily Worker* ran glowing accounts of how all of the Czech people were celebrating and rejoicing in their new Communist government, as well as other articles eulogizing the new government.

(D) HUNGARY

Like Czechoslovakia, the Soviet satellite state of Hungary has a tragic history of Communist resort to force and violence, promoted by the Soviet Union and supported by the Communist Party of the United States.

In the case of Hungary, however, the Communist revolution was carried on in the actual presence of Soviet troops who remained on Hungarian soil after separating the Balkan nation from Axis domination. Direct Russian intervention in Hungarian affairs was so obvious that official protests were addressed to the Soviet Union from the American Government.

The revolution that catapulted Hungary into the role of a Soviet puppet state was completed on May 31, 1947. Although a non-Communist Small-Holders Party had held majority control in the Hungarian Government as a result of free elections since 1945, Hungarian Communists just like the Czech Communists had maneuvered themselves into key positions in the Government, including the department of military police. By the beginning of 1947 the Communists were ready to seize power, which they did by forcefully ousting the opposition leaders on the familiar trumped-up charges of conspiracy.

Arrests subsequent to the Communists' discovery of a "plot" in January, 1947, were reported to total 3,000, according to an Associated Press dispatch of May 29, 1947.

One of the most flagrant arrests, which drew the official protests of the United States Government, was that of Bela Kovacs, secretary-general of the majority, non-Communist Small Landholders Party on February 26, 1947. Kovacs was arrested by the Russians for conspiracy in the "plot" after Hungarian Communists failed in their attempt to get a waiver of Kovacs' parliamentary immunity. On the basis of an alleged confession by Kovacs, whom the Russians continued to hold, the Russian military governor in May, 1947, brought conspiracy charges against the Hungarian Premier, Ferenc Nagy, the Foreign Minister, and the Speaker of the House, all members of the Small Landholders Party, as well as most of the prominent bankers, businessmen, and industrialists, in fact, virtually all of the leading capitalists of Hungary. Premier Nagy's secretary was arrested on May 30, and Nagy, who was visiting in Switzerland, refused to return to Hungary and certain arrest by the Russians. The government that emerged from this violent crisis on May 31, 1947, was completely controlled by the Communists.

Nagy condemned the "Russian-Communist conspiracy" against his Government in a statement issued on June 17, 1947, in which he said:

As a result of the direct intervention of the Soviet Union * * * I was ousted from my office, and a new government was imposed upon the Hungarian people. * * *

I protest again the aggression to which my country has fallen victim. * * *

After the Communist seizure of control of Hungary, which was denounced in official United States notes as a minority nullification of the will of the majority, the Communists proceeded on a campaign to destroy minor opposition within Hungary.

As of March, 1948, only one opposition party was left in Hungary and that was being threatened with extinction by the Communists. A *New York Times* correspondent reported on February 21st that:

The Hungarian Socialist party having been virtually absorbed by the Communists through the forced resignation of 20 of its conservative leaders, the expulsion of five others, and the arrest of one of its cabinet ministers, Istvan Barankovics' People's Democratic Party is reliably reported here to be next on the list to walk the plank. It is the only opposition party left in Hungary.

* * * already several officials of his (Barankovics') party have been arrested or attacked on one charge or another and this week the party as a whole was threatened by the Minister of the Interior. * * * (*New York Times*, February 22, 1948, p. 2.)

The force and violence of the Communists in seizing control of Hungary has been vividly described by Ferenc Nagy, the Hungarian Premier ousted by the Communists. Testifying before the Committee on

Un-American Activities on February 6, 1948, Nagy related the following Communist tactics which he said were duplicated in the seizure of Bulgaria, Rumania, and Yugoslavia:

* * * Communism acquired an entering wedge * * * with the assistance of the Soviet occupation forces. This process generally begins with large-scale looting by the Soviet armies, with the mass violation of women, and with other manifestations of brutality. The public becomes terrorized; it becomes incapable of self-defense; political resistance comes to a halt. * * *

The Soviet military commanders put those designated by the Communists into the key jobs in the cities, in government offices, and in the business enterprises. * * *

The political police is organized on Soviet instruction. The majority of the old police personnel is dismissed. Those police who in the past had the misfortune of encountering Communists in the performance of their official duties are put behind bars and most often executed. The new police is made up of jailbirds, of men with police records, and of Communists who survived illegally under past regimes. They begin their new assignment with looting, and with persecuting and killing innocent people. They develop the persecution of innocent people to a high art. They create concentration camps where they collect those who might resist Communist expansion. They employ newly developed inquisition techniques against those who do not confess to the crimes with which they are charged and against those unwilling to incriminate unjustly others still at liberty.

The political police is a special branch of the police vested with extraordinary authority and very quickly develops into the terror of the country. * * *

They teach the workers to exercise mass power; they teach them to demonstrate. Those of you living in a free and orderly country cannot conceive the effect of some tens of thousands of workers marching the streets in disorder and threatening some cabinet minister, judge, or public official with removal if he denies their demands. The government is helpless against such mass demonstrators because force cannot be used against them, since the police and the army are in the hands of the very same group which incites the workers to violence. If there should chance to be a man in the government who resists their demands, they respond with an outbreak of strikes and with production stoppages leading to economic disintegration. * * *

(After a rigged election) the Communistic screw is given a couple more turns. They remove from the government those men whom the public has hitherto trusted and replace them with their own men. If perchance some member of the government is so popular that he cannot be removed summarily means are found to implicate him in a conspiracy. The political police discover that a group of men is involved in a conspiracy against the new order. They arrest a number of them. With the aid of modern inquisition techniques, they secure confessions which incriminate not only those arrested but a number of public officials, high-ranking military men, or some political leaders as well. These are then arrested by the political police. Some are usually charged with espionage, which provides a pretext for their being carried off by the Soviets. * * *

Communism achieved its results in eastern Europe with the assistance of Soviet arms. * * * (Hearings before the Subcommittee on Legislation of the Committee on Un-American Activities, February 5, 1948, pp. 88-92.)

The former Hungarian leader has also been outspoken in his conviction that there is a Moscow-directed international conspiracy for Communist world domination. As he told the Committee on Un-American Activities:

There can no longer be any doubt that under Soviet leadership the purpose of communism is world domination. What we are confronted with here is not Soviet assistance in the domestic programs of the Communist Parties in various countries; rather, we are confronted with Soviet directives, motivated by foreign policy objectives, to Communist Parties in individual countries for the purpose of disrupting the established order. * * *

It is necessary to keep clearly in mind that every Communist Party in the world is under Soviet direction. * * * (*Ibid.*, pp. 87 and 92.)

U. S. Communists and Hungary

To the American Communists, however, the Russian and Hungarian Communists could do no wrong. The non-Communist Hungarian leaders were Fascist conspirators and the Hungarian Communists were saviors of democracy, according to propaganda issued by the American puppet party. It described Ferenc Nagy, the former Hungarian premier, as a Fascist with a "long history of scheming against the Hungarian people," and recommended that he "should be deported back to Hungary where a people's court will mete out justice to these pogrom makers and traitors." (*Daily Worker*, October 4, 1947, p. 6.)

After the final coup which gave Communists a strangle hold on Hungary, the American Communists' official organ, the *Daily Worker*, published a story called "What's Behind the Hungary 'Crisis'," which said that the Hungarian coup was "manufactured out of the whole cloth by the State Department and the press" in order to help railroad through anti-labor and anti-rent-control legislation in the United States.

"There is clear evidence of unconstitutional activities by the deposed Hungarian officials," the *Daily Worker* stated flatly on June 7, 1947 (p. 2); this was elaborated upon on the same day by another *Daily Worker* story entitled "Inside Story of the Fascist Plot in Hungary."

Indicative of the close ties between the Communist Government of Hungary and the Communist Party, U. S. A., is the recent visit as an honored guest of Louis Weinstock, member of the national committee of the American party.

Although visitors from western countries are not generally welcomed, Weinstock was permitted to stay three months.

In a series of ecstatic articles in the *Daily Worker* in March 1948 he hailed the "new freedom for ordinary Hungarians."

(E) RUMANIA

Another victim of Communist terror tactics supported by a Red Army of occupation is Rumania. Although they represent only between 5 and 10 percent of the Rumanian population, the Communists, acting as Moscow's pawns, today have a strangling control over this Balkan State. These Communists also have the constant "moral" support of Russian troops, estimated in November 1947 as being between 100,000 and 150,000 strong.

This Communist control was achieved by outrages against the Rumanian people that began as soon as the country was liberated from the Axis by the Russians. The outrages proceeded despite note after note of protest from the American Government.

The direct role that the Soviet Union played in establishing the Rumanian Communist dictatorship was illustrated by the demand from Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Andrei Vishinsky that King Michael of Rumania dismiss the Radescu government and install the Communist puppet Petru Groza as premier. The King followed Vishinsky's orders on March 2, 1945, when he was told that failure to do so would be considered a hostile act by his government. (*I Saw Poland Betrayed*, Arthur Bliss Lane, Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1948.)

The abdication of the king himself was forced by the Communists on December 30, 1947. *New York Times* Correspondent W. H. Lawrence, reporting from Bucharest, Rumania, on the following day, stated:

* * * what had been announced as the voluntary abdication of young King Michael was in fact a cold-blooded Communist-dictated coup d'état against the monarchy. * * *

Reports of police intimidation and arrest of non-Communists for purely political reasons were as numerous from Rumania as from the other Balkan satellites already discussed.

American officials in Rumania have not been free from this Communist police terror. Senator William F. Knowland, of California, reported after a visit to Europe that a secretary of the American Legation had been searched at gun point by police on November 4, 1947; that the chauffeur of a United States Army sergeant was assaulted by two men in civilian clothes on June 28, 1947; and that the homes of three officers on the United States military staff had been searched by secret police. (*Washington Evening Star*, December 9, 1947.)

The close interlocking of the Rumanian dictatorship with the Soviet Union is indicated by a speech delivered in Bucharest on December 19, 1948, by Yugoslavia's Marshal Tito, who declared that the Danubian Federation, including Poland and Albania as well as the states bordering on the Danube, was led by Premier Stalin. The speeches of Marshal Tito and Rumanian Premier Petru Groza were concluded with the cry, "Long live Generalissimo Stalin" which the crowd repeated.

Serving today as Rumania's Foreign Minister is Anna Pauker, former member of the executive committee of the Communist International.

The extent to which the Workers' Party of Rumania is allied with the Communist Parties of other countries is shown by the fact that greetings were brought to its congress held on February 21-23, 1948, by representatives of the Communist Parties of Great Britain, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Albania, Austria, Belgium, Greece, France, Holland, Italy, Spain, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and Palestine.

U. S. Communists and Rumania

As a former member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International it is fully understandable that William Z. Foster, present chairman of the Communist Party, U. S. A., should express enthusiastic endorsement of the Communist regime in Rumania and hail its "splendid democratic achievements." (*The New Europe*, by William Z. Foster (International Publishers, New York, 1947), p. 27.)

The *Daily Worker* went through the same familiar eulogies of the Rumanian Red regime in issue after issue.

(F) BULGARIA

The Government of Bulgaria is headed by Georgi Dimitrov, former general secretary of the Communist International. Communist-rigged elections to the Bulgarian National Assembly held on October 27, 1946, showed the Communists as receiving 2,262,321 votes out of a total of 4,188,276. Vassil Kolarov, former member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, acted as speaker of the Parliament and acted as Provisional President following the plebiscite of September 8, 1946, which ousted the King and established a so-called republic,

The terroristic character of the present Bulgarian Government is most clearly displayed by the warning of Premier Dimitrov to his parliamentary opposition, following the hanging of Nikola Petkov, opposition Agrarian leader, on September 23, 1947. Attacking the Social Democrats for criticizing the budget, Mr. Dimitrov threatened them with the fate of Petkov and the Agrarian Party as follows:

They broke their heads, and their leader is under the ground. Think this over and do not follow in the footsteps of your allies, foreign agents and Bulgarian enemies. If you are not wiser, you will get from the nation such a lesson as you will remember as far as St. Peter. (*New York Times*, January 14, 1948, p. 1.)

Referring to the trial of Petkov, the United States Department of State declared that it—

constituted but one of a series of measures undertaken by the Communist-dominated Fatherland Front government to remove from the Bulgarian scene all save a purely nominal opposition and to consolidate, despite its professions to the contrary, a totalitarian form of government.

Mr. Petkov had charged that the Fatherland Front government was subjecting the opposition to beatings and killings. The State Department charged that two defense attorneys were seized by the militia.

In an article appearing in the *Washington Evening Star* for September 22, 1947, page A-7, Constantine Brown disclosed the role played by Soviet military forces in Bulgaria. He estimated that the Soviet army of occupation which had been reduced to 100,000 had been increased in the last two months "to a high of 185,000 men provided with the latest equipment."

Testifying before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on February 19, 1948, Mr. George M. Dimitrov, former general secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party, who, although having the same name, is in no way related to the Communist premier, described the orgy of violence which has swept his unhappy country under the Communists.

With the active cooperation of the Soviets and their army, the Communists in Bulgaria grabbed on that date the police and the dispensation of justice in their hands, and, through their political commissars, established their control over the army. A little later and in the same manner, they took over the Nation's education, finances, et cetera, and today they are putting the finishing touches to the complete sovietization of the country and the entrenchment of the dictatorship of the Communist Party. * * *

Without the knowledge of the non-Communist organizations within the Government and even without the knowledge of the non-Communist members in the Cabinet, the Communists arrested and killed off without trial over 50,000 Bulgarian citizens. Arrests have been more than two or three hundred thousand. By means of the so-called people's courts, they brought to trial another eight to ten thousand persons, of whom over two thousand were sentenced to death and executed within 24 hours, while the bulk of the others have since been rotting and dying in prison cells, concentration camps, and the so-called "labor-educational communities," which are actually designed for slaves in the Soviet manner. * * *

The dissolution and the final liquidation of all non-Communist political organizations started by threats, arrests, and beatings of their more active members. Having once shaken them sufficiently, they were officially dissolved, their leaders and more prominent members thrown in jail, others were tried on fabricated charges, while many thousands of smaller men were deprived of their freedom even without the formality of going through a trial. * * *

The lives, the liberties, and the property of all Bulgarian citizens today are in the hands and at the mercy of an irresponsible minority, which tries to play with them in the Soviet manner, known for its diverse methods of inquisition, concentration, and slave-labor camps. And today, when I speak to you here in this hall before this committee, whose activities are under the control of the free citizens of your country,

far away there in my little but beautiful land, thousands upon thousands of hard-working, freedom-loving, and proud people are slowly rotting in their prison cells and concentration camps, many of them dying daily as a result of torture or outright execution. * * *

The most influential body in the provinces is the militia. It is largely self-directed and is often above the Government and laws. It dictates to many Government officials, makes its own rules, and often tells courts what sentences to pronounce. There is no state institution or Government department, not even the army, that can control the militia in some parts of the country. In many of the provinces it is master, taking what it pleases, dispossessing whom it pleases, physically eliminating Bulgarian citizens according to its will. It and the people's courts have killed no fewer than 12,000 Bulgarians, mostly ordinary, independent, solid community leaders, along with a few war criminals and Fascists. The militiamen are heavily armed, most of the leaders had long been subversive, working as rebels against previous governments, and some are ordinary bandits. Brigands can with impunity rob Bulgarians in the name of the new order and "for the good of the common people * * *."

U. S. Communists and Bulgaria

Despite the fact that world opinion generally condemned the Communist regime in Bulgaria, the Communist Party, U. S. A., was unhesitatingly enthusiastic in its acclaim. William Z. Foster, chairman of the CPUSA, paid tribute to the "splendid democratic achievements" of Bulgaria and lauded Georgi Dimitrov (not to be confused with the Agrarian Party leader) as one member of the "most brilliant and effective body of statesmen in continental Europe today." (*The New Europe*, by William Z. Foster (International Publishers, New York, 1947), pp. 27 and 38.)

The official Communist press in the United States has been quick to resent any criticism of what is going on in Bulgaria. The *Daily Worker* of June 6, 1947, page 6, printed an article by its Washington correspondent, Rob F. Hall, which denounced an article in *Life* magazine for May 12 because—

The struggle of the Balkan peoples to establish a new democratic life after centuries of oppression is misrepresented as "spreading Soviet control" behind the so-called iron curtain. * * * But so highly developed is the art of deceit among Mr. Luce's writers that from such inspiring material they contrived a sordid story of dictatorship, repression, and unrest.

Rob Hall then recounts his interview with Nissim Mevorah, representative of the Bulgarian Government in the United Nations investigation of the Greek-Bulgarian-Yugoslav border dispute, which puts Bulgarian life in a high favorable light. Hall quotes Mevorah as saying:

We find it hard to understand, therefore, why the United States Government should now show hostility to us in our efforts to apply in our own country the American principles of freedom and democracy.

(G) POLAND

The Red Army attacked Poland on September 17, 1939. A provisional government was formed on June 23, 1945, including members of the non-Communist government-in-exile and the so-called Lublin or Communist-dominated government.

On January 19, 1947, a Communist-Socialist bloc elected 394 members of the Sejm (parliament) out of a total of 444 seats in a rigged election. Boleslaw Bierut, former official of the Communist International and a leading member of the Polish Communist Party, was elected President.

Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, former Polish Prime Minister and Peasant Party leader, was recalled to Warsaw in June, 1945, to assume the post of Vice Premier. After the elections of May, 1947, the Polish Government initiated a series of purges of all anti-Communist elements and today the Communist Party exercises complete control of that unhappy country. We cite herewith excerpts from a series of articles by Mr. Mikolajczyk in the *Washington Times-Herald*, January 12 to 31, 1948, describing from first-hand knowledge the terrorist methods of the Russians in Poland in the Polish Communist-dominated Government itself.

Mikolajczyk is another anti-Communist official, who was forced to flee his native land to escape murder by the Reds.

Murder of Leaders

It would have been comparatively simple for me to die in Poland. It would have climaxed the murders of 104 Peasant Party leaders and the cynical confiscation and destruction of the party's various headquarters. * * *

Arresting, Shooting, and Deporting

Inside Poland, the Russians were arresting, shooting and deporting thousands of members of the home army and the underground—with the servile agreement of the Communist Lublin government (1945). * * *

Looting

Russia was dismantling and shipping to the U. S. S. R. a great number of Polish factories. It was also looting, burning villages whose people were reluctant to collaborate, and removing our livestock and other effects. * * *

Let me summarize in the briefest possible manner the subsequent Communist campaign against the Polish Peasant Party:

The security police killed our general secretary, Boleslaw Scibiorek. Then a year later and on the eve of the fixed election, they started a "trial" in which they attempted to prove that we ourselves had ordered the illegal Polish underground to murder Scibiorek. * * *

Burning of Villages

At least seven whole Polish villages were burned to the ground because their people refused to become Communists. No one can estimate the number of houses burned in other cities and villages and the value of the properties confiscated. * * *

Murder and Torture

Security police stations became torture houses for hundreds of thousands of Poles arrested for believing in the lofty precepts laid down by the Americans and British and agreed to by Stalin. Untold thousands were murdered in these horror chambers and hundreds of their bodies have been discovered in the grounds around such police stations as those in Kepno, in the province of Poznan, and Bochnia, in Krakow province. * * *

When Madam Chorazyna, our MP, rose in parliament to speak of the freedom of the press which had been guaranteed us, her speech was censored and 2 hours later she barely escaped death, along with her son, when a barrage of bullets crashed through the windows of her home. * * *

Police State

When the reign of terror in Poland became known to the outside world, President Truman and Foreign Minister Bevin were among those who frankly called Poland a police state.

I cannot deal here and now with the tortures our people underwent during efforts to make them renounce the party. Many of these tortures are too vile to display even in the free press. Suffice it to say that the sadism of Nazi executioners were equaled and often surpassed by security police trained by the NKVD.

In the weeks before the election more than 100,000 Poles were arrested by the security police. They were kept, half clothed or naked, for days in frigid open fields for refusing to withdraw their names from lists proposing Polish Peasant Party candidates for office. * * *

Imprisonment of Candidates

One hundred and forty-two of our candidates were kept in prison throughout the normal campaign period before the election. One of these, Mr. Szygula, a farmer in Silesia, was tortured to death in prison. * * *

Terroristic Program

Security police officially killed 126 members of our party during this reign of terror before the election. Military units were created and sent to the villages to lend armed force to the Communists. These units were commanded and their terroristic program outlined by Gen. Korczyz, a Russian general who is now chief of staff of the Polish Army. * * *

At the closing of the polls the commissioners—acting on orders enforced by the presence of the security police—systematically burned all those Polish Peasant Party ballots in excess of 10 percent.

A spy was placed in nearly every house to report conversations, and as a result of this tactic many innocent Poles have been sentenced to 5 years in jail for spreading false rumors. * * *

The Polish Army numbers 150,000 men. At first, 10,000 of its officers were Red Army men. This has been reduced to 3,000. All important positions from chief of staff down through the echelons are held by Russian officers who have been ordered to become Polish citizens. Few Poles are permitted in the Polish air force. It is completely controlled by Russians. * * *

The great scourge of the Polish people, the security police, numbers 230,000 men officially. Communist gangs are armed on the pretext that they are "voluntary help police," (the ORMO). * * *

Police State

NKVD men are stationed in every security police office as "advisers." They are, of course, part of the organization which also polices Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and the Soviet occupation zone of Germany. In this way eastern Europe has become one vast police state under a single control. Poland's independent political parties have been exterminated. Its economic and social life has been sovietized. Its champions of independence have been liquidated or silenced by torture.

Red Army

A Russian colonel told me: "Our men prepare the way for us in France and Italy, and they hope to bring about changes in the government there so that the Red Army will not be forced to march in. But even if they fail, there are plans for the army to move into those lands.

"I SAW POLAND BETRAYED"

Arthur Bliss Lane has been a distinguished member of the United States diplomatic corps since 1916. He has served in Italy, Poland, England, Switzerland, Mexico, Nicaragua, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Colombia, and Costa Rica. He was Ambassador to the Polish Government from 1945 to 1947.

He described the situation in Poland in his recent book entitled "*I Saw Poland Betrayed*" (Bobbs-Merrill Co., Indianapolis, 1948). His analysis fully corroborates the account of Mr. Mikolajczyk and gives the lie to any Communist claims about relinquishment of methods of force and violence. We quote his work in part:

Forcible Deportation

A basic tenet of Soviet policy is the eradication of all truly nationalistic elements in areas under Soviet control. This explains the forcible deportation to Siberia of hundreds of thousands of Poles after the occupation of eastern Poland in September 1939. The same policy has been responsible for the liquidation, physical or political, of nationalist elements in Hungary, Bulgaria, Austria and Yugoslavia (p. 38).

But there was one group in Poland about which nothing was officially said. It was generally known, however, that this group, which corresponded to the Politburo in the Soviet Union, acted under the direction of the Kremlin and was the controlling force in Poland (p. 113).

Kidnaping and Torture of Leaders

But on June 19, 4 days after their arrival, the trial of the 16 arrested Polish leaders was begun in Moscow. I was to learn that the 16 had been taken to Moscow by airplane, thinking they were proceeding to London; that the plane had landed in the snow in a field many miles from Moscow, in the wintry weather at the end of March; that they had been taken to the Lubyanka Prison, in Moscow, where each had been placed in solitary confinement. During their imprisonment they had been subjected to continual exposure, night and day, to glaring electric light, preventing rest and sleep. Questioned and requestioned under this mental torture for weeks, they finally admitted to the charges and readily confessed them when interrogated publicly by the prosecutor. It was a repetition of the technique employed in the Moscow trials of 1937—a technique now in use in all Soviet-dominated nations (pp. 116 and 117).

Terrorist Methods

During our early days in Warsaw even the word of our Polish friends was not needed to convince us of the terrorist methods employed by the Soviet Army and secret police (p. 161).

Secret Arrests

In addition to the terror created in Poland by the returning Red Army, the newly formed Polish Security Police—Urząd Bezpieczeństwa, colloquially known as UB—was making itself unpleasantly known. Like the NKVD, the Russian counterpart, the members of the UB were distinguished by blue collar tabs and hat bands. Many an arrest by these uniformed agents was witnessed by members of the American Embassy on the streets of Warsaw during those early days. Later, more subtle and terrifying methods were employed, such as arrests in the middle of the night; and the person arrested generally was not permitted to communicate with the outside world, perhaps for months, perhaps for all time (p. 162).

Soviet Instruction

Mr. Stanislaw Radkiewicz, Minister of Public Security, frankly admitted that the Russians had lent him 200 NKVD instructors, who would organize the Polish Security Police along Soviet lines (p. 166).

Police State

All gave me information confirming the opinion which we had already formed from our 2 months in Poland: Poland was a police state governed by the Kremlin. I was everywhere assured that not more than 5 percent of the people supported the provisional government. The Peasant Party and the Christian Labor Party together represented over 80 percent of the electorate. Anyone not supporting the Government was in danger of arrest, I was told. Former members of the underground were particularly vulnerable (p. 184).

Police Violence—Political Murders

But the pressure which was being exerted on Mikolajczyk was not merely verbal. Two members of his party had suffered violence at the hands of the security police; one Kojder had mysteriously disappeared, despite the efforts of the Ministry of Public Administration to ascertain his fate; Scibiorek, another leader, had been killed in Lodz because he had insisted on remaining loyal to Mikolajczyk. Later, the Government was to charge that Scibiorek was killed by his own party. The United States Government was so provoked by these political murders, flouting the spirit of the Yalta decision, that Secretary Byrnes gave the press a statement bitterly denouncing the outrages (p. 191).

Reign of Terror

From our earliest days in Poland information kept pouring in to us, not only to me personally and to the rest of our staff, but to American newspaper correspondents as well, that a reign of terror was being imposed on the Polish people by the security police. Even if we had been so incredulous as to brush aside these reports we could not conscientiously have dismissed the information coming from relatives of American citizens who were then in prison. By February 1946, 84 claimants to American citizenship were in jail, almost all—so their relatives apprised us—for the "crime" of having once been members of the underground army clandestinely fighting the Nazis (p. 197).

Forcible Detention in Concentration Camps

We estimated, however, in 1946, that over 100,000 Poles were being forcibly detained either by Polish or Soviet police officials. This estimate was based on our knowledge that large concentration camps constructed by the Nazis were still being used in Oswiecim, in Rembertow (near Warsaw), and in Wolow (Wohlau), about 30 miles from Wroclaw, in the zone under the Red Army control. In addition, the prisons in Krakow, Lublin, and Poznan were filled to capacity with political prisoners (p. 209).

During the Christmas holidays petitions were circulated by hand throughout Poland by security police officials. These UB members went from house to house in the cities and villages endeavoring to obtain the signatures of as many voters as possible indicating their support for the candidates on the Government list. * * *

We received reports from the larger cities—Krakow, Poznan, Gdansk, Katowice, and Lublin—that those persons who refused to sign the manifesto were told they would probably lose their living quarters and their jobs unless they reconsidered their attitude. * * *

Physical Torture

The UB went farther than merely threatening. Many cases of physical torture were reported to the Embassy. The UB were not far behind the Gestapo in inventing refined brutalities. We learned of persons forced to remain during that unusually cold winter in icy water up to their knees for 2 or 3 whole days in attempts to drive them to sign the manifesto. An unfortunate man stood this torture for 72 hours rather than agree to support the Government ticket. Gangrene set in. Both his feet were amputated (pp. 279 and 280).

Terrorism

I could see no difference between Hitler's and Stalin's aims. Both were after world domination. I could not see the difference, which so-called liberals in the United States often claim to see, between the methods of the two tyrants. They were exactly the same—suppression of personal liberty; terrorism by the police; sickening propaganda that the totalitarian state is democratic (p. 288).

Liquidation of Officers

Surely the Soviet Government must be called on to assume responsibility for having deported hundreds of thousands of Poles to Siberia during the Soviet occupation of the territory east of the Molotov-Ribbentrop line, from 1939 until after the German attack upon the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941. This was action calculated to remove Polish nationalistic and non-Communist elements and to extinguish the flower of the Polish Army. Even though the Soviet Government has tried to avoid responsibility for the Katyn incident, with violent protestations of innocence, the accusing finger of public opinion in Poland is still pointed at the Kremlin; for that liquidation of 10,000 Polish officers would be consistent with the Soviet policy of systematically destroying all elements representative of Polish nationalism. Not only were the Nazis and the Soviets in agreement on the annihilation of the Polish state, but they employed similar police state measures to snuff out the spirit of Polish independence (pp. 303 and 304).

Red Army and NKVD

Although it was agreed that democratic leaders from within Poland and from abroad should constitute the new provisional government of national unity, the Communist embryo of that Government-to-be was already functioning in Poland, backed by the Red Army and by the Russian NKVD. In those circumstances the really democratic forces never had a chance to express themselves freely or to form a government clearly representative of the Polish people (pp. 304 and 305).

Arrests, Tortures, Assassinations

The arrest of the 16 Polish leaders and their trial at Moscow in the spring of 1945 was another instance, carried out in defiance of Western public opinion, of the Soviet Government's determination to put an end politically to all Polish leaders who might furnish an element of nationalistic opposition to the Communist-dominated government. Next, with an efficiency and concentration on detail recalling the methods of the Gestapo, the NKVD and its Polish counterpart organized the police state so

that all effective opposition would be quenched. Arrests, tortures, and assassinations were as effective under the Soviet-directed police state as under the Nazi variety (p. 305).

Soviet-dominated Armed Forces

But with the present group in control, supported as they are by Moscow and by Soviet-dominated armed forces, the populace has no chance to establish a government of its own choice (p. 307).

We have chosen two outstanding and internationally known observers and have cited their accounts of the Communist regime in Poland, which could be amplified at length from many other authentic reports which have appeared elsewhere. We have shown the intimate interrelation of the Soviet Government in the Polish picture.

U. S. Communists and Poland.

What has been the reaction of the Communist Party, U. S. A., to this brazen display of force and violence?

Political affairs for April 1947, official theoretical monthly organ of the Communist Party, U. S. A., has featured articles by Wladyslaw Gomulka, Vice Premier of Poland and general secretary of the Polish Workers' Party, which is the Communist Party of Poland, and Hilary Mine, Polish (Communist) Minister of Industry and Commerce. In view of the highly controlled nature of Communist publications, this indicates their close fraternal relations with the American Communist Party.

As late as February 27, 1948, in the *Daily Worker*, William Z. Foster, chairman of the Communist Party, U. S. A., referred to Poland as "one of the most advanced of all the democracies in eastern Europe" and hailed its liberation by the Red Army.

Numerous Communist-front organizations are supplementing this support, including the American Polish Labor Council, the Polish American Trade-Union Council, the American Slav Congress, the Polonia Society, and such Polish Communist papers as *Glos Ludowy*.

The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, another front organization, published a pamphlet entitled "Inside Liberated Poland" by Anna Louise Strong, one-time editor of the *Moscow News*. The same organization has published another brochure called "*We Will Join Hands With Russia*" on Polish-Soviet relations.

John Stuart, an editor of the Communist weekly, *New Masses*, speaks of the Communist regime in Poland as follows in its issue of January 13, 1948:

The Workers Party of Poland is a brilliant phenomenon. The traveler feels its prestige and influence everywhere. Born out of the war, it is a new Communist Party. * * * It is in this sense of people and their needs, this immersion in masses of people, that gives the PPR its dash and imagination and makes it the first party of Poland.

(H) YUGOSLAVIA

Communist leader Marshal Joseph Broz (Tito) was made Premier of Yugoslavia on March 2, 1945. Its constitution, adopted January 31, 1946, closely resembles the Russian pattern. Up to the time of the Tito-Stalin split in 1948, the Yugoslav Communist Party was a direct ally of the Soviet Party and was supported and praised by the U. S. Communist Party.

At the September, 1947, conference of Communist parties held in Poland, M. Djilas, a former Comintern operative, vice president of the

Yugoslav Presidium and head of the dreaded OZNA, or secret police, clearly described how the Yugoslav Communist Party accomplished its successful armed uprising:

Armed Uprising

The Communist Party of Yugoslavia developed in a difficult illegal struggle in an armed uprising and intensive work to build and rehabilitate our devastated country. * * *

As in every revolution, so, too, in the Yugoslav revolution, definite historical circumstances were necessary. I shall not dwell on them, but I should like to emphasize that, however favorable, such circumstances alone, as is generally known, are not sufficient to insure the victory of the working people unless there is a revolutionary, well-organized party, capable of leading the people into the struggle. Such a party existed in Yugoslavia. * * *

The Communist Party of Yugoslavia organized an armed uprising immediately after the occupation of the country as the only effective form of struggle in conditions of war. * * *

The Communist Party of Yugoslavia entered the war after 20 years of illegality. * * *

The nucleus of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia is made up of cadres which passed through the stern school of the uprising and the four years of war. (For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy, December 1, 1947, p. 6, Organ of the Information Bureau of the Communist Parties in Belgrade.)

For picture of violence and terror, we cite the defense statement of Aloysius Stepinac, archbishop of Zagreb and Catholic primate of Yugoslavia, on the occasion of his trial on September 30, 1946, before the so-called people's court of that country. This trial was characterized by the *New York Times* of October 13, 1946, as "clearly political with the conviction foreordained."

Priests Killed

Between 260 and 270 priests have been killed by the National Liberation Front. There exists no civilized country in the world where so many priests would have been put to death for such "crimes" as you have brought up against them. * * *

You have looted the seminary of all its furnishings, of all its property. * * *

All our Catholic printing plants have been taken away from us. * * *

Buildings of some of the religious in the Bachka have been confiscated. * * * (My Conscience Is Clear, by Aloysius Stepinac, pamphlet No. 8 [Catholic Information Society, New York, 1947], pp. 9, 10, and 12.)

On March 27, 1946, Harold Shantz, American Chargé d'Affaires at Belgrade, delivered a note to the Yugoslav Foreign Office, protesting against Soviet obstruction to the Allied military government in Venezia Giulia. Venezia Giulia is a northeastern Province of Italy, half of which, including Trieste, is under joint American and British occupation, and half under Yugoslav control. The note indicates typical Communist methods.

Incitement to unrest—Yugoslav authorities have brought into zone A (American-British zone) armed pro-Slav groups from zone B (Yugoslav zone) for pro-Slav demonstrations, such as those at Gorizia on March 2 and 27, 1946, and at Trieste on March 26, 1946. A resident of zone B who was arrested in Trieste on March 26th for carrying firearms made a voluntary signed statement that he and two others had been given arms by zone B authorities and sent across the Morgan line to demonstrate. Other residents of zone B arrested in Trieste have stated that they were warned to participate in demonstrations and were furnished motor transport as far as the Morgan line. Six shiploads of demonstrators from zone B were brought to Trieste on April 2, 1946, despite specific assurance that no persons from zone B would participate.

Intimidation of the local population—On March 10, 1946, a known extremist action squad leader, with 10 men, left PNOO headquarters in Trieste and went to Servola where he directed a demonstration. During the general strike in Trieste on March 11, 1946, action squads wearing a red star compelled shopkeepers to close their

shops. On numerous occasions action squads from Communist cultural clubs have beaten up pro-Italians; one such club was raided on March 30, 1946, and arms were found, leading to the arrest of 25 persons.

Intimidation of local officials—Nine specific cases have been reported in which members of civil police have received threats to themselves or their families in zone B in an attempt to induce them to leave the force or act as pro-Slav agents. On March 14, 1946, a delegation representing 42 Slovene teachers requested Allied military government protection as they were constantly being threatened by pro-Yugo-slav element, and feared abduction, and felt that they must resign from their schools unless assured of Allied military government protection.

Criminal and terrorist activities—Members of the Yugoslav Army and paramilitary organizations such as KNOJ and OZNA have been arrested while abducting civilians and engaged in other criminal acts. Four of these have volunteered signed statements that they were sent on their missions by their superiors in Yugoslavia and zone B.

As will be evident from the above instances, the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom have been forced to conclude that the provocative activities of the PNOO and other pro-Yugoslav organizations have been encouraged and directed by Yugoslav officials from within Yugoslavia.

U. S. Communists and Yugoslavia

The *Daily Worker*, official organ of the Communist Party, U. S. A., was most articulate in support of the policy of Communist Marshal Tito. Ella Winter, one of its feature writers, was granted permission to visit that country, although such permission is not readily granted to American writers. She was even granted a personal interview by Tito, himself, whom she praised effusively. In this interview he declared with Marxist clarity: "We have gotten rid of the whole old-state apparatus." He justified "strong measures" against all opposition.

Equally laudatory of the Communist regime in Yugoslavia was William Z. Foster, present chairman of the Communist Party, U. S. A. The following comments were made after his European trip in 1947:

Properties Confiscated

The new democracies in Yugoslavia, Poland, and other countries in central and eastern Europe are the result of national democratic revolutions. The essence of this revolution is that the peoples in these countries, during the war, with the potent help of the Red Army, drove out the Fascist invaders and also smashed their own big capitalists and landlords who almost unanimously joined the Fascists. In these struggles the old state's machinery was destroyed and the peoples built new peoples' governments in their place, as well as nationalizing the basic sectors of the industrial system. * * *

Let the major achievements of the progressive new Yugoslav Government illustrate the general trend in the new democracies. The properties of the traitor capitalists have been confiscated, without compensation. An end has been put to privately owned monopolies, cartels, and to so-called free enterprise in the basic economy of the country. The great landed estates, including the lands of the churches, have been divided up among the peasants. The landowners have received no compensation for their lands. * * *

In the more progressive democracies on the Continent, however, the general policy (not yet fully applied) regarding compensation goes about like this: The many important industries owned by the Germans are confiscated outright, without compensation, and so also are the plants of native capitalists who collaborated with the Germans. As for the big landed estates, the general rule has been no compensation, although in some instances the church may be paid for the lands divided among the peasants. (*The New Europe*, by William Z. Foster (International Publishers, New York, 1947) pp. 18, 25, 26, 28, and 29.)

Again in the *Worker* for May 18, 1947, page 2, Foster continues his panegyric, as follows:

Yugoslavia is now, next to the Soviet Union, the most democratic country in the world. It has become one of strong fortresses of international democracy. * * *

The epic struggle was led by the National Liberation Front, the heart and backbone of which was the Communist Party. At the head of the whole war movement and of the new Yugoslavia stands Marshal Tito, a brilliant Marxist. * * *

Answering further the general charges of Yugoslavian dictatorship, the marshal * * * defends the Soviet dictatorship of the proletariat, as having been "necessary in the great October revolution, so that the ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin might be put fully into effect. * * *

Communist-front organizations in the United States were actively promoting the cause of Communist Yugoslavia, among them being the American Slav Congress, the Croatian Fraternal Union, the United Committee of South Slavic Americans, the International Workers Order, the American Committee for Yugoslav Relief, and the American Committee for Free Yugoslavia. These efforts were supplemented by *Slobodna Rech*, Communist Serbian newspaper, as well as the Croatian newspaper, *Zajednicar*.

After the Tito-Stalin split, and the removal of the Comintern organ, *For A Lasting Peace, for A People's Democracy*, from Belgrade to Bucharest, the American Communist Party slavishly and promptly swung over in criticism and condemnation of Tito and the Yugoslav Marxists and in meticulously subservient aping of the Moscow and Cominform anti-Tito line.

So did all the rest of the Communist Parties throughout the world, every one acting promptly and simultaneously to prove they are agents and tools of the Kremlin Politburo.

(I) ITALY

The Communist Party of Italy has not yet realized its ambition of taking over power in that country. Its leader, Palmireo Togliatti, alias Ercoli, former member of the executive committee of the Communist International, has time and again threatened resort to force and violence, in the event that his group is not victorious through parliamentary means. Speaking at the Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of Italy in January 1948, he declared:

We have after all experience which is much greater than that which we had in 1920 and 1923. We have behind us the experience of the partisan war and not only do we have this experience, but tens of thousands of youths and adults who have learned to use arms for the defense of liberty and the independence of the country and who, if the situation should arise in which, as happens many times in the course of democratic revolutions, liberty must be also defended and reacquired with arms, they would do everything in their duty toward democracy and toward their fatherland.

The phrases about "liberty," "democracy," and "independence" are, of course, simply Communist double talk for a Communist dictatorship.

Citing a secret United States Army report which has never been denied, Drew Pearson states in the *Washington Post* for September 8, 1947, page 12:

The United States Army has discovered hidden stores of Communists arms, and an underground Italian-Slav army ready to seize northern Italy as soon as the American Army evacuates.

"The chief aim of insurrectional action," says the secret War Department report, "is to build a bridgehead for the Slav elements of the Emilia-Romagna region."

To further the Italian insurrection aims, the occupation wedge would, by acts of sabotage on highways and railways, ambush, and other guerrilla tactics, cut off the movements of the Allies in support of the government troops sent to crush the insurrection.

Having started in the heart of Emilia, the movement would immediately extend into the Veneto and the Liguria and gradually embrace the surrounding regions (like an oil spot) either through disorganizing and flanking operations of the militarily less organized Red elements of those districts, or by direct armed action aiming at a new March on Rome whose duce would be Longo.

The action is based particularly on surprise and ferocity in the early hours so as to gain a few days of insurrectional autonomy in order to mobilize.

Citing direct Soviet aid given to the Italian Communists, the report states: "The Russian officers residing at the Soviet repatriation office of Salsomaggiore are the technical advisers of the regional command."

The Italian Communist Party is a part of the international pattern originally established by the Communist International, to which all sections of this movement conform in accordance with the particular stage of development of the movement.

Reporting to the Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of Italy, held on January 4-10, 1948, which was attended by fraternal delegates of Communist Parties of other countries, Palmiro Togliatti emphasized this fact, in the following words:

Comrades, representatives of the fraternal parties, we have known each other for a long time; we are veterans of many struggles. There is nothing in the recollection of our common past, of our common work and struggle, when we were united in the great proletarian organization—in the Communist International—of which we need feel ashamed. On the contrary, we are proud of our past. (*For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy*, January 15, 1948, p. 2, organ of the information bureau of the Communist Parties, Belgrade.)

Finally Togliatti acknowledged that the principles and tactics of the Communist Party of Italy are based upon the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin and the example of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Marxist-Leninist Conquest of Power

Marxism-Leninism contain the principles which enable one to understand history of human development, why the problems of building a new society are raised in one form and not another. In the Communist Manifesto we find the sources of the greatest streams of thought and action in modern history, the culminating point of which is the great October Socialist revolution, carried out by the Communist Party of the Bolsheviks, the party which was educated by Lenin and Stalin in the spirit of the teachings of Marx and Engels, in the spirit of the Communist Manifesto. This great party was able, for the first time in history, to lead the working class to the conquest of power, to transform it into a leading class, to lay the foundations of the new Socialist society.

I can think of no better way of concluding this session of our Congress than by addressing ourselves with respect and gratitude to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its leaders who were able to make a decisive contribution to the historical development of mankind because they remained faithful to the principles of Marxism. Our party, too, must be loyal to those principles if it wishes to go forward and develop as a great democratic revolutionary force. (*Ibid.*, p. 4.)

U. S. Communists and Italy

The *Worker* of March 30, 1947, page 9, official organ of the Communist Party, U. S. A., displayed considerable pride in the achievements of the Communist Party of Italy and praised Palmiro Togliatti, its secretary, whom William Z. Foster has called one of the "most brilliant and effective" statesmen in "continental Europe today."

During Foster's visit to Rome, as described in the same issue of the *Worker*, he was escorted about by Ambrogio Donnini, for years an active member of the Communist Party, U. S. A., and now a prominent leader of the Italian Communists. Foster reported he felt that "Communists really count in democratic Italy."

"American liberties and freedoms were won at the sacrifice of the lives of many of our forefathers. Subversive elements working in the United States today would destroy the liberties and freedom guaranteed by our Constitution. They would place us under the iron heel of dictatorship along with the other millions of human beings now suffering from oppression. To fight against this is the present duty of every American."

ASSEMBLY RELIEF INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE REPORT, 53d Session

THE CALIFORNIA SITUATION

California and New York are the two principal centers for Communist activity in our Nation. Our State has been a target for Communist activity for more than three decades and it is confronted in 1949 with an intensive Communist program of planned disruption and confusion to fit the pattern of the Seventh Period of Communist Strategy, which has been described in the preceding section, titled *The Domestic Situation*.

The committee calls attention to the fact that California is in a key position in national defense; in manufacturing and agricultural contributions to national defense; in aviation, motion pictures, radio, shipping and transportation; and that it has become a crucial State in major political decisions affecting the welfare of the Nation and the future of the world.

The unprecedented growth in California's population has created conditions and groupings that provide lush material upon which Communist disruption can feed.

California's great past, and imposing future, presents a challenge to both the Communists and the Americans. The final record of how that challenge will be met, will be determined by the energy, devotion, courage and morality of the advocates of these two utterly contradictory philosophies.

We have shown in the preceding sections of this report how the world Communist movement places emphasis on anticipated depression and economic chaos to create an atmosphere conducive to violent revolution; and that it directly has accepted the belief that the United States soon is to enter such a period of depression and economic confusion.

We have shown also in the preceding sections of this report that the line and strategy of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. is completely subservient to the programs and interests of Soviet Russia.

We have shown also that the present program and line of Soviet Russia is to engage in a program of unprecedented expansion through brutal aggression and to denounce the United States as the center of an "imperialist war-mongering camp."

Since 1945, when the American Communist movement was reconstituted again as the Communist Party, U.S.A., after the ouster of Earl Browder as party leader and his replacement by William Z. Foster, as chairman, and Eugene Dennis, alias Frankie Waldron, as secretary, the

American Communist Party has conducted a militant program of disruption and confusion in support of the world Communist program laid down by the Kremlin. This policy was formalized publicly on an international scale through the creation of the Cominform in September, 1947.

The California unit of the Communist Party has followed this policy with meticulous and undeviating zeal.

In the immediately following sections of this report, your committee presents from the official texts, publications and statements of the leaders of World Communism the positive proof that the Communist movement throughout the world is an instrumentality of Soviet Russia and is a persistent advocate of revolutionary overthrow of all non-Communist governments by force and violence; and in the case of Tito and Yugoslavia, *even of Communist* governments that do not please the Kremlin Politburo!

Proof that the Communist Party, U.S.A., is an undeviating adherent of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism and consequently, is an agent of a foreign power and an advocate of overthrow of our government by force and violence is cited under the title, *The Major Legislative and Legal Problem*, on Pages 149-256 of this report.

WE WERE WARNED IN 1939-1940

The first committee of the California Legislature to investigate the problem of Communist activity in California was the Assembly Relief Investigating Committee, which issued a report in 1940 on its investigation of the State Relief Administration. The committee was chairmanned by Assemblyman Samuel William Yorty. The committee said in its first report, page 3:

The Communist Party is bent upon overthrowing the American Government in order to substitute a dictatorship for our democracy. These traitors probably do not have the power to accomplish this objective today without outside assistance. But they are preparing to strike whenever we face a crisis of sufficient gravity to weaken our resistance. As part of our national defense we must stop them before they are able to attain sufficient strength to accomplish their objective.

The Yorty committee was the predecessor of the series of legislative committees that, through direct succession, finally became the present Senate Committee on Un-American Activities.

In 1940 this first committee specifically warned the Legislature and the people of the State of California of the danger of Communism and made specific recommendations. Since that time, your committees have made four comprehensive reports on Communist activity and have made further recommendations.

In the face of these warnings and of the proof of Communist treachery, carefully documented by the committees, very few of these recommendations were heeded. The Communist Party was permitted to expand its numbers from an insignificant few thousands and to extend its influence by penetrating into, organizing or taking over hundreds of front organizations to do its work.

For more than a decade the problem of Communism has been treated with either levity or complacency by too many people. In 1949, in a period of cold war that has placed heavy burdens on our finances and on our economy, and after a succession of murderous and bloody Stalinist

seizures of powers by Communists across the globe, the time has come to face the facts about this world-wide conspiracy and to do intelligently and effectively what must be done to meet the threat of totalitarian Communism.

PROBLEMS BEARING ON THE REPORT

Your committee has been forced to cope with a number of serious problems in the preparation of this Fifth Report.

First, Communist trickery, engineered by Communist and fellow-traveler attorneys, has resulted in sabotaging public hearings through a virtual defiance of law and order by Communist-coached witnesses.

Second, the Communist Party in 1948 commenced a complex, secretive reorganization and streamlining of its entire structure to operate on an underground basis in the classical application of Lenin's admonition to combine "legal and illegal" work in periods of stress.

Third, the Communist Party simultaneously began a complex reorganization of its front organization activities.

Fourth, the Communist Party, U.S.A., following the line laid down from the Kremlin in Moscow, proceeded to accomplish a complicated change and revision of its basic strategy and tactics.

Fifth, the Communist line of recalcitrant subservience to Soviet Russia's foreign policy interests, combined with its brazen creation of a third party political movement, built around Henry Wallace, provoked a series of conflicts in trade union, liberal and minority group organizations. These conflicts created a series of important realignments of forces and interests, and these still are continuing.

THE COMMITTEE'S CONCLUSIONS

Your committee evaluated these developments from a large mass of information and documentation. The study of these facts brought your committee to a series of conclusions. These conclusions led your committee to decide that the questions presented by the changes and shifts in all phases of the problems arising from Communist activity, demanded an entirely new approach toward any report on the Communist problem as it confronts the Legislature and the people of California in 1949.

Our conclusions were:

1. *An important and basic change was being made in the Communist strategy of the Seventh Period.*

(See preceding section, *The Domestic Situation*, for a clear analysis of the Seven Periods of Communist Strategy in America.)

2. *Communists were regrouping their strategic forces and changing their policies to fit one of the several key strategy lines of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism, known as "The Struggle Against Imperialist War."*

The Communist strategy of the Struggle Against Imperialist War is based on a 64-page resolution of the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International, in Moscow, July-August, 1928, which was presented by the Italian Comintern member, Ercoli, who in recent years has been known as Palmiro Togliatti, head of the Italian Communist movement.

This resolution is considered to be one of the most important Communist documents. It actually was prepared by a special Comintern commission.

A 1934 copy of the resolution, which was widely circulated in the 1930's is in the possession of the committee. It now is out of print and is sold for upward of \$10 in bookstores that specialize in Marxist literature. However, a series of pamphlets, directives and propaganda publications, with analysis of strategy and tactics, now is in preparation based on this document, for the guidance of U. S. Communists in the present period.

It was published in the United States under the title, *The Struggle Against Imperialist War and the Tasks of the Communists*, by Workers Library Publishers, a Communist publishing firm.

The core of the Communist line outlined in this basic study of strategy and tactics is contained in the following statement on Page 31 of the 1934 Second Edition:

In the event of an attack upon the Soviet Union the Communists in oppressed nations as well as those in imperialist countries, must exert all their efforts to rouse rebellion or wars of national liberation among the national minorities in Europe and in the colonial and semicolonial countries against the imperialist enemies of the Soviet state.

In view of the fact that the "enemy" in such a war is the Soviet Union, i.e., the fatherland of the international proletariat, the following changes must be made in the tactics as compared with the tactics employed in "purely" imperialist war:

(a) *The proletariat in the imperialist countries must not only fight for the defeat of their own governments in this war, but must actively strive to secure victory for the Soviet Union.*

(b) Therefore the tactics and the choice of means of fighting will not only be dictated by the interests of the class struggle at home in each country, but also by the considerations for the outcome of the war at the front, which is a bourgeois class war against the proletarian state.

(c) The Red Army is not an "enemy army" but the army of the international proletariat. In the event of a war against the Soviet Union, the workers in capitalist countries must not allow themselves to be scared from supporting the Red Army and from expressing this support by fighting against their own bourgeois, by the charges of treason that the bourgeois may hurl against them.

This Anti-Imperialist War line was analyzed and taught, and developed into complex strategy and tactics, by the world Communist movement from 1928 until 1935.

BLUEPRINT FOR TREACHERY

Among other things it advocated that the Communists plan, propagandize and organize to be able to turn any "imperialist war" into a civil war in their own country; to prepare for strikes and demonstrations; to infiltrate youth and the armed forces to corrupt them and weaken their morale; to make use of pacifism to help the Soviet Union but to combat pacifism when it opposed civil and revolutionary war; to prepare for the general strike as the final transitional stage to armed uprising; and to organize for guerrilla activity by a "Red Guard" as well as for sabotage and other traitorous activity.

Your committee already was engaged in research on this vital and fundamental Communist line before Communist leaders in February, 1949, openly proclaimed the line as described by Roscoe Drummond, chief of the Christian Science Monitor Washington Bureau, in that publication, March 2, 1949:

It's too bad that Maurice Thorez and Palmiro Togliatti can't be subpoenaed and brought to New York to testify in the trial of the 11 American Communist leaders.

Thorez and Togliatti are, respectively, the chiefs of the French and Italian Communist Parties, and recently they have been expounding Communist doctrine with arming candor.

They obviously would make valuable government witnesses in the New York trial. Fortunately, they are doing their work just as well from Paris and Rome, for what is most needed is not to put Communist officials behind bars, but to bring Communist purposes into the open—out from behind Marxist deceit and the last thin layer of American woolly-mindedness.

Thorez and Togliatti will have their own reasons for standing up and proclaiming that they will commit treason against their own nations if war should come with Russia. But there is every reason to take them at their words, and as we watch the operation of the Communists in the United States it is helpful to Americans to see it so bluntly shown that loyal Communists are citizens of the Kremlin only.

There are four recent disclosures of Communist purpose which are particularly revealing and which will help to alert Americans to the facts, rather than the fictions, of what the Communists are really up to:

1. Thorez delivered a speech last week in which he said that in the event of war with Russia the French people should "welcome" the Red Army on their soil as "liberators"—liberators, I suppose, from French democracy.

2. Togliatti followed two days later with a speech in Rome in which he let just a little more of the tail of the cat out of the bag by declaring that in case of conflict with the Soviet Union it would be the duty of the Italians to "aid" the Soviet Army whenever it reached Italian soil.

3. In London this week, Harry Pollitt, general secretary of the Communist Party, announced that British Communists would join in organized sabotage should there be war with Russia.

4. Finally, of related interest, is the almost instant action of the Chinese Communists, after seizing Peiping, in dropping a total ban on the work of all foreign correspondents. It remains to be seen whether the Chinese Communists are Soviet satellite Communists, but what is clear is that the Chinese Communists have iron curtains of their own making.

It deserves to be understood that the choice of loyalty which Thorez, Togliatti, and Pollitt makes between their own countries and Moscow is something special which applies only to France, Italy, and Britain.

Last year, in his testimony during the Senate hearings on the proposed Mundt-Nixon bill, William Z. Foster, chairman of the Communist Party in the United States, found it hard not to give himself away. It is faithful to the record to say that Foster, who was indicted along with the other Communist officers but has not been well enough to stand trial, publicly, if unwillingly, testified:

That American Communists would not support the United States if it were attacked by the Soviet Union.

That American Communists would seek to end any war in which the United States and the Soviet Union might become engaged—on Soviet terms.

That, if drafted into the army, American Communists have not yet decided (so Foster allows himself to say) whether they would obey or disobey military orders.

Thorez, Togliatti, and Pollitt are more outspoken now than Foster was eight months ago. Either Foster hadn't read the Communist rules (highly improbable) or as a tactic (highly probable) he was refraining from exposing Communist policy too bluntly for American consumption. For the constitution of the Third International, which governs the Communist parties in every country, is blandly explicit on this point. It says:

"Every branch and member of the universal Communist Party is pledged to indulge in national treason in case of war with the Soviets—no matter who, in such a war, should be aggressor."

Thus it will be seen that Thorez, Togliatti, and Pollitt are not proclaiming and Foster is not hinting at any new Communist purpose. Their words are in complete line with authentic Communist doctrine. Under the constitution of international Communism, its members, whatever their country, are pledged to renounce patriotism and, whenever necessary, "practice treason."

Because Americans are becoming more alert to the Communists, they can be less alarmed about Communism.

Several days later William Z. Foster and Eugene Dennis removed any doubt about the position of American Communists, when they issued the following statement:

The Thorez and Togliatti statements emphatically serve the cause of universal peace.

Only those who plot a third world war and seek to embroil France and Italy in aggressive military operations against our great ally of World War II, the Soviet Union, could read anything un-French or un-Italian in these statements.

French and Italian sovereignty and independence are threatened today solely by Wall Street's schemes of world domination as expressed in the Marshall Plan and the proposed Atlantic war alliance. It is our military and those of the British who have established a General Headquarters at Fontainebleau. Not Russians, but Americans have military bases and are intervening in the internal affairs of Greece, Turkey, Iran, China, Canada, Greenland, Brazil, as well as France and Italy.

On February 27, *The New York Times* editorially termed the danger of an invasion of our shores "widely improbable." What *The Times* failed to say, however, was that the threat of aggression against other nations is not "widely improbable"—and that this threat emanates precisely from Wall Street and its cartel-connected trusts. It is this which explains the colossal peacetime military budget, the effort to stampede the Nation into the Atlantic war alliance and plunge America and the world into an atomic war.

We Communists join with millions of other patriotic Americans in opposing those who seek a new world war. We strive for peace and friendship between the U. S. A., the U. S. S. R., the new democracies, the colonial and all other peoples. We do not regard a new world holocaust as inevitable. We hold the peaceful co-existence of two different social systems wholly possible. We believe that efforts of the peoples to achieve peace can check the war-makers and create new opportunities to achieve peace. The peace camp is infinitely stronger than the war camp.

It is this which makes the war camp so reckless and ruthless. An atmosphere is rapidly being created in our Nation that to work for peace and American-Soviet amity is considered equivalent to treason. The trial of the Communist leaders, the current witch-hunts and other attacks on civil liberties are indicative of today's political climate.

If, despite the efforts of the peace forces of America and the world, Wall Street should succeed in plunging the world into war, we would oppose it as an unjust, aggressive, imperialist war, as an undemocratic and an anti-Socialist war, destructive of the deepest interests of the American people and all humanity. Even as Lincoln, while a Congressman, opposed the unjust, annexationist Mexican War and demanded its termination, so would we Communists cooperate with all democratic forces to defeat the predatory war aims of American imperialism and bring such a war to a speedy conclusion on the basis of a democratic peace.

American security and American peace lie in world security and world peace—not in any Wall Street-Ueber Alles policy decked out in the trappings of "the American century."

For our part, we will work with all those who seek peace, democracy and social progress. The American people, assuming their historic responsibility, must reject the war policies of the Wall Street-Churchill cartelists and their bipartisan puppets and return our Nation to the peace policies of Franklin D. Roosevelt, the "Grand Design" and cornerstone of which is firm American-Soviet friendship. (*Communist Party Press Release, March 10, 1949.*)

TWO PARTY LINES COMBINED

Your committee's study of Communist strategy over the period of more than a decade had made it plain that such a world-wide Communist dedication to the Anti-Imperialist War line was imminent. Communist action confirmed this analysis.

3. *The revival of the Anti-Imperialist War line was accompanied by an inclusion in that line of many features of the United Front From Below line of the Communist Party.*

Communism had followed the strategy and tactics and propaganda techniques of the Anti-Imperialist War line from 1928 to 1935, when, at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, in Moscow, July-August, 1935, Georgi Dimitroff, at that time General Secretary of the Comintern, and now the Communist premier of Bulgaria, laid down the United Front From Below line in a series of speeches.

Dimitroff's speeches were published in this country under the title, *United Front Against Fascism*, by New Century Publishers, a Communist publishing firm; and this volume since has been continuously circulated through Communist book stores and schools. Numerous editions of this standard Marxist classical text are in the committee's files.

The United Front line, which was directed at giving Communists positions of power and influence in coalitions directed against the rising tide of Fascism and Nazism during the 1930's, is analyzed in detail in the preceding section, *The Domestic Situation*, as a feature of the Fourth Period of Communist strategy in the United States.

4. *Instructions to launch the United Front line against the United States came from the new international Communist organization, the Cominform, which was launched in September, 1947.*

The phases of the United Front line that were promoted by the Cominform were those dealing with the united front against Fascism, and all Communists were ordered to direct against the United States in 1949 the same type of "anti-Fascist" tactics that was directed against Germany, Italy and Japan from 1935 to 1939.

The Communist movement was to be hailed as the "people's, democratic, peace-loving camp" and the United States as the center of the "Fascist, imperialist, war-mongering camp."

(For details of this activity, see *World Situation, in Part One of this Report.*)

Eugene Dennis, Secretary of the Communist Party, U.S.A., laid down this line for American Communists in his political report to the National Committee of the Communist Party, meeting in New York, February 3-5, 1948.

This report was published by the Communist firm, New Century Publishers, under the title, *The Third Party and the 1948 Elections*, and it was widely distributed through Communist bookstores, schools and front organizations. In this edition, Dennis said on page 8:

* * * The chief acts of the executive branch of the government and of Congress are marked by a single-minded devotion to promoting monopoly profiteering and imperialist expansion, to organizing anti-Soviet War incitement, and to stepping up all measures of preparation for World War III."

5. *These Communist instructions were being carried out in California and they were completely changing the entire situation.*

The Communist Party had begun the process of "going underground" in 1948 to prepare for the Marxist need to "combine legal and illegal work," which it could foresee as a result of the international showdown that was coming to a head between the Communist sphere and the sphere of free nations, and because of its own instructions to launch the Struggle Against Imperialist War line, combined with the United Front techniques of smearing the United States as the world center of "fascism and war-mongering."

Your committee had information that the Communists in California were so well-advanced in the process of "going underground" that they were conducting large scale maneuvers in testing secretive assembly procedures.

Meanwhile, the California sections and divisions of the major Communist fronts and groups were engaged in a complicated process of reorganization. This entire process of reorganizations, without a single deviation, followed the pattern of preparation for the fundamental strategic and tactical maneuvers of the Anti-Imperialist War line.

6. Communist activities since the Spring of 1948 had provoked a whole series of conflicts in many organized groups and the picture was changing constantly.

The Communist Party launched the (Independent) Progressive Party in 1948 as its above-ground political and legislative apparatus and dedicated the new third party to opposition to American preparedness, to support and defense of the Soviet Union, to antagonism to the Marshall Plan and to all-out attack on American foreign policy.

The inflexible commitment of the Communists to follow this "un-American" line in trade-union, liberal, political, and minority groups provoked the most intensive conflict within these groups, particularly in the CIO and in our Negro, Jewish and Mexican organizations.

Where the Communists previously had been able to conceal or extenuate their Marxist-Leninist adherences in order to play an important role in organizations and coalitions in these fields, by posing as "staunchly devoted to the interests of workers and minorities," they now were forced into open conflict with the patriotic majority of our trade-union and minority group organizations over the clear issue of loyalty to the United States in a conflict of interests with Soviet Russia.

The result of the complex series of conflicts, which still are continuing, and in many instances are as yet unresolved, has been to make either pointless or hopelessly dated the great mass of testimony taken by your committee during 1948 in public hearings on Communist activity in these fields.

7. Communist reorganization of activities and fronts also had worked a major change in the over-all situation or was in the process of working out such a change.

In addition to the conflicts that had developed between Communists and patriotic Americans in many of the mass organizations, the Communist Party has been engaged since the 1948 presidential election in a radical reorganization of its front activity to meet the demands of the strategy and tactics of the Anti-Imperialist War line.

Since the Anti-Imperialist War line, combined with some phases of the United Front line, is directed toward the support and defense of the Soviet Union, it requires a strategic and tactical emphasis on certain fundamental propaganda and agitation activities.

Any conspiratorial group, regardless of ideology or theory, that is dedicated to support a foreign power against its own country and is counting on the prospect of economic crisis to provoke the opportunity for uprising, and is committed to plan for civil war and revolt, would be idiotic in its treachery if it did not take certain fundamental steps to prepare for the time when it must play its treasonable role.

Here are some of the things such a conspiracy would have to plan and organize for :

(1) It would have to engage in all types of espionage and to infiltrate all defense plants and industries or trades, especially transportation, communication and agriculture, that would be of any value for military purposes.

(2) It would have to engage in a gigantic campaign of peace propaganda, involving intellectuals and pacifists, to destroy, demoralize and weaken the unity and morale of the nation it was planning to betray.

(3) It would have to direct a special campaign for the same purposes toward soldiers, sailors and other military personnel; and also to all young people who were potential combatants.

(4) It would have to infiltrate into the educational, communication, entertainment, press and propaganda fields to create confusion, disruption, disunity and doubt; and to win over popular personalities to serve its propaganda purposes.

(5) It would have to infiltrate into any public or private positions of power and influence that would in any way deal with defense, preparedness, charity, relief, unemployment, social security and similar problems.

(6) With its agents in key positions in such public influence, it would have to prepare to organize movements of unemployed and relief clients and to control and manipulate such movements in a period of economic uncertainty or distress.

In addition, such a program would have to be conducted to create the greatest possible number of coalitions with mass organizations on so-called "local and immediate issues" and at the same time launch a mammoth and continuous program of "defense of civil rights" and denunciation of "red-baiting" to protect its leaders, collaborators and useful personalities from exposure and isolation as potential traitors in organized groups as well as from investigation, indictment and prosecution for illegal acts, and from any antisubversive legislation by Congress or the states.

Your committee has documented in its preceding four reports that the Communist Party has done every one of the things that are indispensable to a program of organized treachery in the interests of a foreign power, as cited above.

1939 AND 1949

California's Legislature and citizens should particularly be interested in present Communist strategy and tactics developments because our State approximately a decade ago was the most conspicuous target in the entire Nation for an identical and complete program of the same Communist character.

Our State experienced the flowering of the United Front from Below line from 1935 to August, 1939, when the Hitler-Stalin Pact was signed. From 1939 to June, 1941, when Hitler launched an attack on Russia, California was subjected to the basic elements of the Anti-Imperialist War line with overtones of combined Communazi treason.

Your committee found that the Communist Party in California had launched itself upon a program in 1949 that was identical with its program in 1939; but vastly more dangerous because of the expansion of world Communism by bloody aggression in the intervening 10 years.

Your committee was impressed with the unprecedented success of the Communists in swindling many innocents into supporting a carbon copy of a treasonable fraud by which the Communists once had exposed their duplicity. Your committee also was concerned with the complacency and apathy with which so many Californians regarded the 1949 model of the 1939 Trojan Horse.

8. Your committee became convinced that the Communists would consider ordinary report of their general surface activities of the past year to be a huge joke.

A thorough review of the available facts about the continuing changes in Communist front activity to prepare for the fullest strategic and tactical operation of all phases of the Anti-Imperialist War line in the Seventh Period of Communism in America, convinced your committee that it was obligated to provide the Legislature and the citizens with substantial new tools to deal with the menace posed by these developments in our State, when considered in the framework of the world situation today.

The committee is well aware of the fact that most Americans know little or nothing of the theories and practices of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism and little more about the specific legal issues involved in the control of subversive activity in a manner so that such control will not infringe upon our own basic and treasured American freedoms and liberties.

The committee also is well aware of the fact that the Communist Party continuously conducts an efficient, systematic and highly skilled campaign of propaganda and confusion on these important issues.

Your committee felt that the most important step to be taken was to launch a direct and frontal attack on the Communist Party as an agent of a foreign power and an advocate of overthrow of government by force and violence.

9. Your committee decided to assume the task of laying this entire problem before the Legislature and the people of California in such a manner that they would have immediately available under one cover the information they would need to act intelligently to meet the problem of a revised and insidiously clever Communist program.

It was essential in any comprehensive program to meet the threat of the new Communist strategy and tactics that a large mass of factual information be combined for the first time under one cover and made readily available to the leadership of our State.

Any such compilation of factual documentation also would have to support and unqualifiedly justify any needed legislation, investigation, prosecution and community action that would be recommended to meet the problem posed by the plotting of treason, sabotage and civil war by the Communist Party.

Your committee, decided, therefore, to present to the Legislature a complete legislative program of antisubversive control legislation that would be aimed clearly, specifically and constitutionally at the major strategical and tactical operations of the Communist Anti-Imperialist

War line and which would expose and isolate Communists and their subservient fellow-travelers from honest liberal, trade union and minority mass organizations and also to effectively remove Communists from positions of influence and power in which they could contribute to the 1949 Trojan Horse program.

Your committee prepared such legislation, which is described in Part Two of this report on Pages 590-592.

An examination of all available material on the subject convinced the committee that the following information was indispensable to an intelligent and thorough consideration of the situation by the Legislature and the people of California:

(1) A statement of the world situation and of the domestic situation.

(2) Documented and clear proof of what the Communist Party does believe in, teach, advocate and practice in its pseudo-science of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism.

(3) A compilation of the citations by official agencies of Communist front organizations and publications.

(4) A report on the activities of the few major front organizations or basic subversive group activities that had participated in the 1939 Communist Trojan Horse activities and now are participating in the same identical subversive activities in 1949.

There is no subject of general interest today that is a more conspicuous topic for discussion, consideration and action than the subject of Communism, in all its many phases. And yet there is no subject of broad discussion and action on which there is so little common knowledge of the elemental facts.

In the heat of emotional response to the issues raised by Communist activity too many important decisions are being made on the basis of vague generalities and hunches.

Your committee sincerely believes that the compilation in Part One of this report of the analysis of the present world and domestic situation, combined with the documented proof of what Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism actually is, can be used by the Legislature and by the people of California to make intelligent decisions on fundamental issues.

10. Many people are confused or uninformed about the constitutionality and practicality of anti-subversive legislation.

If there is any subject—next to the question of what Communism actually is—on which there is a welter of confusion and misinformation it is the question of anti-subversive legislation. The confusion extends from those who would dispose of all problems arising from Communist activity by passing a law to abolish it, to those who doubt the legality or feasibility of any anti-subversive legislation.

Your committee reached the opinion that it was essential in this period of crisis, when we, ourselves sincerely believed in the need for legislation and when the public is demanding effective curbs on Communist conspiracy, that a comprehensive study and analysis should be presented to the Legislature and to the public of existing law and the reasonable and useful fields in which legislation could be proposed.

The committee also presents, therefore, in Part One of this report, a comprehensive analysis and study of the existing laws covering subversive activities, of important court decisions, and a general discussion of the fields in which the Legislature safely can enact laws to meet the specific threat to our Nation and State that is posed by the Communist strategy and tactics of the present period in history; and at the same time protect and preserve our fundamental freedoms and liberties from infringement.

The committee refers Legislators and citizens to this section on Pages 564-588 of this report for the authentic presentation of the broad facts without which it is impossible intelligently to consider the subject of legislation control of subversive activities.

11. No action by legislators and public officials alone would be sufficient to meet the problem.

Your committee was impressed in its thorough study of the Communist revival in 1949 of the Trojan Horse technique of 1939 with the need for intelligent, informed and patriotic activity by all citizens of the community.

The committee, therefore, undertook a survey of practical programs to deal with the problem of Communism by responsible civic organizations. The results of this survey appears in Part Two of this report under the heading, *The Community Approach*.

We believe that this is an important contribution to the desperately needed understanding of the problem and how to meet it at every level of human relations.

Your committee came to its conclusions on the basis of extensive research and thoughtful examination of the many perplexities involved in dealing with the Communist problem.

NEW APPROACH IS NEEDED

After a decade of experience with the task of investigating, exposing and documenting factually, the activities of the Communist Party, its fellow-travelers, opportunists and dupes, your committee obviously has become convinced that a completely new approach must be made to the problem. This report is an expression of that deep conviction.

The members of your committee are neither so obtuse to the statistics of subversive activity nor so steeped in pride of accomplishment that they are not clearly aware that the anti-Communist side in the present world situation continues to be confused and divided in contrast to the militantly fanatical and disciplined Communists.

In spite of individual successes by anti-Communists and in spite of repeated exposure of the fraud, duplicity and treachery of Communists in any activity, the fact remains that the Communist movement is expanding aggressively, while the anti-Communist forces are almost continuously on the defensive.

One of the major reasons for this Communist success is the fact that the fanatical advocates of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism have the favorable tactical position of working to accomplish something, while too many on the anti-Communist side are inclined to view the activities involved in combating Communism as purely a negative and warding off process. *It is the difference between hitting a home run and swatting a fly.*

Your committee is convinced that the only final and completely effective antidote to Communism is informed and intelligent community action. We must realize that it often is necessary in a complicated industrial civilization to act through organized groups.

In our 1948 Fourth Report we placed heavy emphasis on the need for understanding the importance of group and organized attitudes as distinguished from the problem of personal responsibility by the individual.

Communists become Communists to do something, not merely to join and meet together. Regardless of how critical the citizen of any country may be of policies, conditions and leadership within that country, he thinks a long time before he faces the naked fact of revolution through violence. Communists know this; and consequently, while the hard core of veteran revolutionaries who run Communist Parties are working toward the twin goals of serving the foreign policy of Soviet Russia and preparing for revolutionary seizure of power in their own country, they seek to carry out these twin programs through subterfuge and trickery. They have become adept in playing on the individual's ambitions and the complaints of organized groups.

Modern industrial civilization has complicated living to the point where few individuals are effective by themselves. The modern world provides modes of political, cultural, economic, and similar expression, by group action. Frequently, individual competition is supplanted or supplemented by group competition. This grouping of people for joint action is more or less effective, more or less democratic, and more or less constructive, according to the character, integrity and ability of those who achieve positions of leadership through the inevitable processes of promotion, appointment, selection and election in organized groups.

The Communist Party scientifically charts this organization into groups in modern civilization and it plans and works to capture control of key positions when possible. When this method fails the Communists work to nullify and make impotent the leadership of groups it cannot infiltrate or control, through "rank-and-file" disruption and confusion.

Communist confusion is an organized and planned confusion and its ultimate goal is to develop the ability to create the maximum of confusion at the time when Communist strategy decrees an open bid for power through revolutionary violence.

In the scientific blueprint for revolution that is laid down in official Communist textbooks and taught in the Communist schools, interminable analysis and study is given to the technique of manipulating organized groups toward the eventual belief that they cannot solve their particular problems or achieve their particular objectives within the framework and limitations of a capitalist economy and a parliamentary government. The final goal of Communist infiltration into organized groups is to dominate the sentiment of such groups—running the gamut from ignorant apathy to active acceptance—for the purpose of permitting the hardened core of revolutionaries to seize power at the proper time.

For this purpose in the long range Communist plan, an apathetic, inert organization, incapable of united and decisive action in a crisis, is just as valuable as an organization that is enthusiastically working to serve the Communist program. Either attitude serves the purposes of the Red Fascist conspiracy.

However, pending the long-range program of eventual world-wide "dictatorship of the proletariat" Communist strategists study and work to put into effect temporary, immediate popular, localized and special purpose-policies and projects.

Communist theory and technique is based on a huge mass of analytical, historical and theoretical teachings, accumulated since Communism was launched in 1848 with Karl Marx's "Communist Manifesto," a hundred years ago.

Much of it is openly and plainly presented to Communists as a study of strategy and tactics to achieve a successful revolution and complete seizure of power under a "dictatorship of the proletariat." How-

ever, a great mass of it is thinly disguised as history. This later element is particularly valuable to the teaching of Marxist revolutionary doctrine, where Communists are obliged to conduct their proselyting and organizing surreptitiously.

The average American can secure a very good basic concept of the special purpose and approach of this huge mass revolutionary Marxian literature by a comparison with popular American sports.



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WHAT IS TO BE DONE by V. I. Lenin	1.25

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PLATE 1. Shown above are Pages 6 and 7 of the current 1949 catalog of the Progressive Book Shop, Communist book store, at 1806 West 7th St., in Los Angeles. The "Marxist classics" by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and other Communist ideological authorities are quoted liberally on Pages 149-252 of this 1949 Fifth report to show open Communist advocacy of overthrow of government by force and violence in the interest of Soviet Russia and the world Communist revolutionary movement.

Football, baseball, golf and other sports are described in detail and from every viewpoint in a mass of technical literature.

Communist handbooks, that may be bought openly in Communist bookstores throughout America, reveal a pattern of psychological, organizational and propaganda technique that directly parallels the systems and stratagems of the popular sports.

THEY TELL US IN PLAIN WORDS

There the analogy ends!

In sports, the object is to win, and the system and stratagems are devised for the purpose of winning. Sportsmen always play to win, but the test of sportsmanship is the will to win fairly.

To Communists, the object also is to win and the prize is the Communist dictatorship of the world. But the literature of Communist tactics and strategies proclaims openly and brazenly, and with never a variation, that fraud, deceit, dishonesty and trickery are the indispensable ingredients of a successful revolutionary movement.

The inability of the average American, trained in the ideals of fair play and good sportsmanship, to understand this basic tenet of Communist strategy and tactics in day-to-day relations is one of the major reasons why Communists are consistently successful in either capturing or disrupting organized groups whenever it serves the purpose of the "party line."

For ten years now, your committee has been pointing out in reports, in debates and in public addresses across our state that the truth about Communism can be found in official Communist texts and publications that can be bought openly in California Communist book stores, at Communist "labor schools" and at Communist trade unions and front organizations.

Few people ever bothered to get the Communist material and find out for themselves what the Reds were talking about. It was a case of "bringing the mountain to Mohamet." Your committee, therefore, has presented in this report a large selection of direct quotations from these official Communist texts.

The presentation of this tremendous mass of documentation provides conclusive proof of the serious need for appropriate legislation, continued investigation and exposure, full law enforcement and aroused community-wide action to meet the Communist threat and defeat it.

The material that has been presented by your committee in this report provides for the information of the Legislature and the people of California the evidence that is involved in a number of important current cases now before the courts. This evidence also has an important bearing on what we do in California.

The most important of these court tests of the right of a free nation to protect itself from subversive individuals who would murder freedom and liberty is the trial of the 11 Communist Party, U. S. A., leaders in the New York Federal court as violators of the Smith Act. The twelfth, William Z. Foster, was excused, from the trial because of illness; and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn is not involved in the case.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE



EUGENE DENNIS
General Secretary



Benjamin Davis



Elizabeth G. Flynn



John Gates



Jack Stachel



Robert Thompson



John Williamson

PLATE 2. Here are the 13 members of the American "Politburo" of the Communist Party, 11 of whom went on trial in Federal Court as advocates of overthrow of our government by force and violence. These pictures of the American Communist Party leaders are reproduced from *Political Affairs*, the official monthly Communist ideological journal, which is described on its masthead as "A magazine devoted to the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism." (See Page 189 for a reproduction of the masthead of *Political Affairs*, December, 1948, listing

COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A.

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER*National Chairman***Gilbert Green****Gus Hall****Irving Potash****Henry Winston****Carl Winter**

*Elected
at the
14th National
Convention
of the
Communist Party*

Jack Stachel as a member of the Editorial Board and stating that the publication is issued by New Century Publisher, Inc., of 832 Broadway, New York 3, N. Y., an official Communist publishing house.) Direct quotations from the official texts of Marxism-Leninism in the following section of this 1949 Fifth Report prove conclusively that any persons, organizations or publications "devoted to the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism" are devoted to a theory and practice of overthrow of governments by force and violence.

WE ARE WARNED AGAIN IN 1949

The attitude of individuals and organizations toward this trial provides an illustrative and useful key to the Stalinist sympathies of California figures and groups. It can be used as a basic starting point from which to test the attitude and activities of individuals and organizations toward the current Communist strategy and tactics of The Struggle Against Imperialist War.

It was natural that a major Communist front group would be set up to support and defend the Communist leaders. It is The Committee for Free Political Advocacy, with headquarters at 11 West 42nd St., Suite 824, New York City.

Initiating sponsors of this front are Earl B. Dickerson, Paul J. Kern and Justice James L. Wolfe, of the Utah Supreme Court. California members of the Initiating Committee include: Dr. Thomas Addis, Hugh Bryson, Morris Carnovsky, Rev. J. Raymond Cope, Howard DaSilva, Guy Endore, Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman, Leo Gallagher, Dashiell Hammett, Donald Henderson, Carey McWilliams, Albert Maltz, Clifford Odets, Prof. Linus Pauling, Anton Refregier, Anne Revere, Eddie Tangen and Dalton Trumbo.

Our State is confronted in 1949 with the same pattern of Communist conspiracy that we experienced in 1939. Already the tom-toms are beating for the creation of "unemployed councils" and "marches on Sacramento."

Already the front groups are reshaping into the pattern of confusion, sabotage, treachery, defense plant strikes and economic agitation that we experienced a decade ago. Already the Communist machinery for defense and support of their leaders and for the smearing and discrediting of anti-Communists is ready for militarized and disciplined action.

We were warned in 1940. We failed to heed the warning and the costly results of that failure are history. The same warnings now are reiterated in 1949. Will we act this time?

1939'S AGITATORS IN 1949

Today in California Hugh Bryson, a Communist, heads the (Independent) Progressive Party; where in 1939 Don Healy and Herbert K. Sorrell, both Communists, headed the political front, Labor's Non-Partisan League.

Today in California, Philip M. Connelly has circulated throughout our State a Communist plan for "A Fighting Program for the Unemployed," in a series of 26 pages of resolutions, to prepare the way in leftwing unions for a revival of the Communist Workers Alliance agitations of a decade ago.

Today in California, Harry Bridges, Philip M. Connelly, Hugh Bryson, Jeff Kibre, Carl Brant, William Elconin, Rose Segure, Dorothy (Ray) Healy, and many others, all Communists, hold influential positions in our American trade unions to propagandize the Communist line of the Struggle Against Imperialist War, just as they propagandized the Communist line of "The Yanks Are Not Coming" in 1939.

Today in California, these same Communist trade union leaders will be found in the same Communist "peace" movements and "support and defense of known Communists" movements with such familiar

Stalinist figures as Ellis E. Patterson, Carey McWilliams, Reuben W. Borough and Frank Scully.

In 1940, Ellis E. Patterson headed the so-called "Patterson slate" in the Democratic primary election. Their campaign denounced President Franklin D. Roosevelt as "an imperialist warmonger" and a "betrayers of the interests of the workers." On the "Patterson slate," which opposed President Roosevelt in the 1940 primary elections on the Democratic ticket with the slogan: "No Arms, No Aid, to Britain and France, Down with Imperialist War"; were: Philip M. Connelly, Carey McWilliams, Reuben W. Borough and Frank Scully.

Today in California these same individuals and the Stalinist dominated organizations and cliques they influence, are denouncing President Harry S Truman as "an imperialist warmonger," just as they denounced President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1939 and 1940.

Today we have a National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, a Communist front, composed of persons with long records of affiliation and participation in Communist fronts and causes, promoting "Cultural Conferences for Peace," which are cited in detail in a subsequent section of this 1949 Fifth Report.

A decade ago we had the American League Against War and Fascism, which disappeared overnight with the signing of the Hitler-Stalin Pact, only to pop up in a new disguise as the American League for Peace and Democracy, with such other fronts as The American Peace Crusade and the American Peace Mobilization, which picketed the White House, and promoted "Yanks Are Not Coming" rallies in every major city in California.

Today we have in California a large corps of veterans of actual combat under Communist direction, in the Communist front, the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, which is combined with graduates of the Lenin School of Revolution in Moscow, and Communist veterans of our own Office of Strategic Service—the OSS—in a secret reserve organization of the Red Army, which is described in detail in a subsequent section of this report under the heading, Important Communist Front Activity.

Today we have in California a new and disguised Communist youth agitation and propaganda program, carried on in our colleges by such new Communist fronts as Young Progressives and Student Councils for Academic Freedom, (organized originally to support and defend Communist college professors) and New Foundations Forums.

In 1939 and 1940 we had the American Youth Congress and the American Student Union, which staged "peace strikes" on college campuses and promoted anti-preparedness demonstrations.

Celeste Strack, Aubrey Grossman, James Burford, and many others, all Communists, and all veterans of the Communist youth movements of a decade ago, today are actively participating as Communist functionaries in the same familiar pattern of the Marxist-Leninist Struggle Against Imperialist War.

Today we have the same familiar Communist attorneys defending the same familiar lineup of Communist individuals and organizations and presenting the same familiar Communist tactic of smearing those who investigate, expose, indict, prosecute or convict Communists.

Today the major Communist organization to support and defend known Communists, who are indicted, arrested, prosecuted, investigated or exposed as potential traitors or as law violators, is the Communist front, the Civil Rights Congress.

A decade ago your committee reported on the identical activities of the principal Communist front organization for support and defense of known Communists, International Labor Defense. Later, your committee reported how International Labor Defense was abandoned in 1940 in favor of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, which divided its Communist defense duties with the National Lawyers' Guild, which the Communists had created in 1937.

Today the National Lawyers' Guild still is with us, but the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, which also had outlived its usefulness, has been succeeded by the Civil Rights Congress, which is described in detail in the subsequent section of this report, titled *Important Communist Front Activity*.

This is a consistent pattern of pro-Communist and anti-American activity over a period of more than ten years that can be traced as precisely as a family genealogy.

All of these individuals and all of these organizations are dedicated openly to Marxism-Leninism, which is a theory of how to overthrow government by force and violence and they have been consistent in support and defense of the Soviet Union, as the center of the world revolutionary movement, in the Seventh Period of Communist Strategy in the United States and in the operation of the Communist line of the Struggle Against Imperialist War.

These individuals and organizations are prepared by long study and assiduous devotion to the principles of Marxism-Leninism to attempt to capitalize on any economic setbacks or dislocations in our economy and to attempt to promote and extend such setbacks and dislocations for the benefit of the Communist goal of world revolution.

The inflexible commitments and potentially traitorous activities of these individuals and organizations present a serious problem to the Legislature and to the people of California.

Your committee has attempted to provide in Part One of this report the sound, factual documentation the Legislature and the people of California will need to understand the seriousness of this problem.

Your committee presents in Part Two of this report specific and practical proposals to meet and solve the problem presented to us by such Communist "theory and practice" as is cited in full detail in this report.

"The Communist Party is the conscious expression of the class struggle of the workers against capitalism. Its aim is to direct this struggle to the conquest of political power, the overthrow of capitalism and the destruction of the bourgeois state. The Communist Party prepares itself for revolution in the measure that it develops a program of immediate action, expressing the mass struggles of the proletariat. These struggles must be inspired with revolutionary spirit and purpose. The Communist Party directs the workers' struggle against capitalism, developing fuller forms and purposes in this struggle, culminating in the mass action of revolution."

MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A., Chicago, Ill.,
Organization Convention, September 1-7, 1919

THE MAJOR LEGISLATIVE AND LEGAL PROBLEM

The Communist Party of the U.S.A. announced itself to the world in September, 1919 as an open advocate of overthrow of government by force and violence and as an agent and affiliate of the Soviet Russian inspired world Communist movement—teaching, practicing and advocating Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism.

Your committee has assembled here in one section of this report the documented proof that the CPUSA consistently and continuously to this day has been an agent of a foreign power and an advocate of overthrow of government by force and violence.

The California Senate Committee on Un-American Activities carefully has observed the subversive activities and Communist Party line changes in strategy and tactics employed by the Communist Party of the United States that have run parallel to and supplemented the basic strategy and tactics of world Communism as outlined in detail in the opening section of this report.

In this study the committee has had access to confidential reports and information, in addition to the published—but not widely enough circulated—reports of legislative committees and agencies concerned with various phases of the subversive problem.

The broad general long range basic facts about Communism already have been presented to the Legislature and to the people of California in the committee's previous four reports. In this connection, the committee reprints as a reminder a few words from the 1948 Report:

THE 1948 REPORT ON COMMUNIST FRONTS

"The committee has determined that the most important continuing functions of the Communist Party in a nation not yet dominated by a Red Fascist dictatorship, are to defend the Communist holy land, Soviet

Russia, and to prepare the way for the time when the Communist leaders shall decide that circumstances justify an open bid for power through violent revolution and establishment of a 'dictatorship of the proletariat.'

"In contrast to the blindness and apathy of citizens who are opposed to Communism, the Red Fascists do not delude themselves that their two basic functions can be carried on effectively by making speeches and passing resolutions.

"Communists work day and night at the practical job of infiltrating existing organizations, so that they may be in a position to manipulate it to their purpose. They are busy creating new organizations for their purpose when none exist.

"Behind a propaganda barrage of progress, reform and liberal slogans, the Communists steadily pursue a formal, dogmatic, organized program of infiltration into, and creation of, mass organizations, because they are studious, fanatical and single-minded in their service to Soviet foreign policy and the preparation for revolution in the country where they live.

"The committee has carried on a continuous program of investigation, research and public exposure of Communism and of the methods that Communists inevitably must pursue to work toward their self-declared objectives.

"In its public reports, issued in 1943, 1945 and 1947, the committee has sought to present to the people of California a clear, unbiased statement of the purposes and objectives, the tactics and methods of world Communism, of Communist organizations in the United States; and particularly, of Communist organizations in California.

"Since 1941 the committee has procured and made available to the people of California a huge mass of factual material, taken from official Communist documents, publications, textbooks, communications and confidential party instructions and decisions.

"In addition, the accumulated testimony of witnesses now consists of 10,000 pages of sworn testimony, contained in 41 transcript volumes and augmented by an unusually voluminous number of exhibits.

"Sworn testimony of known Communist functionaries has been combined with authorized Communist texts into a record that reveals, beyond question or dispute, the theories, purposes, objectives, techniques and methods of Communism.

"From this mass of testimony and documentation, the committee has selected the most indispensable material for inclusion within the limited space afforded in three biennial reports. Because of the current nature of the organizations and issues that have been under investigation, it hitherto has not been possible to present a specific, complete explanation and compilation on the subject of the front organization as a major weapon in the arsenal of Communist plotting and intrigue.

"The committee is of the opinion, therefore, that one of the most important services it can render the Members of the Legislature and the people of California at this time is to present a definitive explanation of the Communist front organization; an analysis which will provide, within one concise and factual compilation, the material that public officials, police agencies, journalists and leaders of all organized segments of the community must have readily available to them in authoritative form if

they are to carry out their obligations to their organizations, their State and their Nation in meeting the problems raised by the Red Fascist conspiracy within the United States.

"For the documented, detailed reports, the Members of the Legislature and the citizens of California are referred to the committee's 1943, 1945, and 1947 reports."

THE GOALS OF COMMUNISM

"Communists become Communists to do something, not merely to join and meet together. Regardless of how critical the citizen of any country may be of policies, conditions and leadership within that country, he thinks a long time before he faces the naked fact of revolution through violence. Communists know this; and consequently, while the hard core of veteran revolutionaries who run Communist Parties are working toward the twin goals of serving the foreign policy of Soviet Russia and preparing for revolutionary seizure of power in their own country, they seek to carry out these twin programs through subterfuge and trickery. They have become adept in playing on the individual's ambitions and the complaints of organized groups.

"Modern industrial civilization has complicated living to the point where few individuals are effective by themselves. The modern world provides modes of political, cultural, economic, and similar expression, by group action. Frequently, individual competition is supplanted or supplemented by group competition. This grouping of people for joint action is more or less effective, more or less democratic, and more or less constructive, according to the character, integrity and ability of those who achieve positions of leadership through the inevitable processes of promotion, appointment, selection and election in organized groups.

"The Communist Party scientifically charts this organization into groups in modern civilization and it plans and works to capture control of key positions when possible. When this method fails the Communists work to nullify and make impotent the leadership of groups it cannot infiltrate or control, through 'rank-and-file' disruption and confusion.

"Communist confusion is an organized and planned confusion and its ultimate goal is to develop the ability to create the maximum of confusion at the time when Communist strategy decrees an open bid for power through revolutionary violence.

"In the scientific blueprint for revolution that is laid down in official Communist textbooks and taught in the Communist schools, interminable analysis and study is given to the technique of manipulating organized groups toward the eventual belief that they cannot solve their particular problems or achieve their particular objectives within the framework and limitations of a capitalist economy and a parliamentary government. The final goal of Communist infiltration into organized groups is to dominate the sentiment of such groups—running the gamut from ignorant apathy to active acceptance—for the purpose of permitting the hardened core of revolutionaries to seize power at the proper time.

"For this purpose in the long range Communist plan, an apathetic, inert organization, incapable of united and decisive action in a crisis, is just as valuable as an organization that is enthusiastically working to serve the Communist program. Either attitude serves the purposes of the Red Fascist conspiracy.

TEMPORARY COMMUNIST STRATEGY

"However, pending the long-range program of eventual world-wide 'dictatorship of the proletariat' Communist strategists study and work to put into effect temporary, immediate popular, localized and special purpose-policies and projects.

"The creation and conduct of such policies and projects make up what has come to be known as the 'Communist party line.'

"The 'party line' consists of the immediate policies of the moment, which frequently are contradictory. Sometimes it will center on popular issues. Again, it will center on generally unpopular issues. But, invariably, it follows a pattern that consistently involves the members of labor, liberal, minority and cultural groups. The over-all purpose is to establish the 'vanguard' position of Communism and to pose as the only true friend of the 'struggling masses.'

"Even when Communists, in pursuing the devious twists and turns of the 'party line,' are disrupting and confusing formal, considered policies of labor, liberal and minority organizations, they consistently direct smear campaigns at the responsible leaders of the organizations in question.

"Front organizations are indispensable to such a program. The indefatigable plotting and scheming of the leaders of world Communism has developed the theory and technique of the front organization to the highest level of systematic efficiency in the world's history.

"Communist theory and technique is based on a huge mass of analytical, historical and theoretical teachings, accumulated since Communism was launched in 1848 with Karl Marx's 'Communist Manifesto,' a hundred years ago.

"Much of it is openly and plainly presented to Communists as a study of strategy and tactics to achieve a successful revolution and complete seizure of power under a 'dictatorship of the proletariat.' However, a great mass of it is thinly disguised as history. This later element is particularly valuable to the teaching of Marxist revolutionary doctrines, where Communists are obliged to conduct their proselyting and organizing surreptitiously."

1948 REPORT NAMED 172 FRONTS

Your committee, in pursuance of this viewpoint and analysis of Communist-front activity, presented to the Legislature and to the people of California in its 1948 Fourth Report the most comprehensive technical analysis of the function and theory of Communist-front organization activity ever published, in the section from page 23 to page 89 of the 1948 Fourth Report.

The committee also presented a special section, arranged in alphabetical order, of the essential facts about 172 important Communist-front organizations and organizations seriously infiltrated by Communists, in the section from page 91 to page 393 of the 1948 Fourth Report.

REACTION TO THE 1948 FOURTH REPORT

Your committee finds that the basic facts outlined and cited in the 1948 Fourth Report have stood the test of time and severe hostile study and attack. The essential theory of Communist strategy and tactics, analyzed by the committee, remains the same. The front activities that were

exposed by the committee have continued in abject subservience to the program of world Communism, with only two exceptions:

- (1) Some of the front activities have been liquidated and replaced by others in the continuing Communist strategy of duplicity and trickery; and
- (2) A very small number of honest errors of nomenclature and identification crept into the voluminous 1948 Fourth Report; and these are dealt with in a special section, titled *Repudiations and Condemnations of Communism*, which will be found on Pages 687-700 in Part Two of this current report.

THE MAJOR LEGISLATIVE AND LEGAL PROBLEM

Your committee finds that the most important task involving Communism in the United States generally today is the achievement of an accurate decision on legislative and legal determinations of two pressing basic problems that can be stated in the form of questions:

- (1) Is the Communist Party of the U. S. A. an agent of a foreign power; and
- (2) Is the Communist Party of the U. S. A. an advocate of overthrow of government (including the Government of the United States) by force and violence?

The present world situation, as outlined in the preceding section of this report, is of such pressing and crucial importance to the fate of humanity; and the United States is in such a keystone position in the non-Communist sphere, that these questions must be answered precisely, clearly and effectively for the purpose of devoting the most constructive study to the enactment of legislation in our State which will provide to our institutions every necessary protection from Communist conspiracy.

These questions must be answered conclusively to the satisfaction of the Members of the Legislature and of the people of California if we are to achieve desperately needed protective legislation.

Your committee, therefore, has prepared a digest with amendments and revisions of two of the most important congressional documents available on these important subjects:

- (1) House Report No. 209, Eightieth Congress, First Session, which deals with the question of "The Communist Party of the United States as an Agent of a Foreign Power"; and
- (2) House Report, No. 1920, Eightieth Congress, Second Session, which deals with "The Communist Party of the United States as an Advocate of Overthrow of Government by Force and Violence."

The committee, after careful study, and independent research, much of which has been presented and documented in the 1943, 1945, 1947, and 1948 Reports of your committee, concurs in and adopts as its own findings all findings contained in selections or abstracts from these congressional documents.

Your committee, in addition, presents in Part Two of this report further findings and recommendations bearing on the Communist problem and the need for constructive, sound and effective legislation to answer the threat posed to our institutions and to our freedoms and liberties by the Communist conspiracy.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES IS AN
AGENT OF A FOREIGN POWER

INTRODUCTION

It is the unanimous opinion of this committee that the Communist Party of the United States is in fact the agent of a foreign government.

It is important that the Government and the people recognize this fact.

If the Communist Party is to be properly dealt with, it is essential that legislation by Congress and the state legislatures, and the thinking of the people be predicated upon this fundamental fact. The purpose of this report is to straighten the thinking of the American people and the Government concerning the Communist Party and to dispel the idea that it is a domestic political party, or that it is a minority group operating within the democratic framework of our Constitution.

It is the object of this report to establish from documentary sources the fact that from its inception in September 1919 to the present day, the Communist movement of the United States may be properly characterized as—

- (1) An organization operating under centralized discipline subordinated to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the single and ruling party of that country.
- (2) A section of a World Communist Party, controlled by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.
- (3) An organization whose basic aim, whether open or concealed, is the abolition of our present economic system and democratic form of government and the establishment of a Soviet dictatorship in its place.
- (4) An organization resorting to deception, evasion, illegal methods, violence, and civil war, which methods are implicit in its revolutionary purpose.

When the Communist organization was an insignificant sect relying for its chief inspiration and support upon the comparatively weak Soviet Government of 15 or 20 years ago, it was felt that its activities could be safely ignored, that the free play of our democratic process would ultimately cushion and vitiate its efforts.

In 1949, however, we find this totalitarian bridgehead firmly entrenched in the labor movement, the Government, political parties, the press, radio and films, the schools and colleges, the churches and social organizations.

Its influence is far out of proportion to its membership, due to its discipline, its control of strategic posts in mass organizations, and its ties with the Soviet Government, which today enjoys unprecedented standing as a world power.

In recent times, the Soviet Government has repeatedly demonstrated its ability to transform hitherto insignificant Communist minorities into ruling parties (Rumania, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Poland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania). Even in countries not under direct Soviet military occupation, the former Communist minority is making an open bid for power (Belgium, Italy, France, Denmark, China).

In view of the expansionist attitude of the Soviet Government clearly demonstrated in its recent history, these countries furnish us with an instructive social laboratory. (For detailed analysis, see pages 102-128.)

Our own country is far from immune to the operations of the subversive and aggressive Communist movement. In the light of our own highly integrated and sensitive society, it is well within the bounds of practical possibility, that if the present potentialities of the American Communist movement were fully mobilized for a supreme subversive effort and these potentialities were given substantial aid from a strong foreign power, they could seriously dislocate our economic and social life and even the effectiveness of our armed forces.

An elementary regard for our sovereignty as a Nation and the interests of national security, require as a minimum that the nature of the Communist movement be fully analyzed and understood.

I. ORIGIN AND BACKGROUND

The Communist Party of the United States is a section of the international Communist movement founded by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin during the First World War. His motives in launching this organization may be roughly classified as twofold in character:

(1) *Offensive*—He sought to destroy the capitalist system and the governments under which it operates in order to absorb the nations of the world within the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

(2) *Defensive*—He sought to safeguard the interest of the then weak Soviet Government, by diverting hostile nations through the promotion of internal disorder.

The Communist movement today remains essentially devoted to these mutually complementary aims.

The first Congress of the Communist International took place on March 2, 1919 in Moscow. Incorporated into its very fibre was the following principle which later became number fourteen of the famous "twenty-one points" governing admission to the Communist International, adopted by the Second Congress, July 17-August 7, 1920:

Legal and Illegal Means

Each party desirous of affiliating with the Communist International should be obliged to render every possible assistance to the Soviet Republics in their struggle against all counterrevolutionary forces. The Communist Parties should carry on a precise and definite propaganda to induce the workers to refuse to transport any kind of military equipment intended for fighting against the Soviet Republics, and should also by legal or illegal means carry on a propaganda amongst the troops sent against the workers' republics, etc.

II. THEORY

Communist theory is based upon the teachings of Karl Marx, founder of the First International; Friedrich Engels, his closest associate; Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, founder of the Third or Communist International and first Premier of the Soviet Government; and Joseph Stalin, his successor.

From the time of its foundation in 1919 to the present, the American Communist movement has pledged its loyalty to these teachings,

as have the Communist Parties of all countries. These teachings are embodied in the Program of the Communist International adopted in July-August 1928 as a "uniform and common program for all sections of the Communist International," and never repudiated.

The Communist Party member is thoroughly indoctrinated with the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism, through the Communist press, pamphlets, books, meetings, and schools. The purpose of this indoctrination is manifold.

(Turn to page 615 for numerous illustrations of Communist official literature.)

It serves to mold a uniform, Communist consciousness, thus setting this totalitarian sect definitely apart from all democratically minded Americans. It is the authoritative frame of reference for all Communists.

The Communist movement is primarily a combative organization dedicated to the struggle against those whom it looks upon as class enemies. It, therefore, operates on strict military lines. Indoctrination serves this army, as it does any other, as a cohesive factor. Its professed aims tend to glorify the movement and build up the morale of its followers.

Communist theory exalts and perpetuates the authority of its leaders, for it claims to present a body of unassailable scientific principles of which the Communist leader is the sole authorized spokesman and interpreter. *Any deviation from the principles of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism, as most recently interpreted by the leader, is subject to severe penalties all the way from censure and expulsion to physical liquidation.*

For a detailed and broad analysis of the general *Theory and Practice of World Communism*, to which the U. S. Communist Party faithfully has adhered without deviation; and for the application of this theory into *Strategy and Tactics*, the committee refers the reader to pages 12 to 83 in the preceding section, titled *The World Situation*.

III. STAGES IN THE HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

On September 18, 1945, the Communist Party of the United States celebrated its twenty-sixth anniversary at Madison Square Garden in New York City. Despite the varied forms the American Communist movement has taken since its inception in September 1919, the Madison Square Garden meeting has furnished a concrete expression of the unbroken continuity of the movement in both organization and principle.

The Communist Party of America held its first convention from September 1 to 7, 1919, at the headquarters of the Russian Federation of the Socialist Party in Chicago. The call for the meeting was published in the (Russian) *Novy Mir*, on July 7, 1919, and in the *Revolutionary Age* of August 23, 1919, both being Left Wing Socialist organs. It called upon all those who favored an "International alliance of the Socialist movement of the United States only with the Communist groups of other countries" to answer "the clarion call of the Third International."

CHRONOLOGY OF U. S. COMMUNIST CONVENTIONS

September 1-7, 1919	-----	Communist Party of America
September 1-7, 1919	-----	Communist Labor Party of America
May, 1921	-----	United Communist Party of America
December 23-26, 1921	-----	Workers Party of America
August 17-21, 1922	-----	Communist Party of America
December, 1922	-----	Workers Party of America
December 23, 1923 to January 1, 1924	-----	Workers Party of America
August 21-30, 1925	-----	Workers (Communist) Party of America
October, 1927	-----	Workers (Communist) Party of America
March 1-10, 1929	-----	Workers (Communist) Party of America
March 31-April 4, 1930	-----	Communist Party of the United States
April 2-8, 1934	-----	Communist Party of the United States
June 24-28, 1936	-----	Communist Party of the United States
May 27-31, 1938	-----	Communist Party of the United States
May 30 to June 2, 1940	-----	Communist Party of the United States
May 20-22, 1944	-----	Communist Political Association
July 26-28, 1945	-----	Communist Party of the United States
September, 1948	-----	Communist Party of the United States

A large group of English-speaking delegates headed by Benjamin Gitlow and John Reed, resented the predominance of Russian-speaking elements at the 1919 convention and decided to split away. They held their own convention, almost simultaneously, in Chicago and formed the Communist Labor Party. Both groups were represented as the Second Congress of the Communist International held in the summer of 1920.

Veterans of these two conventions more than a quarter of a century ago, hold key positions in the Communist Party of the United States today.

Alexander Bittleman, member of the Program Committee of the Communist Party of America convention, is today a member of the National Board of the Communist Party of the United States, and editor of its official Yiddish organ, the *Morning Freiheit*. Alfred Wagenknecht, elected Executive Secretary of the Communist Labor Party, is presently Vice President of the Illinois-Indiana district and a member of the Review Commission of the Communist Party of the United States. Charles Krumbein, another C. L. P. delegate, was, until his death in February, 1947, national treasurer. Earl Browder and Ella Reeve Bloor, who is now a National Board member, were charter members of the Communist Labor Party.

A special convention of the United Communist Party was held secretly in May, 1921, which constituted itself as the "American Section of the Communist International." The raids conducted by Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer had driven the party underground. All delegates assumed aliases. Israel Amter, alias Ford, was elected as an alternate member of the Central Executive Committee. He is today a member of the National Board of the Communist Party of the United States.

The Communist International was, however, unwilling to allow the American Communists to limit themselves to illegal activity. The Third Congress of the Communist International held in Moscow in June-July, 1921, therefore issued the following directive to its American affiliate:

The Communist International draws the attention of the Communist Party of America (united) to the fact that the illegal organization must not only form the ground for the collection and crystalization of active Communist forces, but that it is their duty to try all ways and means to get out of their illegalized condition out into the open, among the wide masses, that it is their duty to find the means and form to unite these masses politically through public activity into the struggle against American capitalism. (*Communist*, August, 1921.)

Conformance with this edict was immediate. The next issue of the *Communist*, official organ of the Communist Party of America, carried an article under the alias of Roger B. Nelson, entitled "The Party at the Crossroads," from which we quote in part:

Our Central Executive Committee, conscious of its duties and the pressing needs of the Communist International and the Party, has laid the foundation for unifying and centralizing the open, legal activities of the Party * * *. In doing this we are simply accepting the tactics adopted by the Third Congress of the Comintern. (*Communist*, September, 1921.)

In pursuance of the Comintern mandate, the party established the American Labor Alliance, as its open, legal expression. This was reported to the secret convention of the Communist Party of America held at Bridgman, Michigan, on August 17-21, 1921, by Jay Lovestone, alias Wheat, its Executive Secretary. Instructions from the Third International were personally transmitted by Max Bedacht, alias Marshall, American delegate to its Third Congress. He was till recently General Secretary of the International Workers Order, a wealthy Communist fraternal organization.

This form was not considered satisfactory by the Communist International and hence it was decided to establish the Workers Party of America. A convention was called for this purpose in New York City on December 23-26, 1921. At its second convention held in December, 1922, in New York City, the Workers Party of America adopted a program presented by Charles E. Ruthenberg, member of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of America under the alias of Damon. This convention elected him as Executive Secretary, a position to be held until March 2, 1927, the date of his death.

Both the Communist Party of America and the Workers Party of America sent delegates to the Fourth Congress of the Communist International held in Moscow, November 7-December 3, 1922. The two organizations were eventually merged into the Workers (Communist) Party of America at a convention held August 21-30, 1925.

At the Sixth convention in New York City on March 1-10, 1928, the party assumed the name of the Communist Party of the United States, which was continued until the convention of May 20-22, 1944, at which time the organization transformed itself into the Communist Political Association.

To fool Americans, the party formally disaffiliated itself from the Communist International on November 16, 1940, "for the specific purpose of removing itself from the terms of the so-called Voorhis Act," requiring the registration of foreign agents. The Communist International was itself formally dissolved on May 22, 1943, thus removing from the field of Russian relations with her wartime allies a source of considerable irritation.

These formal severances of international ties did not remove the American Communists from foreign influence and direction. At a convention held on July 26-28, 1945, and in response to a letter of criticism from Jacques Duclos, Secretary of the Communist Party of France and former member of the Executive Committee of the Communist Inter-

national, the Communist Party of the United States was reconstituted and Earl Browder was replaced by William Z. Foster as its official leader.

As late as May 20-23, 1944, Robert Minor in his official report to the founding convention of the Communist Political Association emphasized the historical ties of his organization with the Communist Party of America, the Communist Labor Party and the Communist International, when he spoke of "the history of the Communist Party" which "came to life in Chicago in September, 1919, and which now passes on its heritage to the Communist Political Association." He added,

It is doubly important to emphasize that the American Communist Party found a priceless and indispensable source of strength, clarity of principle—and the courage and assurance that can come only from the international outlook and soundness of theory—in its contact with its brother Communist Parties of all countries through the Communist International.

IV. RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

From its birth in 1917 the international Communist movement including the Communist Party of the United States has been merely a foreign extension of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which, according to article 126 of the Soviet Constitution published in 1941 "is the leading core of all organizations of the working people, both public and state." (p. 36.)

The Communist movement has maintained this character since the Russian Revolution on November 7, 1917, before the Communist International was founded in March, 1919, during its existence and after its formal dissolution in May, 1943.

A proper estimate of this movement must be based upon an appreciation of its unbroken historical continuity, regardless of outward tactical changes.

Pro-Communist spokesmen have labored arduously to convince the American people that each Communist Party is an independent entity by itself, rooted in its own native soil and history and free from foreign domination of any sort.

The May, 1938, Constitution of the Communist Party of the United States declared, for example:

The Communist Party of the United States of America is a working class political party carrying forward the traditions of Jefferson, Paine, Jackson, and Lincoln, and of the Declaration of Independence * * *

Despite these assurances there is ample evidence to the contrary. Walter G. Krivitsky, former Chief of the Soviet Military Intelligence for Western Europe, testified on October 11, 1939, before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities. He died mysteriously in a Washington hotel in February, 1941. He stated under oath before the Special Committee:

The Communist International is not an organization of autonomous parties. The Communist Parties are nothing more than branch offices of the Russian Communist Party. The Communist International that operates in Moscow is nothing more than an administrative body which transmits the decrees reached by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Soviet Russia.

RUSSIAN PARTY MODEL

William Z. Foster, chairman of the National Board of the Communist Party of the United States, has long recognized the hegemony of the Russian Communist Party over the movement of which he is a part. In his work, *Toward Soviet America*, he said:

The Communist Party of the United States * * * is the American section of the Communist International * * * The Communist International is a disciplined world party * * * Its leading party, by virtue of its great revolutionary experience, is the Russian Communist Party (pages 258, 259).

So strongly was this view entrenched that we find the Russian Communist Party referred to repeatedly throughout official Communist literature as the "model" party to be studied and imitated. In the *Daily Worker* of March 5, 1939, for example, we find a reprint of the following cabled editorial from the Moscow *Pravda*:

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union always was and always will be a model, an example for the Communist Parties of all countries.

The Party Organizer, official internal organ of the Communist Party of the United States, intended for the enlightenment of party members only, has carried the following sample articles from time to time:

Outline for Class in Organization on Lines of Russian Model. (December, 1927, p. 10.)

How a Unit of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Works. (February, 1931, p. 25.)

How the American Party Modeled Its Constitution on the Russian Party. (May, 1931, p. 1.)

Bolshevik Organizational Principles from an Outline Used by the Soviet Party Schools. (March, 1931, p. 27; April, 1931, p. 28.)

Reporting on the meeting of the National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States held on December 3-5, 1938, which dealt with the publication of the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, *The Communist* of January, 1939, announced:

It will be the task and duty of the membership and organizations of the Communist Party in the coming months to organize and carry through the distribution of the minimum of 100,000 copies of this book (p. 3).

(See also, *Analysis and Excerpts*, pages 223-228, of this Report.)

The party urged followers "to acquire it, to have it, to study it."

According to a speech delivered on February 24, 1941, by Earl Browder, General Secretary of the Communist Party, "close to two hundred thousand copies of that book were sold."

At the Tenth Convention of the Communist Party, U. S. A., the following leaders of the Russian Communist Party were elected to the Honorary Presidium: Stalin, Dimitroff, Manuilsky, and Kuusinen. (*Daily Worker*, May 28, 1938, pp. 1, 5.) Appropriately the emblem of the Russian Communist Party, the American Communist Party and Communist parties throughout the world has always been the hammer and sickle.

RUSSIAN DOMINANCE

From the outset the Russian Communist Party actively manipulated the affairs of the Communist International and those of each individual, affiliated party. Angelica Balabanoff, appointed first secretary of the Communist International by the Central Committee of the

Russian Party, has described how the delegates to its first Congress were chosen:

Most of the thirty-five delegates and fifteen guests had been hand-picked by the Russian Central Committee from so-called "Communist Parties" in those smaller "nations" which had formerly comprised the Russian Empire, such as Estonia, Latvia, Ukraine, and Finland * * * (My Life As A Rebel by Angelica Balabanoff, p. 213.)

Although ostensibly representing the Italian party, she was considered a member of the Russian Communist Party by virtue of her residence in that country, and hence subject to its discipline. All Communists, regardless of nationality, residing in the Soviet Union, enjoy a similar status, including American Communists assigned to Moscow and such present-day luminaries as Togliatti (Ercoli) of Italy, Rakosi of Hungary, Fischer of Austria, Thorez of France, Pauker of Rumania, and Dimitroff of Bulgaria.

Angelica Balabanoff has described the operation of Russian Communist Party rule in Comintern matters.

It was the secret Party committee, not the Comintern Executive, that * * * issued statements in my name (p. 224). A leader or agent would be summoned to Moscow and ordered to have certain resolutions passed in his own party * * * Moscow named all leaders (p. 270.) * * * I was now considered a member of the Russian Party whose delegates were elected by the Russian Central Committee (p. 272).

So much was the Communist International the creature of the Russian Communist Party, that it was made the subject of a report submitted at each convention of that party. At the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Karl Radek explained in his official report:

The III International is the child of the Russian Communist Party. It was created here, in the Kremlin, on the initiative of the Communist Party of Russia. The Executive Committee of the III International is in our hands. (Izvestia, April 3, 1920).

This estimate is corroborated by the testimony of Benjamin Gitlow, one of the founders of the American Communist Movement, Communist candidate for Vice President in 1924 and 1928 and former member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International:

Whereas the American party * * * had to carry out decisions of the Communist International explicitly, the Russian party was given a privileged position. The Russian party was permitted not only to review all decisions of the Communist International, but, if necessary, to take it up in its political committee and to change those decisions * * * and that decision becomes binding upon the parties of the Communist International.

Another important fact to bear in mind is that * * * the rules governing the Communist International provide that whenever a party sends representatives to the Communist International, or delegates to the congresses of the Communist International, those delegates cannot be instructed * * * but they must go to the Communist International uninstructed. The only party that has the right to instruct its delegates to the Communist International and to make those instructions binding on the delegates is the Russian Communist Party * * *. In other words, they have built the Communist International organization in such a way that the Russians under no circumstances can lose control of the Communist International. (Hearings of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, September 8, 1939—Vol. VII, p. 4583.)

The Communist Party of the United States is so much an organic part of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union that it has invariably reflected the factional struggles for power within its Soviet parent body.

In 1926, for example, Zinoviev and Trotsky united in a "Left Opposition" movement against Joseph Stalin. The Political Committee of the Workers (Communist) Party of America adopted a resolution on October 29, 1926 which "expressed its support of the central committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the struggle against the opposition led by Comrades Trotsky and Zinoviev." As the struggle intensified James P. Cannon and Martin Abern, both members of the American party's central executive committee, were expelled as "Trotskyites" on October 27, 1928, together with their followers.

Later the Russian party was torn by a struggle against the "Right" Bukharinites, with the result that Jay Lovestone, Executive Secretary of the Workers (Communist) Party was expelled on July 8, 1929, because of his suspected sympathies with Bukharin. In his speech delivered before the American Commission of the Executive Committee of the Communist International on May 6, 1929, Stalin described in some detail the race between the American Communist factions for Moscow's favor, as follows:

I take such a simple fact as the speculation on the divergencies in the C. P. S. U. practiced by both the Majority as well as the Minority leaders. You know that the one as well as the other section of the Communist Party of America is vieing with each other, overtaking each other as if at the races, strenuously try to speculate on the existing and nonexisting differences in the C. P. S. U.

At Comintern congresses, representatives of the Russian Communist Party presented the main reports, resolutions, and manifestos.

The manifesto of the First Congress held in 1919 was drafted by Lenin, Trotsky, Zinoviev, Rakovsky, and Platten, a Swiss refugee, in Moscow.

At the Second Congress in 1920 the chief reporters were Zinoviev, Lenin, Bukharin, and Radek.

The Third Congress in 1921 heard reports from Zinoviev, Lenin, Radek, and Hintchouk.

The chief speakers at the Fourth Congress in 1922 were Zinoviev, Radek, Trotsky, and Lenin.

The following members of the Russian Communist Party presented the main reports at the Fifth Congress in 1924: Zinoviev, Kalinin, Varga, (Hungarian), Bukharin, Rykov, and Manuilsky.

Reporters at the Sixth Congress in 1928 were Bukharin, Kuusinen, Varga, Stutschka, and Manuilsky.

The Seventh Congress in 1935 heard the reports of Pieck (German), Dimitrov, Ercoli (Italian), and Manuilsky, all acting under the discipline of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

INSTRUCTIONS FROM MOSCOW

The guiding hand of the leaders of the Russian Communist Party is to be seen not only in Comintern matters in general but also in questions dealing specifically with the activities of the American Communist Party.

The following instances are cited by way of example:

1. Communication dated January 12, 1920, signed by Zinoviev, calling for an "immediate joint convention" to unite the Communist Party of America and the Communist Labor Party.

2. Referring to the United States, Zinoviev declared at the Third Congress of the Communist International—

the task of the Communists consists in agitating among the masses to develop the maximum of organizational work, to ruthlessly unmask the opportunists and centrists, to wrest the masses away from them, to destroy illusions, which were brought by social traitors. (Report of Meetings held in Moscow, June 22-July 12, 1921, p. 45.)

3. At the Fourth Congress of the Communist International, Zinoviev reported that the affairs of the American Party were discussed five times in the Executive Committee and nine times in its Presidium. He added:

We were able to send a delegate to America, who remained for some time. The greatest difficulty with which the American movement has been confronted was the problem of combining together legal and illegal work. (Abridged Report of Meetings held at Petrograd and Moscow, November 7-December 3, 1922, pp. 9, 11, 25.)

4. In his report to the Fifth Congress, Zinoviev made the following reference to the affairs of the American Party:

We must also combat some digressions to the right in the American movement; these digressions made their appearance in connection with the Third Party, the La Follette Party. (Abridged Report of Meetings held at Moscow, June 17th to July 8th, 1924, p. 16.)

5. The Theses of Zinoviev presented to a plenary session of the Executive Committee of the Communist International in 1925 contained a section dealing with the Workers Party of America and pointed out that it was necessary—

to fuse the national sections of the party into a real united party. (*The Party Organization* published by the Workers (Communist) Party of America, Chapter II.)

6. Speaking at the Sixth Congress of the Comintern on July 19, 1928, Bukharin outlined the duties of the American Communist Party, as follows:

Events like the United States incursion in Nicaragua have not been sufficiently counteracted, particularly by the American Party.

7. Joseph Stalin presented a statement before the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International on May 14, 1929, which presented in detail the tasks of the American party, including "The International Red Day Campaign," "The Trade Union Unity Convention to be held in Cleveland on August 31st," "The Gastonia Campaign," "Work Among the Miners," "The Developing Activities of the All-America Anti-Imperialist League," and the "liquidation of all factions * * * in the Communist Party of America." His proposals on May 6, 1929 before the American Commission of the Communist International called for "An Open Letter * * * in the name of the ECCI (Executive Committee of the Communist International) to the members of the Communist Party of America," demanding that "The Secretariat of the CEC (Central Executive Committee) of the American Party be altered, and the "recall" of Jay Lovestone, then secretary of the American party. (Original documents presented by Jay Lovestone before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Volume XI, pages 7112 to 7124.)

George Dimitrov was similarly explicit in his instructions to the American party at the Seventh Congress in 1935, when he called for the creation of a—

mass People's Front in America * * * in opposition to the parties of the trusts and the banks, and likewise to growing fascisms. * * * Our comrades in the United States acted rightly in taking the initiative for the creation of such a party. (Abridged Stenographic Report of the VII Congress of the Communist International, p. 151.)

PARALLEL POLICIES

From about 1935 leaders of the Russian Communist Party have refrained from issuing open instructions to the American Communist Party. A number of simultaneous historical factors offer an explanation of this new procedure.

First is the growing threat of Fascist Germany and Stalin's desire to placate public opinion in the democracies.

Second is the probable use of instructions by short wave and cable.

Third is the fact that pronouncements by leading spokesmen of the international Communist movement in such internationally circulated Communist publications as *International Press Correspondence*, *World News and Views*, *Communist International*, *War and the Working Class*, *New Times*, as well as the official Soviet press, served in the nature of instructions to a thoroughly disciplined world party.

Indisputable evidence of Russian direction of the international Communist movement, including that of the United States, lies in the unswerving parallellism of policy between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the party in the United States, both before and after 1935.

1. *Against the League of Nations.*—(a) In December 1927, at the Fifteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Stalin spoke against the League of Nations and charged that all the talk about it "only resulted in fooling the masses, in new outbursts of armament, and in fresh exacerbation of impending conflicts." Russia was not in the League.

(b) William Z. Foster, present leader of the Communist Party, USA, voiced a similar opinion in his book, *Toward Soviet America* (1932) when he declared:

The League of Nations is not a peace-striving institution * * * it is a grouping of imperialist bandits intent only upon their own schemes of mass exploitation and war making (p. 42).

2. *For the League of Nations.*—(a) In an interview with Walter Duranty published in the *New York Times* of December 25, 1933, Stalin declared that "it is not impossible that we should support the League of Nations in spite of its colossal defects." Russia joined the League in September 1934.

(b) The resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, USA, published in the *Daily Worker* of July 3, 1937, stated that—it is necessary to explain that the present League is not quite the same as it was some years ago, that the present League can and must be used for the cause of peace and democracy.

The November 1934 issue of *The Communist* official monthly organ of the CPUSA said:

The outstanding event in the present international situation is the entry of the U. S. S. R. into the League of Nations (p. 1059).

3. *For collective security*—(a) Maxim Litvinov, representing the Soviet Union before the Council of the League of Nations meeting in London on March 17, 1936, urged "the collective organization of security" against the Fascist aggressor nations.

(b) The Central Committee of the Communist Party, U. S. A., in its resolution published in the *Daily Worker*, of July 3, 1937, called for—the creation of a united front of democratic states against the Fascist aggressors.

4. *For the Soviet-German pact, against imperialist war*—(a) The Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact was signed by Joseph Stalin on August 23, 1939. V. M. Molotov, Soviet People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, terms World War II—

the new foreign adventures of the imperialist powers.

(*Daily Worker*, November 7, 1939.)

(b) On August 26, 1939, Earl Browder, General Secretary of the Communist Party, U. S. A., broadcasting over the NBC network, declared that "The Soviet-German agreement is thus the best current example of the way to peace." Browder called the war "a family quarrel of rival imperialisms." (*Daily Worker*, November 6, 1939.)

5. *Support of the war against the Fascist powers*—(a) Germany attacked the Soviet Union on June 21, 1941. On July 3 Joseph Stalin broadcast an appeal in which he said:

In this war of liberation we shall not be alone. In this great war we shall have true allies in the peoples of Europe and America.

(b) The official statement of the Communist Party, U. S. A., issued on June 22, 1941, demanded that the American people:

Support the U. S. S. R. in its fight against Nazi war.

(*Communist*, July 1941, p. 579.)

6. *In defense of American capitalism*—(a) On November 6, 1941, following Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union, Joseph Stalin declared: But in England and the U. S. A. there are elementary democratic liberties, there are trade-unions * * *, there are Labour Parties, there is a Parliament, whereas the Hitler regime abolished all these institutions in Germany * * *. It is enough to compare these two series of facts to understand * * * the full falseness of the German-Fascist chatter about an Anglo-American plutocratic regime.

(b) In a speech delivered at Bridgeport, Conn., Earl Browder went even further in his support of capitalism when he said:

We must be prepared to give the hand of cooperation and fellowship to everyone who fights for the realization of this coalition. If J. P. Morgan supports this coalition and goes down the line for it, I as a Communist am prepared to clasp his hand on that and join with him to realize it. (*Communist*, January 1944, p. 8.)

7. *Attack on American capitalism*—(a) With the end of the war the Soviet press has shown evidence of hostility toward American capitalism, of which the following are typical:

The impending danger of mass unemployment is indicative of the profound contradictions that are inherent in America's economics.

(M. Rubinstein, *New Times*, July 1, 1945, p. 19.)

A choice has to be made: Either with the trusts and large banks, which are in the hands of traitors, or with the people. (Andre Marty, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France, *Trud*, July 3, 1945.)

(b) The Draft Resolution of the National Board of the Communist Political Association presented to its convention on July 26-28, 1945, was similarly hostile to American capital:

American capital supported the war against Nazi Germany, not because of hatred of Fascism or a desire to liberate suffering Europe from the heel of Nazi despotism, but because it recognized in Hitler Germany a dangerous imperialist rival * * *. They are trying to organize a new cordon sanitaire against the Soviet Union * * *. On the home front the big trusts and monopolies are blocking the development of a satisfactory program to meet the human needs of reconversion with its accompanying economic dislocations and severe unemployment. (*Political Affairs*, July 1945, pp. 579, 580, 581.)

8. *Causes of Soviet victory*—(a) *The Moscow Bolshevik* of July 4, 1945, stated that an important immediate task of propagandists and agitators is to explain fully and clearly the causes of the Soviet Union's victory. Propagandists and agitators must show the causes of victory are the strength of the Socialist system, the might of the Red Army, and the leadership in military and state affairs of Generalissimo Stalin.

(b) Robert Thompson, member of the secretariat of the Communist Party of the United States, has written an article entitled "The Red Army's Contributions to Victory" in *Political Affairs*, of June 1945, in which he says in part:

The Soviet High Command, guided by the military and political genius of Marshal Stalin, opposed the strategy and tactics of Hitler's total war and blitzkrieg with the strategy and tactics of a people's war backed by the unique economic, military, moral, and political resources of the Socialist country (p. 488).

9. The following articles are reprinted in *Political Affairs*, official American Communist monthly organ, from *The War and the Working Class*, which is now known as *New Times*, a semimonthly magazine published in Moscow. Its purpose is obviously to guide the policy of Communist Parties throughout the world. The reprinting of these articles denotes not only their acceptance by the American Communist Party, but also that they are to serve as official directives for the guidance of party members.

Title	Author	Date of publication War and Working Classes or New Times	Political Affairs
France and the San Francisco Conference -----	N. Nilolayev-----	No. 6, Feb. 15, 1945	May 1945
Democracy -----	A. Sokolov-----	No. 8, Apr. 15, 1945	June 1945
International Cartels and their Agents -----	V. Linetsky-----	No. 7, Apr. 1, 1945	Aug. 1945
Poland After Liberation-----	K. Rudnitsky-----	No. 8, Apr. 15, 1945	Aug. 1945
Trade Unions and the State-----	K. Omelchenko---	No. 8, Apr. 15, 1945	Aug. 1945

Alex Bittelman, a member of the present National Board of the Communist Party, U. S. A., and one of the founders of the movement in this country, has epitomized the role of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in his authoritative pamphlet entitled *Milestones in the History of the Communist Party*:

The Communist International and its model party—the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—headed by Comrade Stalin, gave us the guidance that helped the American Communists to find the way to the masses and to the position of vanguard. (p. 8) * * * The leading role of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the Comintern needs neither explanation nor apology. A Party that has opened up the epoch of the world revolution, and that is successfully building a classless society on one-sixth of the earth, is cheerfully recognized and followed as the leading Party of the World Communist movement (p. 71).

V. HOW THE WORLD COMMUNIST PARTY IS CONTROLLED

We have already shown how the leadership of the International Communist movement was concentrated from the outset in the hands of a small group at the head of the Russian Communist Party. In the early stages of the Communist International, however, when the movement was comparatively weak, there was some pretense of democratic methods.

As the Soviet Union and the Communist Parties grew in strength, these pseudo-democratic forms were discarded and the dictatorship of the Russian Communist leaders over the international Communist movement became even more complete and absolute.

The first six Congresses of the Comintern were held at comparatively frequent intervals in 1919, 1920, 1921, 1922, 1924, and 1928. Delegates from affiliated parties attended these Congresses and participated in the discussions of proposals presented by the controlling Russian Communist group.

The Seventh Congress was held in 1935, after a lapse of seven years. From 1935 to 1943, when the dissolution of the Comintern was announced by Joseph Stalin, no Congress was held.

At the present time it would seem that Communist parties have no right to participate in the formulation of decisions effecting their movement, which emanate from Moscow. Thus the dissolution of the Comintern serves a dual purpose.

- (1) It removes the basis for the charge of Moscow interference in the internal affairs of nations and lends color to the claim that the various Communist movements are spontaneous and indigenous.
- (2) It gives the Russian Communist leaders a justification for the abolition of international congresses or other media of international participation in the formulation of world Communist policy, and thus makes for increased concentration of control in their hands.

Having had no previous experience with a centralized world party of this new type, Americans find it difficult to grasp its essential character. We are prone to judge the Communist Party in terms of other American political parties which are bound by no international ties but are inherently devoted to this country, which are loose in their discipline and tolerate wide differences of opinion, parties which serve as vehicles for the aspirations and demands of multifarious American groups and are wholly indigenous.

While publicly encouraging the illusion that their party answers this description, the Communists are fully aware of the falsity of this belief.

Speaking at the Thirteenth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Comintern in December 1933, Ossip Piatnitsky, veteran leader of the Russian Communist Party and head of the Organization Department of the Communist International, declared that—

The Communist International is united by the Executive Committee of the Comintern into a single, world, centralized party.

This conception was fully accepted by American Communists. Earl Browder has referred to the Communist Party of the United States as—a party of an entirely new type, never before seen in America, a party of the type first created by Lenin in the Russian Bolshevik Party, and now being brought into existence in every capitalist country, under the leadership of the World Party of Communism, the Communist International. (*Modern Thinker*, March 1934.)

The subordination of the various national Communist parties to the central control of Moscow was justified in the program of the Communist International on the ground that such parties must subordinate “*the temporary, partial, group and national interests of the proletariat to its lasting, general, international interests.*” In the final analysis, the interpretation of what constitutes the “lasting, general, international interests” of the proletariat was left to the Russian-dominated Executive Committee of the Communist International in Moscow.

From 1919 to approximately 1935, the Communist International has repeatedly published detailed statutes governing its affiliated parties.

The discontinuance of the publication of these statutes coincides with the adoption by the 1935 Congress of the Comintern of its “Trojan Horse” policy when the Soviet Union began to seek the support of the democracies against the rising threat of Nazi aggression, when the Communists began to minimize and deny their revolutionary aims, and when they proclaimed their devotion to democracy.

It is a reflection of the fact that Russian leadership of the Comintern had reached a pinnacle of unchallenged authority over a period of sixteen years, an authority based not upon publicized statute books but upon the compulsory power of its farflung apparatus. *These statutes have received their binding force through long Communist usage and unreserved acceptance. They have neither lapsed nor have they been publicly rescinded. The practices of the Communist Party of the United States at the present time are fully in line with these statutes and give ample evidence of their continued potency.*

To preserve an appearance of democracy the Constitution of the Comintern sought to create the impression that its World Congress is its supreme authority. Since such congresses have been held every few years or not at all, it has been manifestly impossible for them to handle the everyday affairs of the International. Hence its Constitution provided that “The leading body of the Communist International in the period between congresses is the executive committee, which gives instruction to all the sections of the Communist International and controls their activity” (par. 12). This body usually included representatives of the leading Communist parties. That body is, however, required to meet “not less than once every six months” (par. 23). The executive committee therefore “elects a presidium responsible to the E. C. C. I., which acts as the permanent body carrying out all the business of the E. C. C. I. in the interval between the meetings of the latter” (par. 19).

To carry the centralization still further the presidium elects a political secretariat “which is empowered to make decisions.” Joseph Zack, formerly a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party, USA, stationed in Moscow from 1927 to 1930, has described the

actual functioning of the International, before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities on September 30, 1939, as follows:

The ones that control the actual organizational machinery of the Communist International are the so-called small commission, a body of three individuals, and those three individuals (Piatnitzky, Manuilsky, Kuusinen) are all Russians and members of the Russian Communist Party * * * Stalin has a battery of private secretaries whose function is to watch the foreign situation—China, the Americas, Germany, France, England—and who report to him personally * * * and through them and through * * * these three members of the commission, he commands and controls absolutely everything * * *.

This small commission is in a position to issue orders to at least sixty-five Communist parties throughout the world, orders which "must be promptly carried out."

The seat of the Comintern has always been in Moscow, which has given the Russian Communist Party physical control of its apparatus. Mr. Zack has testified that this apparatus consisted of "about four or five hundred employees, and all these employees are paid out of the Russian treasury."

STATUTES

On July 23-August 7, 1920 at the Second Congress of the Communist International, the following statute was adopted with the approval of the American Communist delegates who were present:

All the parties and organizations comprising the Communist International bear the name of the Communist Party of the given country (section of the Communist International).

Since that time the American section has been known as either the Communist Party of America, the Workers (Communist) Party of America, or the Communist Party of the United States, section of the Communist International, until the party's alleged disaffiliation from the Communist International on November 16, 1940.

It will also be remembered that after assuming the name of the Communist Political Association on May 20-23, 1944 for strategic reasons, the party resumed the name of the Communist Party of the United States on July 26-28, 1945 as prescribed by the original statutes. The compulsory adoption of this name emphasizes the subordination of all Communist parties to their recognized Communist center in Moscow. This is accentuated by the fact that but one Communist Party is officially recognized in any given country, a situation which still prevails after the dissolution of the Comintern.

The Communist International has formulated model statutes (Musterstatut) for all Communist Parties which have been imposed upon these parties oftentimes despite considerable internal resistance. In the Report of the Organization Department of the Executive Committee of the Communist International between the Fifth and Six World Congresses, progress along this line is noted as follows:

Beginning in the second half of 1925, immediately after the First International Organizing Conference, the revision of the statutes of the Communist Parties in accordance with the requirements of the model statutes was taken in hand under the guidance of the Organizing Department.

In 1935 the Workers Library Publishers published a "*Manual on Organization*" for Communist Party members, by J. Peters, which is

prefaced by the following introductory note by Jack Stachel, now a member of the National Board of the party:

Much of the material was of late available, as for example, the famous and thoroughgoing resolutions and decisions on the question of organization adopted by the Second Organizational Conference of the Communist International.

In 1925 a directive from the Communist International brought about the reorganization of the Workers Party of America on a shop nuclei basis. This form of organization, which the Comintern Constitution has called "the basic unit of the Communist Party organization" (par. 4) which had been abandoned for some time in the United States, has been revived at the convention in July, 1945.

The statutes also provide for strict supervision of the American party's program. Point fifteen of the "Conditions of Admission to the Communist International" provide that—

the program of each party belonging to the Communist International should be confirmed by the next congress of the Communist International or its Executive Committee.

The Constitution of the Communist International has even prescribed the exact form of membership requirement for its affiliated parties, namely:

Membership in the Communist Party and in the Communist International is open to all those who accept the program and rules of the respective Communist Party and of the Communist International, who join one of the basic units of the Party, actively work in it, abide by all the decisions of the Party and of the Communist International, and regularly pay Party dues.

Article 3, Section 1 of the Constitution of the Workers (Communist) Party, dealing with membership, which is typical, repeats this formula almost word for word.

Every person who accepts the program and statutes of the Communist International and of the Workers (Communist) Party, who becomes a member of a basic suborganization of the Party, who is active in this organization, who subordinates himself to all the decisions of the Comintern and of the Party, and regularly pays his membership dues may be a member of the Party.

It should be noted here that each individual member must subordinate himself to the decisions of the Communist International, whose Constitution provides that such decisions "must be unreservedly carried out even if a part of the Party membership or of the local Party organizations are in disagreement with it" (par. 5). The Executive Committee of the Comintern is in fact empowered "to annul or amend decisions of Party Congresses and of Central Committees of Parties and also to make decisions which are obligatory for them" (pars. 13 and 14).

A MESSAGE FROM DUCLOS!

Recent developments in the Communist Party of the United States in 1945, two years after the announced dissolution of the Comintern, offer a striking illustration of the enforcement of these provisions.

Jacques Duclos, secretary of the Communist Party of France, and a member of Executive Committee of the "defunct" Communist International, wrote a letter which appeared in *Les Cahiers du Communisme*, April, 1945, official theoretical organ of the Communist Party of France, in which he attacked Earl Browder, then President of the Communist

Political Association for "revision of Marxism," for promulgating "the concept of a long-term class peace," and for the dissolution of the Communist Party of the United States, which had been approved at a convention held in New York City on May 20-23, 1944.

It should be noted at this point that the Comintern Constitution provides that all relations between its various national sections are subject to the control of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. (Par. 31, 32). They cannot deal with each others as free, autonomous parties.

It is significant also that the Communist Party of France officially endorsed Browder's policy in its official organ-in-exile, *France Nouvelle* of May, 1944, indicating that this position had received official international approval at the time. It is therefore difficult to avoid the conclusion that Duclos was selected as a convenient mouthpiece of the submerged Executive Committee of the Communist International exercising its right "to annul or amend decisions of Party Congresses."

In accordance with the rule laid down in number 18 of the original "Twenty-one Points" or conditions of admission to the Communist International, it is provided that "All the leading organs of the press of every party are bound to publish all the most important documents of the Executive Committee of the Communist International."

True to this practice, by means of which the Comintern can go over the heads of national party leaders, the *Worker* of May 27, 1945, Section 3, pages 1 and 3, carried a full translation of the Duclos letter severely criticizing the Communist Political Association and its President. In accepting these strictures, Browder expressed his "welcome" of the "initiative of Jacques Duclos in utilizing this channel of international discussion." A resolution approving Duclos' position was adopted by the Emergency National Convention held on July 26 to 28, 1945, with Browder's single opposition vote. He later pledged his full support of the resolution.

The extent of Moscow control of the American Communist Party is indicated by the fact that conventions "can be convened only with the consent of the E. C. C. I." (Constitution of the Communist International, paragraph 34.)

Illustrating this procedure the *Daily Worker* of October 15, 1924, announced among the "Decisions of Workers' Party Central Executive Committee" that "The C. E. C. authorized a request to the Communist International for permission to hold an annual convention of the Workers' Party some time during the month of January."

It should be noted at this point that it required a letter from Jacques Duclos, member of the Executive Committee of the Comintern, to provoke an emergency convention of the American party on July 26-28, 1945.

The Constitution of the Comintern has provided a number of safeguards to insure its complete control over affiliated parties. The Executive Committee of the Communist International is empowered to send its own representatives to member parties who speak in its name.

Such representatives receive their instructions from the E. C. C. I. or from its Presidium, and are responsible to them for their activities. Representatives of the E. C. C. I. have the right to participate in meetings of the central Party bodies as well as the local organizations of the Sections to which they are sent * * *.

They may * * * speak in opposition to the Central Committee of the given Section, at Congresses and Conferences of that Section, if the line of the Central Committee in question diverges from the instructions of the E. C. C. I. Representatives of the E. C. C. I. are especially obliged to supervise the carrying out of the decisions of the World Congresses and the Executive Committee of the Communist International (par. 22).

COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL REPRESENTATIVES

The application of this decision is demonstrated by a significant list of Comintern representatives who have operated in this country under false passports and various aliases. Although these representatives varied in nationality, it must be remembered that they all represented the Communist world party centered in Moscow.

G. VALETSKI (Valetsky), a Pole, who attended the secret convention at Bridgman, Mich., on August 17-21, 1922, member of the Russian Communist Party.

JOSEF POGANY, alias John Schwartz, alias John Pepper, alias John Swift, former Commander in the Hungarian Red Army in 1919, exile to the Soviet Union, attended the secret convention at Bridgman, Mich., on August 17-21, 1922, elected a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party of America at its convention on December 23, 1923, to January 1, 1924, disciplined and recalled by the Comintern in July 1929.

BORIS REINSTEIN, a former member of the American Socialist Labor Party, by whom he was repudiated, present at the First Congress of the Communist International and the secret convention of the Communist Party of America at Bridgman, Mich., on August 17-21, 1922.

S. GUSSEV, alias P. Green, also known as Drabkin, chairman of the Parity Commission of the Workers Party Convention on August 21-30, 1925; General in the Red Army; member of the Control Commission of the Russian Communist Party.

Y. SIROLA, alias Miller, representative to the United States in 1926-1927; former chairman of the Finnish Communist Party and one of the founders of the Communist International.

ARTHUR EWERT, alias Braun, alias Brown, alias Berger, Comintern representative to the United States in 1927, sent to Brazil and arrested in December 1935; former member of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Germany.

HARRY POLLITT, Comintern representative to the convention of the Communist Party, U. S. A., held March 1-10, 1929; secretary of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

PHILIPP DENGEL, Comintern representative to the convention of the Communist Party, U. S. A., held March 1-10, 1929; member of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Germany.

B. MIKHAILOV, alias George Williams, Comintern representative to the Communist Party, U. S. A., in 1929, 1930; member of the Anglo-American Commission of the Communist International; prominent member of the Russian Communist Party.

GERHART EISLER, alias Hans Berger, writer of articles in the American Communist press pertaining to Communist policy in Germany from 1931-1932 and from 1940-1945; former editor of *Under the Banner of Marxism*, official theoretical organ of the Communist Party of Austria; former Comintern representative in the Caribbean area.

Benjamin Gitlow, former member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, former member of the Political Committee of the Communist Party, U. S. A., and at one time its candidate for Vice President of the United States, has described the powers of these plenipotentiaries in his testimony before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, from which we quote:

A representative of the Communist International to the United States during his stay in the United States was the boss of the party

* * * He automatically became a member of all the leading committees of the party in the United States and participated in its deliberations and enjoyed a vote on matters that were voted upon * * * all he had to do was to impose his power and mandate as a C. I. representative, and then his view would prevail. Generally, American Communists never would take a position in opposition to the representatives of the Communist International (Hearings, vol. 7, p. 4590).

According to paragraph 22 of the Comintern Constitution, its Executive Committee also had "the right to send instructors to the various Sections of the Communist International," whose "powers and duties * * * are determined by the E. C. C. I. to whom the instructors are responsible." These instructors supervised special phases of Communist activity in the United States. We cite a number out of many more who have visited these shores:

CARL E. JOHNSON, alias Scott, also known as Jensen or Jenson, a former member of the Lettish Communist Club of Boston who left the United States in 1919 and became a member of the Russian Communist Party. He came to the United States in 1921-1922 to supervise Communist trade union activity as the official representative of the Red International of Labor Unions with headquarters in Moscow.

PETERSEN, represented the Communist International in 1925-1926 in dealing with Communist activity among the Swedes in the United States, active in editing the Swedish Communist paper, *Ny Tid*.

MARCUS, alias M. Jenks, Comintern instructor on organization matters in the United States in 1928, wrote a pamphlet for the American party entitled, *The Party Nucleus*.

F. MARINI, also known as Maurio Alpi, alias Fred Brown, attended the Tenth Convention of the Communist Party, U. S. A., in May 1938 as secretary of its Commission on Organization, Press, and Literature and chairman of its Commission on National Groups, writer for the Communist; originally from Trieste from where he went to Russia; active in the United States for about ten years.

WILLIAM RUST, Young Communist International representative to the Young Communist League of the United States in 1927 approximately; member of the British Communist Party and Young Communist League.

WILLI MUENZENBERG, visited the United States in 1934; former Communist deputy to the Reichstag in 1933, international head of the Workers International Relief, a Communist relief organization.

LOUIS GIBARTI, also known as Dobos, in the United States intermittently after 1934 as representative of the Workers International Relief; an ex-officer in the Red Army of Hungary under Bela Kun.

RAISSA IRENE BROWDER, wife of Earl Browder, collaborator in writing his standard Communist works for at least sixteen years, delegate to the Tenth Convention of the Communist Party, U. S. A., May 27-31, 1938; identified as an agent of the Soviet Intelligence Service before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Volume XI, page 7026).

RAYMOND GUYOT, leader of the Young Communist International delegation at the World Youth Congress at Vassar 1938; General Secretary of the Young Communist International and member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of France.

REPORTS TO COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

According to the Guiding Rules for the Construction and Organization of Communist Parties adopted by the Third Congress of the Communist International in 1921, "The Party must hand in its quarterly report to the leading body of the Communist International," as well as the minutes of its Central Committee (Constitution, Par. 29). In addition, "Special reports must be made on the work of special committees of the party" (Guiding Rules, par. 17, 18).

The extent and detail of these reports is illustrated by the following items included in a Report of the Executive Committee of the Communist International between the Fifth and Sixth World Congresses, published in July 1928: general economic and political situation in the United States, inner situation in the Workers (Communist) Party, campaign against the war danger, "Hands Off China" campaign, against American intervention in Nicaragua "in which for the first time in American labor history the marines were appealed to on the necessity to fight against their own government," work of the All-American Anti-Imperialist League, the Labor Party movement, the Sacco-Vanzetti campaign, the campaign for the protection of the foreign born, the work of the Anti-Fascist Alliance of North America, the Unemployed Councils, the Trade Union Educational League, the anthracite coal strike, the Passaic textile strike, the furriers' strike, the cloak-makers' strike, the bituminous coal strike, the Colorado miners' strike, the Haverhill shoe-workers' strike, party schools, the party press, work in the cooperatives, work among the farmers, the International Labor Defense, the Workers International Relief, the Workers' Sports Federation, the American Negro Labor Congress, anti-American agitation in the Philippines and in Hawaii, work among women, the Young Workers' League, number of members and units of the Workers (Communist) Party. *No Congressional committee in the United States ever was able to secure so detailed a report of the activities of the American Communists.*

As late as April 1945, Jacques Duclos, member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, published in the *Cahiers Du Communisme*, theoretical organ of the Communist Party of France, the following detailed information regarding the American Communist Political Association: a study of various speeches by Earl Browder, a comment on William Z. Foster's unpublished letter of criticism of Browder's position, a comment on the unpublished speech of Samuel Darcy, a study of the organization's membership figures.

Since it has not been the Comintern practice for one party to report its internal affairs and difficulties to another but rather to the Executive Committee of the Communist International, one is forced to the conclusion that Duclos' familiarity with these matters was the result of information received through official international Communist headquarters in Moscow, for whom he was acting as spokesman.

These reports are thoroughly discussed by various committees of the Comintern. They are subjected to intensive criticism on the basis of which instructions are sent to the party concerned, "(a) through correspondence; (b) through instructors; (c) through workers from the Department." (Report of the organization Department of the E. C. C. I. 5th—6th Cong. p. 32.)

The recent detailed criticism of the American party by Jacques Duclos may be properly considered as a criticism by the international executive committee.

For those who cherish the illusion that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has voluntarily liquidated this world-wide apparatus built up in the course of 26 years of laborious effort and struggle, for those who retain even a vestige of doubt regarding the maintenance of this network, let us add these memorable words from Stalin's oration at

Lenin's funeral. They were reprinted in the *New York Times* of August 19, 1945, without the slightest protest from Soviet sources:

In leaving us Comrade Lenin ordered us to strengthen and expand the Union of the Republics. We swear to thee, Comrade Lenin, to honor thy command. * * * In leaving us, Comrade Lenin enjoined us to be faithful to the Communist International. We swear to thee, Comrade Lenin, that we shall dedicate our lives to the enlargement and the reinforcement of the union of the workers of the world, the Communist International.

VI. THE AMERICAN SECTION OF THE WORLD COMMUNIST PARTY

The Communist Party of the United States has functioned at all times and throughout all its forms as an integral part of the Moscow-controlled world-wide Communist apparatus, submitting unreservedly to its decisions, placing its resources and individual members at the full disposal of the Soviet Government or the Comintern for assignment to duty in any part of the globe, and receiving in return certain special, branch office privileges.

American Communist literature abounds in declarations of complete subservience to the Communist International and its decisions, from which a few examples are cited. In 1929, the Comintern forwarded an address to the United States calling for the repudiation of the leaders of the American party elected at a convention held in March, 1929. The *Daily Worker* of June 1, 1929, page 1, has described the reaction to this document:

The Address of the Comintern to the American party members was received 14 days ago. The Political Committee immediately, by unanimous vote, accepted, endorsed, and pledged to carry it into effect and fight against any opposition to it, open or concealed. The Address was published in the *Daily Worker* of May 20, the first issue after receipt of the document. * * * By mail and telegraph a constant stream of messages has poured into the Party office, from district organizers, district bureaus, language bureaus and newspaper staffs, and from leading workers, all accepting, endorsing and pledging to struggle for the line of the Address and against all opposition to it.

In an article entitled "Milestones of Comintern Leadership" by Alex Bittelman, now a member of the National Board of the Communist Party, U. S. A., we find the following acknowledgment by an official representative of that party, of the role played by the Comintern in the affairs of the American party:

A unified and single Communist Party was materialized in the United States in shorter time, less painfully and wastefully, than would have been the case without the advice and assistance of the Comintern. * * * Once more the American Communists consulted with the Communist International. That was in 1921-22. And correct advice came, as it was bound to, and with its help "Workers Party" was organized. * * * What was it that proved especially helpful for the American Communist in the Comintern advice on legal and illegal work? It was the world and Russian experience of Bolshevism. * * * It was the Comintern advice and guidance that helped American Communists to turn full face to the building of a Left Wing in the reformist unions beginning with 1920; it was the advice of the Comintern that helped formulate a correct solution to one of the basic problems of the American proletariat—the organization of the unorganized into trade-unions; it was advice of the Comintern on independent leadership of the economic struggles by the revolutionary elements that helped formulate strike policies and tactics. * * * Once more came the "outside" influence of the Comintern; and what did it say? It said that the struggle against discrimination and for Negro rights is a revolutionary struggle for the national liberation of the Negroes, that must fight for complete Negro equality, and that in the Black Belt the full realization of this demand requires the fight for the national self-determination of the Negroes including the right of separation from

the United States and the organization of an independent state. * * * The Comintern undertook to prepare the proletarian vanguard, the Communist Party, and through it the whole working class for effective struggle against unemployment. (*Communist*, March, 1934).

On a number of occasions, Earl Browder, as the executive head of the Communist Party of the United States, has expressed his complete acceptance of Comintern decisions. At its Eighth Convention on April 2-8, 1934, he stated in his official report:

The task of our Party today, the tasks of this Convention, have been clearly and systematically set forth in the documents before us for adoption, especially the Theses and Decisions of the 13th Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. * * * My report has been for the purpose of further elaborating these fundamental directives and discussing some of our central problems concretely in the light of these directives. (*Communism in the United States*, by Earl Browder, page 78.)

Even when such decisions involved severest criticism, Mr. Browder's submission to the Comintern was never in doubt. Criticized for certain errors on the question of America's relation toward Japan, he declared in his report to the 16th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, USA, on January 28, 1933:

With regard to my own errors in this question I must admit an additional weakness in not yet having written the extended article on this whole question that was suggested in the letter of the Comintern. (*Communist*, March, 1933, p. 237.)

In the same spirit he received the critical letter of Jacques Duclos, which served to remove Browder from the leadership of the American party with the statement that,

We can only welcome the initiative of Jacques Duclos. (*Worker*, May 27, 1945, Section 3, p. 1.)

In his authoritative "*Manual on Organization*," J. Peters has laid down the principle which guides the American party in its attitude toward the Comintern, as follows:

We do not question the political correctness of the decisions, resolutions, etc., of the Executive Committee of C. I. (page 27).

AMERICAN DELEGATES TO MOSCOW

Since 1917, there has been an endless pilgrimage of American Communists to Moscow, including delegates to Comintern Congresses and Plenums of the E. C. C. I. between Congresses, direct representatives of the American Communist Party, workers in special departments, students, information specialists, trade-union delegations, tourists, representatives of Communist-front organizations, couriers, and secret agents. *For the most part these individuals traveled under aliases and false passports.* Thus Moscow came to be known in inner party circles as Mecca. The conspiratorial nature of the Communist movement precludes the possibility of presenting anything but a partial list of these to indicate the pattern.

The following representatives of the American Communist movement were delegates to the various congresses of the Communist International in Moscow:

First Congress, March 1-6, 1919:

John Reed

Boris Reinstein, alias Davidson

S. K. Rutgers

Second Congress, July 23-August 7, 1920:

Louis C. Fraina (Communist Party of America).
 Alexander Stocklitsky (Communist Party of America).
 John Reed (Communist Labor Party).
 John N. Jorgis (Communist Labor Party).
 Alexander Bilan (Communist Labor Party).
 Edward I. Lindgren, alias Flynn (Communist Party of America).
 Member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International—John Reed.

Third Congress, June 22-July 12, 1921:

Robert Minor, alias Ballester
 Max Bedacht, alias Marshall
 Bill Haywood for the Industrial Workers of the World
 Nicholas Hourwief, alias Andrews
 Osear Tywerousky, alias Baldwin
 Ella Reeve Bloor
 Jack Crosby
 Member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International—Baldwin.

Fourth Congress, November 7-December 3, 1922:

L. E. Katterfeld, alias Carr
 Max Bedacht, alias Marshall
 * * *, alias Pullman
 T. R. Sullivan
 Arne Swabeck, alias Lansing
 Otto Huiswood, alias J. Billings
 Claude McKay
 * * * Kucher
 Alexander Trachtenberg (Workers Party of America)
 Max Bedacht (Workers Party of America)
 * * * alias James Cartwright (Workers Party of America)
 Member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International—Carr,
 James P. Cannon. Substitute—Charles E. Ruthenberg, alias Damon.

Fifth Congress, June 17-July 8, 1924:

William F. Dunne
 Israel Amter
 * * * Jackson
 Joseph Pogany, alias John Pepper

Sixth Congress, July 25-September 1, 1928:

Lovett Fort-Whiteman	Benjamin Gitlow
William W. Weinstone	Earl Browder, alias Dixon
James P. Cannon	Samuel Darcy
James W. Ford	Bertram D. Wolfe
John Pepper	William Z. Foster
Otto Hall, alias Jones	Jay Lovestone
Harry M. Wicks	Manuel Gomez
Alex Bittelman	William F. Dunne

Member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International—William Z. Foster, Jay Lovestone (expelled); candidates, Benjamin Gitlow, Otto Huiswood; later Robert Minor, alias Randolph. Gitlow was later expelled.

Seventh Congress, July 25-August 21, 1935:

Earl Browder	James W. Ford
William Z. Foster	Robert Minor
Gilbert Green	Samuel Darcy

Member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International—William Z. Foster, Earl Browder, Gilbert Green; candidate, James W. Ford.

Testifying under oath before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Earl Browder enumerated his trips to Moscow as follows:

My first visit was in 1921. * * * My next visit was in 1926. * * * I believe I have visited there almost at least once a year since then. My last visit was in 1938. * * * Since 1930 I visited there because of my position as general secretary of the party, and a desire to confer with Communists in the Soviet Union and other countries. (Hearing, vol. 7, p. 4324.)

MISSIONS TO MOSCOW!

William Z. Foster, present leader of the Communist Party, U. S. A., testified before the same committee on September 29, 1939, that he had visited the Soviet Union on official Communist business at least ten times in 1921, 1923 or 1924, 1926, 1928, 1929, 1930, 1934, 1935, and 1937.

Between congresses of the Comintern, the American Communist Party maintained official representatives in Moscow. Among those listed by Benjamin Gitlow, former member of the Executive Committee of the Comintern, are the following: Israel Amter, Max Bedacht, Robert Minor, Louis J. Engdahl, Earl Browder, Harrison George, H. M. Wicks, William W. Weinstone, and others. (Hearings, Special Committee on Un-American Activities, vol. 7, p. 4590.)

Among those called to Moscow in 1929 to discuss the factional situation in the American Party were: William Z. Foster, Alex Bittelman, Max Bedacht, William W. Weinstone, Jay Lovestone, Benjamin Gitlow, William Miller, Tom Myerscough, William White, Edward Welsh, Bertram D. Wolfe, and Alex Noral.

In his autobiographical work, *Proletarian Journey*, Fred E. Beal, former Communist strike leader, tells of meeting the following members of the Central Executive Committee of the American Communist Party in Moscow during the 1930's: William F. Dunne, Clarence Hathaway, and William W. Weinstone, also John Little, representing the American Young Communist League, and Michael Gold, *Daily Worker* columnist.

Andrew Smith, another former member of the American Communist Party, wrote the story of his adventures in the Soviet Union in a book entitled *I Was a Soviet Worker*, in which he told of conferring with John J. Ballam, J. Peters, and Andrew Overgaard, a trade-union specialist, and all representatives of the American party in Moscow. Smith's credentials were signed by J. Peters and reproduced in his book.

AMERICAN AGENTS OF MOSCOW

As a part of a disciplined world party, members of the American Communist Party are subject to assignment to Moscow or any other part of the world under the orders of the Comintern. It would require an omnipotent intelligence service to list all of these agents and their many varied activities. We can only list some by way of example:

EARL BROWDER, head of the Pan-Pacific Secretariat, with headquarters in Hankow, China, in 1927; editor of its official organ, the *Pan-Pacific Worker*; works published in the Soviet Union.

PHILIP ARONBERG, assistant to Browder in China.

HARRY M. WICKS, representative to Germany and Latin America (1926).

WILLIAM F. DUNNE, representative to France and Germany.

JOSEPH ZACK, representative to Latin America, especially Venezuela (1932).

JACK JOHNSTONE, representative to India and deported by the British Government (1928).

HARRISON GEORGE, representative to Montevideo (1926).

CHARLES KRUMBEIN, representative to Great Britain (1930).

ROBERT MINOR and EARL BROWDER, acting in behalf of the National Committee of the American Communist Party in Spain in 1936-1939. Andre Marty, member of the Executive Committee of the Comintern, was the head of an international secretariat in general charge of operations. Other Comintern representatives in Spain were Generals Emil Kleber, Lukacz, Krieger, Cole Dumont, and Vladimir Copic. Earl Browder has estimated that at least 2,000 members of the American Communist Party were members of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in Spain at the time. Minor officials of the American party in Spain were John Gates, member of the New York State Committee; William Lawrence, organizational secretary of New York State; Joe Dallet, section organizer in Youngstown, Ohio; Saul Wellman, member of the New York State Committee of the Young Communist League; Steve Nelson, member of the National Committee, and Joseph North, editor of the *New Masses*. (For an extensive list of members of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, organized by the Communist Party of the United States, see Committee on Un-American Activities, Appendix IX, pp. 274-291.) (See also, pp. 553-554 of this report.)

LEONARD EMIL MINS, American Communist research analyst for the Office of Strategic Services, later suspended. Editor for the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute in Moscow prior to 1936.

NICHOLAS DOZENBERG, business manager of the *Voice of Labor*, official organ of the Workers Party of America, 1920-1923; business manager of the *Worker*, official organ of the Workers Party of America and manager of the Workers Publishing Society, 1923-1927; agent of the Soviet Military Intelligence, 1927-1939.

SCHACHNO EPSTEIN, editor of the *Morning Freiheit*, official Yiddish organ of the Communist Party of the United States; secretary of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee in Moscow in 1944; editor of the *Emes*, Yiddish organ in the Soviet Union, until his decease in 1945.

WILLIANA BURROUGHS, Communist candidate for Lieutenant Governor of New York State in 1934; English-language announcer for the Anglo-American department of the Moscow radio for nearly 10 years, until October 1945.

Within the year 1934 the following American Communists contributed articles to the International Press Correspondence (Inprecorr), official weekly press organ of the Communist International: Hy Kravif, A. G. Bosse, alias for Alfred J. Brooks, Jack Hardy, alias for Dale Zysman, Earl Reeve, Esther Lowell, Sascha Small, Howard Lindsay, Charles D. Fletcher, Grace Hutchins, Al Steele, M. Morris, Joseph North, I. Amter, A. A. Heller, Robert Julien Kenton, Edwin Seaver, Anna Damon, Louis Coleman, P. Francis, A. B. Magil, Alan Calmer, H. Puro, Samuel Weinman, Rose Crane, Leo Thompson, Simon W. Gerson, Vern Smith, Rose Baron, William L. Patterson, Isidor Schneider, P. Lapinsky, Paul Novick, Harry Dawson, Peter Dorn, Paul Levin.

A. G. BOSSE, alias for Alfred J. Brooks, a public-school teacher of the New York public schools, a member of the Communist Party, USA, had absented himself from his position from 1929 to 1932 to serve as a "referent" or information specialist for the Communist International in Moscow. (Report of the Subcommittee of the Joint Legislative Committee to Investigate Procedures and Methods of Allocating State Moneys for Public School Purposes and Subversive Activities, pp. 314-317.)

JOSEPH KOWALSKI, editor of the Communist paper, *Glos Lodowy*; in charge of a Soviet penitentiary between 1920 and 1923, after his deportation from the United States in 1920; now active in the United States. Special Committee on Un-American Activities, vol. 2, p. 1310.)

ANNA LOUISE STRONG, writer for the following Communist magazines in the United States: *Liberator*, *New Masses*, *Soviet Russia Today*, *Labor Herald*, *Workers Monthly*, *Sunday Worker*; editor of the *Moscow Daily News*.

Speaking of some of the founders of the American Communist Party, Jay Lovestone, its former executive secretary, stated that some of them are now holding the highest posts in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in the Russian Trade Unions, and in the Soviet Government (pages from *Party History* by J. Lovestone).

An American Communist, whether he be a member of a trade-union or other organization or employed in private industry or by the Government, is merely a cog in this vast international apparatus.

Among those who received special revolutionary training at the Marx-Lenin Institute and other schools in Moscow were the following leaders of the American Communist Party: Carl Reeve, Charles Krumbein, Joseph Zack, William Odell Nowell, Beatrice Siskind, Clarence Hathaway, Morris Childs, also known as Chilofsky and as Summers, Harry M. Wicks, Marcel Scherer, Otto Hall, Lovett Fort-Whiteman, who in turn sent 10 young Negro students to Moscow, and many others. Mr. Nowell, who has since repudiated the Communist Party, testified before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities as to the character of this training.

He testified that he had been a student at the Lenin University from September, 1931 to December, 1932; that his traveling expenses from Detroit were paid by the Central Committee of the American Communist Party; that his living expenses in Moscow were defrayed by the Communist International and the Soviet Government; that there were approximately 30 other American students at the University at the time. Among the subjects he studied were strike strategy, military science, secret service, codes, Communist strategy, street fighting, civil warfare, organization, tactics and methods of the Red Army, and sabotage (*Hearings*, vol. 11, pp. 7020 to 7026). A conservative estimate would show at least several hundred such highly trained operatives in the United States at the present time.

(See also, Pages 198-199 for Nowell's testimony.)

Indicative of the reverent attitude of American Communists toward Moscow is the fact that the remains of such leading American Communists as John Reed and Charles E. Ruthenberg are buried at the wall of the Kremlin in that city. When William Z. Foster suffered a serious heart ailment between 1932 and 1936, he went to the Soviet Union for treatment.

PRESS PROPAGANDA

The report of the Agitation and Propaganda Department (Agit-prop) of the Comintern, issued between the Fifth and Sixth Congresses, indicated extensive aid to the press of the Communist Parties throughout the world. This report says that—

The supply of the Party press with useful material, which was one of the first and foremost through the "*Inprecorr*," proved to be the best way of influencing it (p. 42).

Scattered throughout the American Communist press of this period are reprints of *Inprecorr* or International Press Correspondence material. *Inprecorr* was succeeded by *World News and Views*, later by the *War and the Working Classes* and most recently by *New Times*. Reprints from these two Moscow organs have appeared in the *Communist*, later known as *Political Affairs* on the following dates: March, 1944; April, 1944; May, 1944; July, 1944; August, 1944; December, 1944; June, 1945, and October, 1945.

The Agitprop also—

supported the steps taken for the organization of a telegraph agency which, since March, 1927, has been supplying firstly the biggest Communist newspapers of the capitalist countries * * * and which has now extended its work and is transmitting news between European countries.

Official sources show that in the middle of 1945 Moscow supplied the following publications and news agencies in the United States with such cabled and radio news, the customary practice being that such material is sent prepaid:

<i>Name</i>	<i>Number of words</i>	<i>Address</i>
Allied Labor News -----	3,500	1133 Broadway, New York City.
Azember -----	600	320 East 79th St., New York City.
Bratsky Vestnik -----	800	3146 South 16th St., Omaha, Nebr.
California Labor Herald -----	400	150 Golden Gate Ave., San Francisco.
Glas Narodna -----	1,700	216 West 18th St., New York City.
Glas Ludowy -----	6,000	5856 Chene St., Detroit.
Givagda Poparna -----	100	Stevens Point, Wis.
Intercontinent News -----	19,000	1133 Broadway, New York City.
Karpatska Rus -----	3,500	556 Yonkers Ave., Yonkers, N. Y.
Lraper -----	1,800	40 East 12th St., New York City.
Ludovy Dennik -----	1,000	1916 East St., Pittsburgh.
Magyar Jovo -----	1,500	413 East 14th St., New York City.
Narodni Glasnik -----	600	1916 East St., Pittsburgh.
Narodna Volya -----	100	5856 Chenester, Detroit.
Nasz Swiah -----	1,400	5003 Gramme Ave., Detroit.
New Masses -----	7,000	104 East 9th St., New York City.
New York Listy -----	1,400	435 East 86th St., New York City.
Nova Doba -----	600	1448 West 18th St., Chicago.
Pravada -----	900	1916 East St., Pittsburgh.
Russky Golos -----	2,100	130 East 16th St., New York City.
Slobodna Rech -----	1,400	1916 East St., Pittsburgh.
Sovposol -----	5,200	Washington, D. C.
Sovruday -----	3,500	New York City.
Svornost -----	800	2520 South Pulaski Rd., Chicago.
Trade Union Service -----	1,200	220 Fifth Ave., New York City.
Ukranian Daily News -----	3,500	85 East 4th St., New York City.
Yugoslav Herald -----	2,500	223 Valencia St., San Francisco.
Yugoslavenski -----	700	Obzav National Ave., Milwaukee.
Pravada -----	1,400	1732 Brandywine St., Philadelphia.

An examination of the contents and ownership of these publications will disclose their Communist character and control at the time this study was made.

Correspondents from all parts of the world feed material into the *Daily Worker* and the *Worker* and constitute a part of the vast international Communist information network, the following being a partial list: Nicholas Bogdanov, Tokyo; Juan Balahap, Philippine Islands; Ruy Faco, Rio de Janeiro; Kostas Karayorghis, Athens; Rupert Lockwood, Sydney; Ivor Montagu, John Ireland, William Rust, London; Sean Nolan, Ireland; Paul Rosas, Indonesia; David Raymond, Allied Labor News; Ionel Stejuru, Rumania; Owen Roche, Mexico City; Susumu Ikano, Yenan; Stanley Ryerson in Toronto; J. B. S. Haldane in London; Derek Kartun, Paris; Florimonds Bonte in Algiers; Humberto Lillo Bernales in Santiago; Rodolfo Ghioldi in Montevideo; Alvaro Sanelements, Venezuela; John Gibbons in Moscow; P. C. Joshi in Bombay; Anival Escalante in Havana, and many others, indicating that the Communist Party, U. S. A., is now as it has always been an integral part of a World Communist Party.

INTERNATIONAL HOLIDAYS

The Communist International laid down directives for holidays to be celebrated by the American Communist Party and campaigns to be

carried out. The Report from the Fifth to the Sixth Congress stated that—

Since the beginning of 1927, the following campaigns have been carried out with the support of the agitation subdepartment:

Lenin Week, 1927.

The Anniversary of the February Revolution.

May Day, 1927.

The Tenth Anniversary of the October Revolution.

Lenin Week, 1928.

The Tenth Anniversary of the Red Army.

Campaigns against White terror and the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti (p. 40).

The May Day Manifestos of the Communist International giving the agitational slogans for the given period were published over a period of years in the following issues of the *Daily Worker*: May 1, 1930; April 28, 1931; April 30, 1932; April 30, 1933; April 27, 1935; May 1, 1936; May 1, 1937; April 30, 1938; May 1, 1940.

The Comintern report issued between the 5th and the 6th Congresses, called attention to the fact that—

The British, Czech and American Parties have also held central schools which were supported by the Propaganda Sub-Department of the ECCI by the drawing up of syllabuses on various subjects in the sphere of Leninism, and by instructions on organization and method (p. 45).

So much did the Soviet Union consider American Communists as their own that quite a number fled to the Soviet Union or received shelter there after having been convicted for the violation of the laws of the United States. In his biographical work entitled "Proletarian Journey," Fred E. Beal describes how he and six others convicted in the famous Gastonia Case, jumped bail and fled to the Soviet Union to be warmly received by the MOPR, Russian section of the International Labor Defense, and later assigned to posts under the Soviet Government. Other fugitives from American justice who received a Soviet welcome were Harry Eisman, William D. Haywood, Louis Bebritz, and many others.

It is clear from the foregoing that the American Communist Party not only accepted instructions from international Communist headquarters in Moscow but willingly and wittingly acted in every sense as the American agent of its Soviet principal an obligation which in turn devolved upon every single member of the American party.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES IS AN ADVOCATE OF OVERTHROW OF GOVERNMENT BY FORCE AND VIOLENCE

INTRODUCTION

The Communist Party of the United States of America advocates the overthrow of our Government by force and violence. As documentary proof of this, the Committee on Un-American Activities submits the following evidence and analysis.

The committee hopes that this report will dispel any confusion on the question that may presently exist in the mind of the American public, demonstrate the urgent need for adopting and enforcing legislation dealing with the Communist Party, and illustrate the voluminous evidence available for such legislation and its enforcement.

This report establishes conclusively that :

(1) The teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin constitute the credo of the Communist Party, U. S. A.—in fact of the communist movement throughout the world. The doctrine of forceful and violent overthrow of anti-Communist governments is a basic premise of these teachings.

(2) The model party of the American Communist is the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, whose history forms a basic "guide" or textbook for American Communists on the practice of force and violence.

(3) The American Party is now and always has been under the direction of an international Communist organization dominated by the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which is established and documented on the preceding pages ?? to ?? of this report. This was true under the Communist International and now under the Communist Information Bureau. This world movement has consistently advocated forceful and violent measures against anti-Communist governments. It is no mere coincidence that in every one of the countries recently overthrown by such Communist violence, leaders of the Communist International have seized positions of power.

(4) The Communist Party, U. S. A., and its leaders, both present and past, are on public record as advocates of the forceful and violent overthrow of the American Government, despite their recent disavowals. *Many of these leaders have received training in Moscow on the practical application of such methods.*

(5) The Communist Party, U. S. A., has encouraged, supported, and defended, without a single deviation, the ruthless measures of foreign Communist parties to overthrow their legally constituted governments by force and violence. *In other words, what the Chinese or Greek Communists are doing today is what the American Communists plan to do tomorrow under similar circumstances.*

(6) While the United States Supreme Court has not yet made a judicial determination on the question, numerous lower federal courts have, with unusual consistency, handed down decisions which characterize the Communist Party, U. S. A., as an advocate of overthrowing our government by force and violence.

The threat offered to our national security by the continued, almost unrestricted operation of such a movement within our own borders should be obvious to everyone.

Communism today, far from being the weak, isolated movement it once was, is a powerful force for evil whose influence is being exercised in virtually every country in the world.

Under the leadership, support, and inspiration of the Soviet Union, a communistic dictatorship has been forced upon one nation after another in Europe by the ruthless use of force and violence. These outbursts of Communist violence—all obviously aimed at paving the way for eventual subversion of the entire world to Moscow dictation—have also occurred in Asia and in our own hemisphere.

Each of these subjugated countries constitutes a bridgehead from which forcible and violent attacks can be launched against the United States either directly or in cooperation with the American Communists.

Communist violence manifested on April 9, 1948, in Colombia should give us all cause for thought. If a handful of Communists could achieve such effectiveness in a neighbor country, far removed from the Soviet Union, we cannot continue to blind ourselves to the menace of our own Communists who form a greater proportion of our population than the Colombian Communist in the Colombian population.

The administration, in its request for a stronger air power, large Army, and other national-defense measures, has recognized the march of Communist aggression as a threat to our national security. It has failed, however, to appreciate and understand the potentialities of Communist agents within our Nation. The harm that can be done by the internal Communist movement in the event of a national emergency must not be minimized.

The potentialities for injury at the hands of some 75,000 Communist Party members and their hundreds of thousands of supporters in the United States is not to be judged in terms of their numerical strength. Modern society has become so intricate that it is conceivably possible for a comparatively small, closely knit, and determined group, located in strategic and sensitive points and dedicated to the use of force and violence, to create serious confusion, to dislocate and perhaps even paralyze the machinery of our economic and social life.

It has been established that the American Communists have for years concentrated on infiltrating strategic areas of our economy, especially at the vital parts of the American military machine.

The advances of modern science have made available to each individual Communist forces of destruction which would have been inconceivable years ago. Moreover, the advantage which the Communists hold in being able to work in secrecy makes us twice as vulnerable to a sudden Communist strike or coup which will find us utterly unprepared. Communists reaped the full benefit of such surprise tactics in Bogota.

The problem of our Communist minority is doubly serious in view of its basic belief that sabotage, terrorism, armed insurrection, civil war, and any other measures of force and violence are justified in promoting the cause of the Soviet Union.

As this report will show, such tactics have been hammered into the American Communists by their international leaders ever since the movement in America was started in 1919. A virtual blueprint for revolutionary action under such slogans as: *Learn how to use arms! Acquire arms! Break up the armies! Seize the factories! Use terror! Kill the leaders! Smash the state machine!* is provided in the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin.

These works are gospel to the American Communist movement and to the movement in every other part of the world. To those who would dismiss this as mere theory, we say that the Communists mean business, here as well as everywhere else in the world. *And we are receiving daily examples from numerous foreign Communist Parties who are applying these tactics in amazing conformity with the blueprint laid down by the Communist theoreticians previously referred to.*

It should be noted carefully that the teachings of the international Communist leaders constantly reiterate the instruction that all Communist Parties must "defend the U. S. S. R. * * * by every possible means" in the event of a war against the Soviet Union. The principal means recommended by these leaders for such defense of the Soviet Union is the same means they recommend for the achievement of the overthrow of the American Government—civil war. This civil war, in their own words, "is unthinkable without the worst kind of destruction, without terror and limitations of formal democracy." The chairman of the American Communist Party, William Z. Foster, is on public record as endorsing such revolutionary tactics despite his recent disavowals.

The Communists have deliberately promoted confusion regarding their belief in violent overthrow of the American Government in order to lull the American people into a false sense of security and to avoid prosecution under the law. The committee hopes that this report will remove any doubts that may have been created on this point in the mind of the American public.

I. DENIALS AND MISCONCEPTIONS

In recent years official spokesmen for the Communist Party, U. S. A., have gone to considerable pains formally to deny the party's advocacy of overthrow of government by force and violence.

The duplicity of such assurances is made manifest by the fact that the party simultaneously proclaims its continued devotion to the principles of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, of which the doctrine of overthrow of government by force and violence is an organic and inseparable part. Your committee finds that such assurances are promulgated to throw dust in the eyes of the American people and for purposes of evading the law. It is clear that the American Party is being guided by Lenin's advice to make propaganda for armed uprising "without committing ourselves in the press."

In this connection it is well to bear in mind such examples of conscious evasion as the resolution of the National Committee of the Communist Party, U. S. A., adopted on November 16, 1940 to—

cancel and dissolve its organizational affiliation to the Communist International, as well as any and all other bodies of any kind outside the boundaries of the United States of America, for the specific purpose of removing itself from the terms of the so-called Voorhis Act. (*The Way Out*, by Earl Browder [International Publishers, New York, 1941], p. 191.)

This report documents and proves the fact that there was no actual severance. Similarly the Communist International was "dissolved" on May 30, 1943, as a result of a pronouncement from Moscow while Russia was our ally, although the subsequent continued synchronization of the Communist movement throughout the world is proof of the falsity of the alleged dissolution of the international organization.

The policy of deceit is so inherently a part of the Communist movement that it is reflected in every section and phase thereof, in the conduct of its members who conceal party membership, in its numerous front organizations operating under false labels, in the campaign of falsehood against the United States now in effect throughout the world through Communist channels and in the flagrant violation of international agreements by the Communist-dominated government of the Soviet Union.

No better case in point could be cited than the evidence contained in the documents on Nazi-Soviet Relations, 1939-41, published by the State Department. In other words duplicity is innate in the Communist movement which was advised by Lenin to "resort to all sorts of devices, maneuvers, and illegal methods, to evasion and subterfuge," in order to accomplish its purpose. It is in this light that the following Communist denials regarding the use of force and violence must be considered:

(Statement of William Z. Foster, chairman of the Communist Party, U. S. A.):

Question. Does the Communist Party advocate the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence or by any other unconstitutional means?

Answer. We'll let the Supreme Court of the United States answer this question for us. In its decision in the *Schneiderman* case, June, 1943, after examining exhaustively, on the one hand, the charges that the Communist Party advocates a violent seizure of power and on the other hand, the practices and doctrines of the party, including the writings of Marx, Lenin, and Stalin, the Court said:

"A tenable conclusion from the foregoing is that the party in 1927 desired to achieve its purpose by peaceful and democratic means, and as a theoretical matter justified the use of force and violence only as a method of preventing an attempted forcible counteroverthrow once the party had obtained control in a peaceful manner, or as a method of last resort to enforce the majority will if at some indefinite time in the future because of peculiar circumstances constitutional or peaceful channels were no longer open."

We Communists accept this formulation as a fair statement of our attitude toward the question of political violence. American Communists have always recognized the historical fact that parties with advanced social programs cannot secure governmental power by conspiratorial methods or by minority coups d'etat. * * * The danger of violence in such situations always comes from the reactionary elements, who refuse to bow to the democratic majority will. (New York *Herald Tribune*, January 11, 1948, p. 38.)

Foster did not state that the majority opinion in the *Schneiderman* case also declared that "This court has never passed upon the question of whether the party does so advocate, and it is unnecessary for us to do so now." (*Schneiderman v. United States*, 320 U. S. 118, at p. 148.)

It is generally conceded by legal authorities at the present time that the fact that Russia was an ally at the time of the decision and the pressing need of national and international unity for the task of defeating the Axis Powers, created an atmosphere conducive to a favorable decision in this precedent-making case, of which the court could not have been unmindful. There is good ground for the belief that a future test case before the United States Supreme Court will result in a decisive opinion regarding the party's advocacy of overthrow of government by force and violence. *In publishing this report, your committee seeks to aid in clarifying this issue.*

In his pamphlet entitled "*Is Communism Un-American?*" Eugene Dennis, general secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, has voiced a similar denial of advocacy of force and violence:

Question. The party's aim is the violent overthrow of the American system.

Answer. The position of the Communist Party on this question is definitely embodied in the constitution of the Communist Party which states:

"Adherence to or participation in the activities of any clique, group or circle, faction or party, which conspires or acts to subvert, undermine, weaken or overthrow any or all institutions of American democracy, whereby the majority of the American people can maintain their right to determine their destinies in any degree, shall be punished by immediate expulsion * * *"

Force and violence—resistance to the process of basic social change—have always been initiated and exercised by reactionary classes bent on maintaining their power and privileges against the will of the overwhelming majority.

COMMUNIST DECEPTION IS BRAZEN

There are a number of cleverly concocted loopholes in these formulations. Whether it be in a strike against an employer or in an attempted invasion of a weaker nation, the forces of international communism have adhered to Hitler's technique of blaming any resultant violence upon the victim of the attack.

On May 30, 1937, the Communists organized and led a riot against the Republic Steel plant in Chicago in which a number of persons were injured and 10 were killed. A coroner's jury investigation disclosed that the riot had been carefully prepared by the Communists even to the extent of provision for Red Cross supplies and motion-picture cameras. The entire Communist press then proceeded to place the blame upon the Republic Steel Corporation and the Chicago police force.

Speaking on November 29, 1939, and in defense of the unjustified Soviet invasion of little Finland, V. M. Molotov, Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs, brazenly declared:

Men and women, citizens of the Soviet Union, the hostile policy pursued by the present Government of Finland toward our country compels us to take immediate measures to insure the external security of our state * * * In recent days abominable provocations have been initiated by the Finnish militarists on the frontier between the Soviet Union and Finland. * * * (U. S. S. R. Foreign Policy, by Victor A. Yakhontoff (Coward-McCann, Inc., New York, 1945), p. 225.)

This policy of blaming the victim of Communist attack for any ensuing violence, drew forth the following sarcastic comment from Chief Justice Harlan Stone in the *Schneiderman* case:

We need not stop to consider the much-discussed question whether this means that that force was to be used if established governments should be so misguided as to refuse to make themselves over into proletarian dictatorships by amendment of their governmental structures, or should have the effrontery to defend themselves from lawless or subversive attacks. For in any case the end contemplated was the overthrow of government, and the measures advocated were force and violence. (*Schneiderman v. United States*, 320 U. S. 118, at p. 190.)

As another loophole it should be noted that the U. S. Communist constitution prohibits action against "any and all institutions of American democracy, whereby the majority of the American people can maintain their right to determine their destinies in any degree."

Subversion is not prohibited against existing institutions of the American Government. Thus the Communists have only to decide for themselves that such institutions are not of a nature "whereby the majority of the American people can maintain their right to determine their destinies," or decide that a majority is motivated toward force and violence toward the institutions of American democracy, and the prohibition immediately loses its validity.

Those who remember the facility with which the Communists transformed their conception of the United States as a peace-loving democracy into one of warmongering imperialism immediately after the signing of the Stalin-Hitler pact in August, 1939, will place little reliance upon this obvious, face-saving, legalistic formula.

The sincerity and reliability of Mr. Foster's denial of his party's advocacy of overthrow of our Government by force and violence are seriously impugned by his avowed hostility toward this Government as expressed as recently as March, 1948 in the party's official monthly organ, *Political Affairs*. Here he refers to the United States as being one of two "hostile camps," that of "imperialism, fascism, and war,"

II. DEVOTION TO PRINCIPLES OF MARX, ENGELS, LENIN, AND STALIN

It is difficult to find a comprehensive document published by the Communist Party, U. S. A., which does not express the party's devotion to the teachings of one or all of its leading theoreticians, Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin. *Despite every fluctuation of the party line and despite changes in the personnel of its leadership, these principles remain as the avowed and fundamental theoretical basis of the organization.* This report establishes clearly that their teachings advocate overthrow of government by force and violence.

The constitution of the Communist Party, U. S. A., adopted on July 28, 1945, and presently in force, declares in its preamble:

The Communist Party of the United States is the political party of the American working class, basing itself upon the principles of scientific socialism, Marxism-Leninism.

Political Affairs, formerly known as *The Communist*, "a magazine of the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism published monthly by the Communist Party of the United States of America," now calls itself "a magazine devoted to the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism." Its chief editor is Eugene Dennis, executive secretary of the party; and its editorial board consists of Dennis and V. J. Jerome, Alexander Bittleman, Max Weiss, and Henry Winston, all members of the national board of the party.

In its February 1948 issue, on pages 110 to 118, in an article entitled "The Communist Manifesto Lives!" *Political Affairs* not only emphasizes the present validity and authority of the *Communist Manifesto* but also stresses its common inspirational character with Communist Parties throughout the world. The article shows that Lenin and Stalin were primarily inspired by the *Communist Manifesto* and states that—

Manual of Procedure

the *Manifesto* has become, to quote Lenin, "a handbook for every class-conscious worker." Today, sixty years since these words were written, wherever the fight for freedom is on the agenda, the *Manifesto* is a manual of procedure * * *

In France and Italy, millions of workers, farmers, and professional people struggle under the banner of Marxism, held aloft by the giant Communist Parties.

In China, millions, fighting for a free, independent, democratic life, are inspired by the teachings of scientific Communism. In the people's republics of Viet Nam and Indonesia; in Korea, in Africa, in the Western hemisphere, the principles of the *Manifesto* are being studied in the heat of struggle. The Greek people, resisting American imperialist oppression, are fortified by the indestructible ideas of the *Manifesto* * * *

The greatest verification of the predictive power of the *Manifesto* is the Union of Socialist Republics * * *

It was in line with this struggle that Lenin and Stalin built the working class party of a new type, the Bolshevik Party. It was by fully mastering essence and the method of Marxism that Lenin and Stalin, by applying its teachings to the specific world conditions and the conditions of Russia in 1917, led the masses to the successful overthrow of Czarism and the abolition of capitalism. It was under the banner of Marxism-Leninism that the toilers of Russia, having established the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, achieved the highest form of democracy, Socialist democracy.

As late as September 1947, on the occasion of the one hundredth anniversary of the writing of the *Communist Manifesto*, William Z. Foster, present chairman of the Communist Party, U. S. A., reaffirmed his fealty to the founders of Communist doctrine, indicating at the

POLITICAL AFFAIRS

A magazine devoted to the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism

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PLATE 1. Exact reproduction of the title, contents and indicia of the December, 1948, issue of the important Communist ideological monthly publication in the United States, *Political Affairs*, featuring greetings to the Chinese Communists by the CPUSA, and an article on "Marxism and Science" by Nemmy Sparks, chairman of the Los Angeles County Communist Party.

same time that the Communist Parties of other countries were fundamentally the same in their loyalty. He declared:

As the Marxists-Leninists of the world celebrate during this year the 100th anniversary of the writing of the *Communist Manifesto* by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, the great principles of social development laid down in that immortal document are being dramatically confirmed by the course of history and by the present state of the world.

Foster hails "the big growth of Communist Parties in various countries, and the rapid development of Marxist-Leninist ideology among the workers of the world." He advises the leaders of labor unions and of the progressive movement "to study carefully the scientific principles laid down by Marx and Engels a century ago in the famous *Communist Manifesto*."

(Marxism and American "Exceptionalism," by William Z. Foster, in *Political Affairs*, September 1947, p. 794.)

In preparation for Lenin memorial meetings arranged by the Communist Party, U. S. A., throughout the country, the *Worker* of January 18, 1948, page 5 (magazine section), official organ of the party, carried a feature article entitled "Lenin's Legacy Honored," from which we quote:

Peoples of many lands during the past and coming weeks are honoring the name and achievements of Vladimir Ilyitch Ulyanov (1870-1924), the great Marxist and revolutionary statesman who under the popular and widely-known name of Lenin, led the forces which established Soviet power in the old Russian Empire and founded the U. S. S. R.

Accordingly memorial meetings are occurring during this period in the principal cities of America.

OFFICIAL RED READING LIST

In the November 1947 issue of *Political Affairs*, pages 1040-1046, William W. Weinstone, New York State educational director of the Communist Party, U. S. A., laid down a list of recommended readings for party members on the occasion of the one hundredth anniversary of Marxism, which establishes still further the current adherence of the party to the teachings and principles of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin.

Among other works he urges the reading of the following: Marx and Engels' *Communist Manifesto*; Engels' *Socialism; Utopian and Scientific*; Lenin's *State and the Revolution*; Lenin's *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism*; Marx' *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*; Marx' *Civil War in France*; Stalin's *Foundations of Leninism*; Lenin's *The Three Sources and Component Parts of Marxism*; Lenin's *Karl Marx*; Kherzentsev's *Life of Lenin*; Kherzentsev's *Life of Stalin*; Engels' *Anti-Duhring*; Engels' *Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State*; Engels' *Peasant War in Germany*; Lenin's *What Is to Be Done*; Lenin's *Collapse of the Second International*; Lenin's *Left-Wing Communism*; Stalin's *Leninism*; Stalin's *Marxism and the National Question*; Engels' *Ludwig Feuerbach*; Karl Marx' *Selected Works*; Marx' *Wage-Labor and Capital*, also *Value, Price, and Profit*, and also Volume I of *Capital*; N. Krupskaya's *Memories of Lenin*; Plekhanov's *Fundamentals of Marxism*; Mehring's *Karl Marx*.

New Century Publishers is an official Communist Party publishing house, which has published the works of William Z. Foster and Eugene

Dennis, Communist Party chairman and executive secretary, respectively, as well as the theoretical magazine of the party known as *Political Affairs* and the Constitution of the Communist Party, U. S. A. In its latest catalog, the following works by or about Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin are offered for sale:

Marx and the Trade Unions, by S. A. Losovsky.

History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, by Joseph Stalin and others.

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What Is Leninism?

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Capital, volume I, by Karl Marx.

The Civil War in France, by Karl Marx.

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Selected Works of Karl Marx.

Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State, by Frederick Engels.

Anti-Duhring, by Frederick Engels.

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Engels on Capital.

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The Peasant War in Germany, by Frederick Engels.

Socialism: Utopian and Scientific, by Frederick Engels.

The Civil War in the United States, by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.

Correspondence of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.

The German Ideology, by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.

The Manifesto of the Communist Party, by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.

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WORKS OF VLADIMIR LENIN

The Prerequisites of the First Russian Revolution (1894-99).

The Struggle for the Bolshevik Party (1900-1904).

The Revolution of 1905-07.

The Years of Reaction and the New Revival (1908-14).

Imperialism and the Imperialist War (1914-17).

From the Bourgeois to the Proletarian Revolution (1917).

After the Seizure of Power (1917-18).
 The Period of War Communism (1918-20).
 The New Economic Policy : Socialist Construction (1921-23).
 The Communist International (please note that this work is sold 3 years or more after the alleged dissolution of the Communist International).
 The Theoretical Principles of Marxism.
 Theory of the Agrarian Question.
 The Iskra Period.
 Materialism and Empirio-Criticism.
 The Imperialist War.
 The Revolution of 1917.
 Toward the Seizure of Power.
 From 1916 to March 1917.
 From Spring 1918 to Spring 1919.
 Imperialism—the Highest Stage of Capitalism.
 “Left-Wing” Communism : An Infantile Disorder.
 Marx-Engels Marxism.
 The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky.
 The State and the Revolution.
 Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution.
 What Is To Be Done?
 Lenin on Engels.
 Lenin on the State.
 Lenin on the Woman Question, by Clara Zetkin.
 A Letter to American Workers.
 The Teachings of Karl Marx.
 The War and the Second International.
 Paris Commune.
 Religion.
 Letters From Afar.
 Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution.
 April Conference.
 The Threatening Catastrophe and How To Fight It.
 Will the Bolsheviks Retain State Power?
 On the Eve of October.
 Lenin—Three Speeches by Joseph Stalin.
 Foundations of Leninism, by Joseph Stalin.
 Problems of Leninism, by Joseph Stalin.
 Woman and Society.
 War and the Workers.
 The Young Generation.
 Marxism and Revisionism, by V. I. Lenin and Joseph Stalin.

WORKS OF JOSEPH STALIN

Dialectical and Historical Materialism.
 Marxism and the National and Colonial Question.
 Marxism and the National Question.
 The October Revolution.
 Selected Writings.
 Stalin's Early Writings and Activities, by L. Beria.
 The War of National Liberation.
 In Praise of Learning, by Joseph Stalin and V. M. Molotov.
 Interview With Foreign Workers' Delegations.
 From Socialism to Communism in the Soviet Union.
 The Lenin Heritage.
 The Soviets and the Individual.
 The Stalin-Howard Interview.
 Stalin on the New Constitution
 To the Collective Farm Shock-Brigade Workers

MISCELLANEOUS

Life and Teachings of V. I. Lenin, by R. Palme Dutt
 Life of Lenin, by P. Kerzhentzev
 Our Lenin, by Ruth Shaw and H. A. Potamkin
 Reminiscences of Lenin, by Clara Zetkin

Stalin, by V. M. Molotov, K. Voroshilov, and others

Vladimir Lenin, a Political Biography

Karl Marx, His Life and Work, by Paul Lafargue and Wilhelm Liebknecht

Lenin and Krupskaya, by C. Bobrovskaya

This devotion to the precepts of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin is no accident, nor the whim of some leader or faction of the Communist Party, U. S. A., but rather part of an international policy emanating from Moscow. It is demonstrated by the following description of the training of Communist Party and Soviet personnel, from an official report of G. Malenkov representing the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union before the Conference of Communist Parties held in September 1947 in Poland:

The training and perfection of Party and Soviet personnel is one of the vital problems on the solution of which the Party is now working. This training is aimed at helping millions of Party and administrative workers to master Marxist-Leninist science.

In addition over 90 million copies of Marxist-Leninist classical works have been published since the end of the war.

That the doctrines expounded in the *Communist Manifesto* are held in highest regard by the Communist Parties of the world is indicated by a statement appearing in the official organ of the Cominform, successor to the Communist International, as follows:

The working class and the Communist Parties of the world are celebrating a notable date—the centenary of the *Communist Manifesto* of Marx and Engels. * * * The *Communist Manifesto* is one of the great landmarks of the working class struggle for liberation from the yoke of capitalism * * * Lenin and Stalin are the direct successors and inheritors of the ideological treasure of Marx and Engels. Thus, the practical experience of a number of countries has also vindicated the vitality of the *Manifesto* and the brilliant genius of Marx and Engels who founded the theory of scientific Communism, and who equipped the working class of the world with a mighty and invincible doctrine. (Centenary of the *Communist Manifesto*, by P. Yudin in *For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy*, February 15, 1948, p. 2, Organ of the Information Bureau of the Communist Parties, published in Belgrade.)

Thus the doctrines of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin have constituted the very basis upon which the Communist movement was founded throughout the world, the very basis upon which it operates at the present time. Advocacy of overthrow of government by force and violence is an organic and inescapable part of these doctrines.

III. COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The Communist Party of the United States, known also at various times as the Communist Party of America, the Communist Labor Party of America, the United Communist Party of America, the Workers Party of America, the Workers (Communist) Party of America, and the Communist Political Association, has clearly espoused resort to force and violence, in its official publications or through official spokesmen.

The fact that there are no recent direct statements along this line from official American Communist sources is due to its present policy of evading domestic laws which prohibit such advocacy. *The party has, therefore, limited itself to advocacy and training within its own nearest circles through official literature and schools.* Since the Communist movement relies upon coup d'état methods effected by a trained minority, as has been demonstrated recently in various countries, such limited espousal

suits its purposes much more effectively than any direct and public avowal of its violent aims.

Ample evidence exists to show that the American Communist Party is basically attached to the advocacy of overthrow of government by force and violence, from its own documents cited herein. The constitution and program of the Communist Party of America stated in 1921:

Armed Insurrection. Open Armed Conflict With State

The World War marks an epoch—the epoch of the collapse of capitalism and the beginning of the proletarian revolution. With the disintegration of imperialism come uprisings among the exploited masses in the colonies and in the small independent nations. The imperialist armies disintegrate. The ruling classes are unmasked and their incapacity to further direct the destiny of the world's working masses is exposed. Armed insurrection of the proletariat, resulting in victorious revolution, as in Russia; and a series of open armed conflicts with the state power of the bourgeoisie, as in Germany. This is typical of the conditions throughout the world. (*Constitution and Program of the Communist Party of America*. Adopted by the Joint Unity Convention of the Communist Party and the United Communist Party of America. Published by the Communist Party of America, 1921, pp. 6, 7.)

1. The original Communist Party of America, acknowledged predecessor of the Communist Party of the United States of America, openly advocated armed insurrection, civil war, and violent revolution.

Armed Insurrection and Civil War

The revolutionary epoch upon which the world has now entered forces the proletariat to resort to militant methods—mass action, leading to direct collision with the bourgeois state. Mass action culminates in armed insurrection and civil war. The centralized power of the capitalist class manifests itself through control of the state machinery—the army, the navy, police, courts, bureaucracy, etc. It is through such means that the capitalist class imposes its will upon the workers. Mass action is the proletarian revolt against the oppression of the capitalist class. It develops from spontaneous activities of the workers massed in large industries. Among its initial manifestations are mass strikes and mass demonstrations. * * *

Clash of Armed Forces. Armed Insurrection. Violent Revolution

The Communist Party will educate and organize the working masses for such direct political action, i.e., mass strikes and mass demonstrations, and will lead them in these struggles. These struggles form the major campaign of the Communist Party. It is through such struggles that the working masses are prepared for the final conflict for power. This can be nothing else but a direct struggle between the armed forces of the capitalist state on the one hand and the armed forces of the proletarian revolution on the other. In these mass strikes and demonstrations large masses of workers are united. New tactics and a new ideology are developed. As these strikes grow in number and intensity, they acquire political character through unavoidable collision and open combat with the capitalist state which openly employs all its machinery to break their strikes and crush the workers' organizations. This finally results in armed insurrection aimed directly at the destruction of the capitalist state and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship. This objective cannot be attained unless the entire movement is under the control and guidance of the Communist Party.

The Communist Party will keep in the foreground the idea of the necessity of violent revolution for the destruction of the capitalist state and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat based on Soviet power. (*Ibid.*, pp. 18, 19, and 20.)

2. It derided the efficacy of parliamentary or legal means and declared that the American state machinery should be destroyed.

Destroy Bourgeois State

The bourgeois parliament, one of the most important instruments of the bourgeois state machinery, can no more be won by the proletariat than the bourgeois order in general. It is the task of the proletariat to destroy the entire machinery of the bourgeois state, not excluding its parliamentary institutions. (*Ibid.*, p. 21.)

3. *It supported the Communist International in its advocacy of the use of force to create an International Soviet Republic.*

Force of Arms

The Communist International. In order to overthrow the international bourgeoisie and to create an International Soviet Republic as a transition stage to the Communist Society, the Communist International will use all means at its disposal, including force of arms. (*Ibid.*, p. 39.)

4. *The Communist Party of America declared openly that our system can be destroyed only by force.*

Abolition of Capitalism by Force

We know very well that capitalism cannot be abolished without the use of force.

The capitalist magnates will hand over power to the workers only as willingly and as peaceably as the British Crown and Feudal Forces handed it over to the American bourgeoisie in 1776, and as peacefully and as willingly as the Southern slave-owners freed their Negro slaves in the Civil War.

Indeed we openly proclaim that the industrial and agricultural workers, who, being the vast majority of the population of this country, have a right to establish their own rule, with force if need be, against the rule of the small group of trust magnates and capitalists generally. (*The Worker*, Saturday, September 16, 1922, p. 4. Excerpt from Manifesto of the Communist Party of America.)

5. *The Communist Party of America reprinted the official position of the Third Congress of the Comintern as its own.*

Armed Force

The official position of the Communist International as adopted at its Third Congress, held June 22-July 12, 1921, is as follows:

With regard to acts of White Terror and the fury of bourgeois justice, the Communist Party must warn the workers not be deceived, during crises, by an enemy appeal to their leniency, but to demonstrate proletarian morality by acts of proletarian justice, in settling with the oppressors of the workers.

But in times when the workers are only preparing themselves, when they have to be mobilized by agitation, political campaigns and strikes, armed force may be used solely to defend the masses from bourgeois outrages.

Individual acts of terrorism, however they may demonstrate the revolutionary rancor of the masses, however justified they may be as acts of retribution against the lynch law of the bourgeoisie and its social democratic flunkies, are in no way apt to raise the workers to a higher level of organization, or make them better prepared to face the struggle.

We publish this statement for the benefit of our readers. The capitalist press will not publish it the next time they launch an attack on the Communist movement. We do not expect the hell hounds of the system, commonly known as secret service operatives, to have brains enough to understand it. But the workers will learn and act accordingly. (*The Worker*, New York, March 18, 1922, p. 6. From an editorial entitled "Individual Acts of Terrorism.")

6. *In the Michigan cases in 1923 in which the leaders of the American Communist Party were on trial, they defended the use of force.*

Necessity of Force and Violence

The Defense does not contend that the Communists say that the workers can achieve power and dominate the government as the dictatorship of the proletariat, without the use of force, either in achieving power or in protecting their rule after it is established. The Communist viewpoint that great historical changes have never come without a resort to force is boldly avowed, but is declared that this use of force must resolve out of the social and economic conditions, that Communists are not bomb throwers nor do they incite the workers to isolated acts of violence. (*The Worker*, New York, Saturday, April 7, 1923, p. 2. From an article entitled "Communist Principles on Trial In Person of Foster in Michigan.")

7. The American Communist Party has even asserted its right to openly advocate the use of force and violence.

Resort to Force

The evidence brought before the jury in the form of the official documents of the Communist Party frankly stated in Communist viewpoint that the class struggle inevitably develops into an open struggle between contending classes and that the ultimate phase of the struggle between workers and capitalists would involve a resort to force. * * *

What the Communists have done, and what they insist is their right, is to express their view, based upon historical precedents, that no privileged class has ever given up its power without a resort to force and that the class struggle between workers and capitalists will follow this historic precedent. (*The Worker*, New York, Saturday, April 21, 1923, p. 1. From an article entitled "Foster Verdict Triumph for Communism in United States," by C. E. Ruthenberg.)

8. The Daily Worker, official Communist organ in the United States has unreservedly espoused civil war between classes of society.

Oppose Social Peace. Civil War

But this social peace means above all, to deliver the working class helpless into imperialist war. Nothing can stop the slaughter of the wars of capitalism except the class war of the workers for the overthrow of capitalist government and the establishment of the workers' government. The cry of the imperialist for war between nations can only be answered by the cry of the workers for the war between the classes. The imperialist war must be turned into the civil war through which the power of the exploiting class shall be broken. (*Daily Worker*, Chicago, July 5, 1924, p. 6; J. Louis Engdahl and William F. Dunne, editors. Excerpt from an editorial entitled "Against Imperialist War.")

9. The Workers Monthly, official Communist monthly organ, acknowledged the fact that the American party was formed in recognition of the historical example set by the Russian Communist Party in conducting an armed uprising.

Armed Uprising

The Communist Party came into existence in the United States, as elsewhere in response to the ferment caused in the Socialist parties by the Russian Revolution. It was the historical example, that is, the establishment of a proletarian state through an armed uprising of the working masses, the sweeping away of the old parliamentary form of government, the establishment of the new workers' government upon the foundation of the Soviets, that drove into the Socialist parties the wedge which split them into two sharply defined groups; those who pretended they could achieve a Socialist society through forms wrung from the capitalist state and those who saw the only road to Socialism, the overthrow of the capitalist state and the establishment of the proletarian state, the dictatorship of the proletariat. * * *

The party was attacked because it taught the workers that they could emancipate themselves from capitalism only through an armed uprising which would overthrow the capitalist state and establish a Soviet government. After it was driven underground the party considered it all the more its duty to continue this propaganda. (*The Workers Monthly*, Chicago, October 1925, vol. IV, No. 12, p. 531.)

10. Questioned by New York Aldermanic President McKee, William Z. Foster, present chairman of the Communist Party, U. S. A., frankly admitted that his organization teaches the workers that only by force and violence can the revolution be achieved.

Revolution by Violence

You cannot cure unemployment except by the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a Soviet Government in the United States. We explain to the workers and we teach all the workers that only by violence finally can a revolution be

accomplished. All revolutions have been accomplished by force and violence. (Statement by William Z. Foster, present chairman of the Communist Party of the United States, before Aldermanic President McKee, *Daily Worker*, New York, March 15, 1930, p. 5.)

11. *Robert Minor, for many years a member of the executive committee of the Communist Party, U. S. A., and a delegate to the Communist International, made a similar public admission.*

Violence

* * * the Communist Party is the party of the working class, leading the workers in the class struggle and recognizing that all of history is made up of this struggle which has never been solved and never can be solved without violence. It is not a question of violence or no violence. It is a question of which class. (Speech by Robert Minor before Mayor James J. Walker, New York, N. Y., *Daily Worker*, New York, March 15, 1930, p. 5.)

12. *The Seventh National Convention of the Communist Party, U. S. A., in 1930, endorsed Lenin's demand to turn "imperialist war" into civil war.*

Civil War

In view of this growing danger of war, the Communist Party must carry thru an intensive and continuous campaign for the popularization of Lenin's teachings on the struggle against war, propagating the slogan of the transformation of imperialist war into civil war, the defeat of "our own" capitalist government, for the overthrow of "our own" bourgeoisie. (Thesis and Resolutions for the Seventh National Convention of the Communist Party of U. S. A., by Central Committee Plenum, March 21-April 4, 1930.)

13. *Before the House Special Committee to Investigate Communist Activities in the United States on December 5, 1930, William Z. Foster declared under oath that armed struggle was necessary for the Socialist revolution.*

Armed Struggle

Only an armed struggle succeeded in eliminating the institution of chattel slavery. The same law of history will operate in the transition from capitalism to Socialism. (Statement drafted by Communist Party of the United States and presented to Fish committee by William Z. Foster, present chairman, Communist Party, U. S. A., December 5, 1930. Workers Library Publishers, New York, p. 31.)

William F. Dunne, former member of the executive committee of the Communist Party, U. S. A., delegate to the Comintern and former editor of the Daily Worker, denounced those who believe in the possibility of an orderly revolution.

Against Orderly Revolution

No "Orderly Revolution." There never has been and there never can be an orderly revolution. "Orderly Revolution" means no revolution. The whole international experience of the working class, immeasurably enriched by the Russian Revolution, proves this beyond question. (*Daily Worker*, November 7, 1932, p. 6; excerpt from an article entitled "Why Thomas Is Being Boosted by Republican, Democrat Press," by Bill Dunne.)

14. *The following statements advocating the use of force and violence for the revolutionary overthrow of American capitalism are particularly significant because of the official position now held by the author, William Z. Foster, as chairman of the Communist Party, U. S. A. They are excerpts from his book, Toward Soviet America.*

Civil War. Force

The revolutionary danger to the capitalist system from the developing war situation is acute and menacing. If and when the imperialist powers launch a great war among themselves we may be sure that in many countries the workers and peasants, following the famous strategy of Lenin and under the leadership of the Communist International, will transform the imperialist war into a civil war against the capitalist system. * * *

The road to this social development can only be opened by revolution. This is because the question of power is involved. The capitalist class like an insatiable blood-sucker, hangs to the body of the toiling masses and can be dislodged only by force.

Proletariat in Arms. Civil War. Force. Armed Red Guard

By the term "abolition" of capitalism we mean its overthrow in open struggle by the toiling masses, led by the proletariat. Although the world capitalist system constantly plunges deeper into crisis we cannot therefore conclude that it will collapse of its own weight. On the contrary, as Lenin has stated, no matter how difficult the capitalist crisis becomes, "there is no complete absence of a way out" for the bourgeoisie until it faces the revolutionary proletariat in arms. * * *

Nevertheless, the working class cannot itself come into power without civil war. This is not due to the choice of the toilers; it is because the ruling class will never permit itself to be ousted without such a fight. "Force," says Marx, "is the midwife of every old society when it is pregnant with the new one; force is the instrument and the means by which social movements hack their way through and break up the fossilized political forms * * *."

When the American working class actively enters the revolutionary path of abolishing capitalism it will orientate upon the building of Soviets, not upon the adaptation of the existing capitalist government. The building of Soviets is begun not after the revolution but before. The decisions of the Soviets are enforced by the armed Red Guard of the workers and peasants and by the direct seizure of the industry through factory committees. * * *

In order to defeat the class enemies of the revolution the counter-revolutionary intrigues within the United States and the attacks of foreign capitalist countries from without, the proletarian dictatorship must be supported by the organized armed might of the workers, soldiers, local militia, etc. In the early stages of the revolution even before the seizure of power, the workers will organize the Red Guard. Later on this loosely constructed body becomes developed into a firmly-knit well-disciplined Red Army. (*Toward Soviet America*, by William Z. Foster (Coward-McCann, New York, 1932), pp. 64, 130, 212, 214, 271, and 275.)

15. In 1934 the Communist Party, U. S. A., was still making no bones about its advocacy of the need of an armed uprising and civil war.

Civil War

But along with the growth of revolutionary mass actions, such as demonstrations, strikes in basic industries, munitions works, waterside, rail transport, etc., the general strike—as the supreme form of the mass strike movement—can be a mighty weapon, and "as a transition to the armed uprising it constitutes a stage in the transformation of the imperialist war into civil war." (*The Communist*, a magazine of the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism, published monthly by the Communist Party of the United States of America; August, 1934, vol. XIII, No. 8, p. 799. An excerpt from an article entitled "The Leninist Party as Leader of the Struggle Against Imperialist War," by H. M. Wicks.)

16. Many American Communist leaders were given special training in Moscow to prepare them for the practical application of these theories of force and violence. William Odell Nowell, a former Communist Party leader in Detroit, who studied at the International Lenin University in Moscow under this training program for more than a year in 1931-1932, described the procedure for the Special Committee on Un-American Activities. He said that the Communist Party of the United States and the Soviet Government paid his expenses as a student in this

training program, which he stated was aimed at the production of "professional revolutionaries." His account of the training follows:

Barricade Fighting. Military Science. Sabotage

We studied how to dismantle the weapons of the leading countries, that is, their main weapons, such as rifles or machine guns and so on. I also studied secret service codes * * * we studied the details of how to develop street fights. I mean, how to do barricade fighting, how to seize control of a city, the most strategic, economically and technically strategic points, and so on. * * *

* * * the science of civil warfare was developed down to its fine points. And a number of people were sent to the Red Army to secure further training in this respect. * * * I spent some time in the Red Army myself. * * *

We were given regular military training. That is, we studied military science, strategy, such as is general in almost all countries. The strategy is pretty much the same, except in countries of different geographical situations, and so on. We had target practice and all that. Then we were taught what is called partisan warfare, the science of civil warfare, revolutionary uprising. It is not done legitimately and openly. You don't march in brigades and fight like armies that are meeting each other.

The conspiratory type of warfare. It is related to the boring-in process, street fighting, and how to mobile (sic) in blocks, the blocks in a city, the workers in a plant; how to develop a general strike out of a local strike; how to develop a general strike into a city uprising, a city uprising into a national uprising, coordinating all these different uprisings. Then how to lead this thing, once it is raised, once these men are on the warpath, how to direct them. Then we come to something like open warfare. We break these people down into groups; we make armies on the basis of the immediate emergency of the moment, or whatever the situation may be. We were given to know that in a revolutionary situation you cannot follow out mechanically any particular plan, only your objective. It is a tense situation. Therefore a party having an organization, with its fingers on everything—every portion of the city and its population, that it can depend on—is prepared to direct all its forces in the way they should be.

[We were taught to concentrate on] the food supply, the warehouses, the utilities, that is water and lights, gas, and all those things; the communications, that is the railways entering the city, the streetcar service, telephone service, and telegraph; and all those things.

[We were instructed in] sabotage; how to wreck trains, at this point closing down factories, facilitating discontent to raise the mob spirit in order to get the men on the go, and various other acts of sabotage, which of course could be attempted on a moment's notice. Also the general methods of derailing a train and destroying its cargo. I mean, if it is going to be available for the enemy, just put it full speed ahead when you know there is another train coming head-on, and just step aside. (Hearings before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, vol. XI, November 30, 1939, pp. 6984-7025.)

M. J. OLGIN'S "WHY COMMUNISM?"

Published by the Workers Library Publishers, official Communist Party, U. S. A., publishing house in 1935, *Why Communism?* is an outstanding Communist classic by Moissaye J. Olgin, who was, until his death in 1939, editor in chief of the *Morning Freiheit*, official Communist Party daily in the Jewish language. This book received featured notice in the *Communist International* (magazine) of July 20, 1935. Besides being a member of Central Committee of the Communist Party, U. S. A., Olgin was its candidate for public office on a number of occasions including United States Senate in 1924, New York State Assembly in 1933 and 1936.

On the occasion of Olgin's death on November 22, 1939, William Z. Foster, present chairman of the Communist Party, U. S. A., and Earl Browder, then general secretary, jointly declared:

The National Committee of the CPUSA records with the deepest sorrow the death of Moissaye J. Olgin * * * whose influence extended far beyond the borders of America, as well as (being) a leading member of the Communist Party since 1922.

As late as May 24, 1947, the *Daily Worker* referred to him as "a great American, and champion of labor." We cite the following passages from the work *Why Communism?* showing advocacy of overthrow of the American Government by force and violence:

Smash Capitalist State by Force

We Communists say that there is one way to abolish the capitalist States, and that is to smash it by force. To make Communism possible the workers must take hold of the State machinery of capitalism and destroy it. (*Why Communism*, by M. J. Olgin (Workers Library Publishers, New York, 1935), p. 32.)

17. Olgin stressed the inevitability of resorting to force and civil war in America and ordered preparation for this eventuality.

Inevitability of Civil War

If the workers rise in this way against war, the capitalists with their armed forces will try to break the deadlock. There will be attacks on strikers. The workers will have to offer resistance. We Communists do not close our eyes to the fact that this means civil war. But when the masses are organized and fight in great numbers under revolutionary leadership the victory is assured. Part of the army is certain to waver and to join the people. There may be victims, but their number cannot be compared to the losses in life and limb that the workers would suffer in the imperialist war.

Victory in the civil war spells the doom of the capitalist State. We Communists do not say to the workers that they have to begin the civil war today or tomorrow. We say that the civil war is the inevitable outcome of long and arduous struggles against the capitalists and their State and that these struggles must be made the everyday practice of the working class. (*Ibid.*, p. 43.)

18. He described in detail the steps toward the armed uprising which display a remarkable similarity to Communist tactics in certain countries at the present time.

Insurrections

A time comes when there is demoralization above, a growing revolt below; the morale of the army is also undermined. The old structure of society is tottering. There are actual insurrections; the army wavers. Panic seizes the rulers. A general uprising begins.

Workers Arm Themselves

Workers stop work, many of them seize arms by attacking arsenals. Many had armed themselves before as the struggles sharpened. Street fights become frequent. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the workers organize Revolutionary Committees to be in command of the uprising. There are battles in the principal cities. Barricades are built and defended. The Workers' fighting has a decisive influence with the soldiers. Army units begin to join the revolutionary fighters; there is fraternization between the workers and the soldiers, the workers and the marines. The movement among the soldiers and marines spreads. Capitalism is losing its strongest weapon, the army. The police as a rule continue fighting, but they are soon silenced and made to flee by the united revolutionary forces of workers and soldiers. The revolution is victorious. Can it be done? It has been done more than once. (*Ibid.*, pp. 59 and 60.)

19. Olgin predicted that the revolutionists would avail themselves not only of rifles but of battleships, poison gas, and planes to be turned against the old system.

Use of Arms

What is true is that a revolution cannot win unless the armed forces, or at least part of them, join the workers. But once they join, the workers have not only rifles and cannon but also airships and poison gas and battleships to fight the bosses. Poison gases are destructive, to be sure, but their destructive power can be turned also against the old system. There is no reason why the workers should not use them against the enemy when the final conflict has arrived. (*Ibid.*, pp. 60, 61.)

20. *Olgin did not mince any words on his advocacy of force and violence.*

Force and Violence

"But this is force and violence," somebody will contend. "Don't you Communists know that the use of force and violence is wrong?" We reply to this first, that if being a "red-blooded American" means anything, it means that you must not take punishment lying down, that you must offer resistance. (*Ibid.*, p. 61.)

21. *He held out the prospect that armed workers would crush American democracy.*

Armed Workers Crush State

Having crushed the capitalist State, the social revolution, acting through armed workers and soldiers, will establish the Soviet State as the instrument of the workers' and poor farmers' power. (*Ibid.*, p. 62.)

22. *Expropriation of property by force was Olgin's formula for the social revolution.*

Against Peaceful Means. Expropriation by Force

It is the task of the Soviets to abolish private property in the means of production and to establish Socialist production and distribution.

This cannot be accomplished peacefully. The exploiters won't give up their loot even after their State power is crushed. They will have to be routed. The Soviet government will have to expropriate the expropriators by force. The latter will conspire and plot against the new system; they will organize counterrevolutionary uprisings. The Soviet State will have to crush these with an iron hand. The former exploiters will be given no quarter. The old system of robbery with all its rubbish will have to be cleared away. This means that the Soviet State must be ruthless; it must destroy the counter-revolutionary forces—the quicker the better for the workers and for the future of mankind. (*Ibid.*, p. 63.)

23. *Olgin declared that the Communist Party engages in various forms of struggle including open mass combat with the police in the streets.*

Mass Combat With Police

The Communist Party leads political as well as economic struggles. These fights are conducted through literature, through mass meetings, through demonstrations and, when occasion demands, through open mass combat with the police in the streets. (*Ibid.*, p. 65.)

24. *He ridiculed resort to legal or parliamentary means.*

Against Legal Means

We go to the law-making institutions, not to tinker them up for the benefit of the capitalists, but to be a monkey wrench in their machinery, preventing it from working smoothly on behalf of the masters. (*Ibid.*, p. 66.)

25. *Published in 1936, the pamphlet What Is Communism? by the then general secretary of the Communist Party, U. S. A., Earl Browder, had the following to say regarding force and violence:*

History does not show a single example in which state power was transferred from one class to another by peaceful means, whether in the form of voting or some other method of formal democracy. (*What is Communism?* by Earl Browder, published by Workers Library Publishers, New York; second edition, 1936, Ch. XIV, entitled "Fore and Violence," p. 127.)

26. *As recently as March 31, 1948, Milton Howard, feature writer, declared on page 9 of the Daily Worker his lack of faith in democratic processes, as follows:*

There is no case in history where the propertied class has democratically permitted the nation to vote establishment of new property relations which turned the nation's industries over to the nation as a whole, taking them out of the hands of the private owners.

27. *The belief in forceful repression of those who do not fall in with the Communist viewpoint was also demonstrated in April, 1948, when Dr. Howard Selsam, an avowed Marxist and director of the Jefferson School of Social Science, a Communist school in New York cited as subversive by Attorney General Tom Clark, told a newspaper reporter what would happen when Marxist socialism achieved its inevitable triumph in the United States. Selsam, who was identified as a Communist with the party alias of "Hill" by three former Communist professors in testimony before the Rapp-Coudert committee investigating subversive activities in the New York public schools, said:*

When labor, the middle classes and farmers have achieved a majority in the interest of carrying out an extremely democratic control of all peoples, it may be necessary to exercise repression against elements who would turn back the clock.

(Report of the Subcommittee of the Joint Legislative Committee to Investigate Procedures and Methods of Allocating State Moneys for Public School Purposes and Subversive Activities, February 11, 1942.)

If an American newspaper opposed Marxism at such a time it would be suppressed, Selsam said:

That's a luxury that cannot be allowed. Measures would be taken to see that the press supported the general trend toward socialism. Noncomplying newspapers would have to suspend operation. That's where Marxism is rough about this. (*Washington Evening Star*, April 15, 1948, p. B8.)

IV. BASIC COMMUNIST DOCUMENTS ADVOCATING FORCE AND VIOLENCE

In presenting the programmatic directives of the leading oracles of the Communist movement such as Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, Vladimir I. Lenin, and Joseph Stalin, of the Communist International and its successor, the Cominform, and of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the United States, we shall by no means exhaust all their utterances dealing with force and violence which are scattered through a large number of voluminous works.

We have sought merely to present typical views on the necessity of resort to force and violence, at the same time showing their consistent and continuous advocacy by Communists over a period of years down to the present time.

For purposes of precision and proper interpretation of these views, it might be well to note that Alexander Burrill in his *Law Dictionary and Glossary* defines force as "unlawful violence offered to persons and things." Bouvier's *Unabridged Law Dictionary* defines violence as "force which is employed against common right, against the laws, and against public liberty." We hold that advocacy of civil war, armed uprising, and insurrection may properly be included under these heads.

(See also, *Definitions*, Page 252.)

In presenting citations showing advocacy of overthrow of government by force and violence, the committee has withheld references which do not openly so advocate but which might be interpreted as carrying such advocacy by implication. We have therefore omitted references

limited merely to advocacy of "revolution," "revolutionary overthrow," "conquest of power," "expropriation of property," "class struggle," and similar expressions, without necessarily implying that such aims do not entail the use of forcible and violent means.

(A) KARL MARX AND FRIEDRICH ENGELS

Karl Marx was a German philosopher who formulated the principles which constitute the basis of the world Communist movement at the present time. His best known works are *The Communist Manifesto* and *Capital*. The *Manifesto* was written in 1847 in behalf of the League of the Communists.

Together with Friedrich Engels, his close collaborator in writing these works, Marx was the founder of the International Working Men's Association, otherwise known as the First International. The association was founded in London in 1864 and was dissolved in 1876.

The Second International was known as the Socialist International, from which the Communists split to form the Third or Communist International.

The Marx-Engels Institute in Moscow has published an exhaustive bibliography of Marx and Engels' writings and has begun the issue of a collected edition of their writings in 42 volumes.

1. The following passage is taken from the *Communist Manifesto*:

Civil War. Violent Overthrow. Sweeps Away by Force the Old Conditions of Production. Forcible Overthrow of All Existing Social Conditions

In depicting the most general phases of the development of the proletariat, we traced the more or less veiled civil war raging within existing society, up to the point where that war breaks out into open revolution, and where the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie lays the foundation for the sway of the proletariat * * *.

If the proletariat during its contest with the bourgeoisie is compelled, by the force of circumstances, to organize itself as a class; if, by means of a revolution it makes itself the ruling class, and, as such sweeps away by force the old conditions of production, then it will, along with these conditions, have swept away the conditions for the existence of class antagonisms, and of classes generally, and will thereby have abolished its own supremacy as a class * * *.

The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win * * *. (*Manifesto of the Communist Party*, by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels (published by International Publishers, New York, 1932, and originally published in 1848), pp. 20, 21, 31, 44.)

2. "Brutal conflict" and "bloody struggle" are confidently predicted by Marx in the following passage from his *Poverty of Philosophy*:

Brutal Conflict, Hand-to-hand Struggle. Bloody Struggle

In the meantime, the antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is a struggle between class and class, a struggle which, carried to its highest expression, is a complete revolution. Would it, moreover, be matter for astonishment if a society, based upon the antagonism of classes, should lead ultimately to a brutal conflict, to a hand-to-hand struggle as its final denouement? * * *

It is only in an order of things in which there will be no longer classes or class antagonism that social revolutions will cease to be political revolutions. Until then, on the eve of each general reconstruction of society, the last word of social science will ever be:

"Le combat ou la mort; la lutte sanguinaire ou le néant. C'est ainsi que la question est invinciblement posée."—George Sand.

"Combat or death; bloody struggle or extinction. It is thus that the question is irresistibly put." (*The Poverty of Philosophy*, by Karl Marx, a translation of *Misere de la Philosophie*, by Karl Marx with a preface by Friedrich Engels (Charles H. Kerr & Co., Chicago, 1920), pp. 190 and 191, originally published in 1847.)

3. To offset any illusions as to the possibility of resort to constitutional means, Marx and Engels declare:

The working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready made state machinery and wield it for its own purposes. (*Civil War in France*, by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels (International Publishers, New York, 1940), p. 54, which first appeared as a series of articles in 1848.)

Necessity to Smash the Military Bureaucratic Machine

4. In his letter to Dr. Ludwig Kugelmann on April 12, 1871, Marx indicated that to attain power the proletarian revolution must—

be no longer, as before, to transfer the bureaucratic-military machine from one hand to another but to smash it, and that is essential for every real people's revolution on the Continent. (Letters to Dr. Kugelmann (International Publishers, New York, 1934), p. 123.)

(B) VLADIMIR I. LENIN

Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov Lenin was an avowed disciple of Karl Marx. He headed the Bolshevik or majority wing of the Social Democratic Party of Russia under the Czarist regime. In October, 1917, he led an armed insurrection which overthrew the republican government established by Alexander Kerensky.

Lenin was the outstanding theoretician and founder of the Communist International. He was the first Premier of the Soviet Government. *Lenin's pamphlets and collected works have been published and republished both in the United States and in Moscow. They are accepted as unreservedly authoritative by Communist Parties throughout the world.*

Much of this material was written during the period prior to 1917 when Lenin was a leader of the Communist (Bolshevik) faction of the Russian Social Democratic Party, or Socialist Party, prior to the foundation of the Russian Communist Party.

1. We cite first from the classic work by Lenin, The State and the Revolution, on the role of force and violent revolution:

Role of Force. Violent Revolution. Crush Capitalists With Iron Hand of Armed Workers. Crush Capitalists by Force

Fifthly, in the same work of Engels, from which everyone remembers his argument on the "withering away" of the state, there is also a disquisition on the significance of a violent revolution. The historical analysis of its role becomes, with Engels, a veritable panegyric on violent revolution.

Here is Engels' argument:

* * * That force, however, plays another role (other than that of a diabolical power) in history, a revolutionary role; that, in the words of Marx, it is the midwife of every old society which is pregnant with the new; that it is the instrument with whose aid social movement forces its way through and shatters the dead, fossilized political forms—of this there is not a word in Herr Dühring. It is only with sighs and groans that he admits the possibility that force will perhaps be necessary for the overthrow of the economic system of exploitation—unfortunately! because, all use of force, forsooth, demoralizes the person who uses it. And this in spite of the immense moral and spiritual impetus which has resulted from every victorious revolution!

We have already said above and shall show more fully later that the teaching of Marx and Engels regarding the inevitability of a violent revolution refers to the bourgeois state. It cannot be replaced by the proletarian state (the dictatorship of the proletariat) through "withering away" but, as a general rule, only through a violent revolution. The panegyric sung in its honour by Engels and fully corresponding to

the repeated declarations of Marx (remember the concluding passages of the *Poverty of Philosophy* and the *Communist Manifesto*, with its proud and open declaration of the inevitability of a violent revolution).

The necessity of systematically fostering among the masses this and just this point of view about violent revolution lies at the root of the whole of Marx's and Engels' teaching.

The replacement of the bourgeois by the proletarian state is impossible without a violent revolution.

Overthrow the capitalists, crush with the iron hand of the armed workers the resistance of these exploiters, break the bureaucratic machine of the modern state.
* * *

But the dictatorship of the proletariat—i.e., the organization of the vanguard of the oppressed as the ruling class for the purpose of crushing the oppressors—cannot produce merely an expansion of democracy. * * *

We must crush them [the exploiters] in order to free humanity from wage-slavery; their resistance must be broken by force. * * * (*State and Revolution*, by V. I. Lenin (International Publishers, New York, 1935), pp. 18, 19, 20, 43, 73.)

2. Lenin preached the necessity of civil war when he was still a member of the Russian Socialist Party. His preachment was presented as a guide to the Communist Party, U. S. A., in its official literature.

Civil War. Necessity of Turning Weapons Against Bourgeois Government

The opportunists had long been preparing the collapse of the Second International by renouncing the Socialist revolution and substituting for it bourgeois reformism; by rejecting the class struggle, which at certain moments necessarily turns into civil war, and preaching instead the collaboration of classes, by preaching bourgeois chauvinism and defense of the fatherland, under the cloak of patriotism, and rejecting the elementary truth of Socialism expressed long ago in *The Communist Manifesto*, that the workers have no fatherland; by confining themselves in the struggle against militarism to a sentimental philistine point of view instead of recognizing the necessity of a revolutionary war of the proletarians of all countries against the bourgeois of all countries; by making a fetish of the necessity of utilizing bourgeois parliamentarism and bourgeois legality, forgetting that in time of crisis illegal forms of organization and propaganda are imperative.

The slogans of Social-Democracy must now be: First an all-embracing propaganda of the Socialist revolution, to be extended also to the army and the area of military activities; emphasis to be placed on the necessity of turning the weapons, not against the brother wage slaves of other countries, but against the reaction of the bourgeois governments and parties in each country; recognition of the urgent necessity of organizing illegal nuclei and groups in the armies of all nations to conduct such propaganda in all languages; a merciless struggle against the chauvinism and patriotism of the philistines and bourgeoisie of all countries without exception. (Excerpts from *The Communist*, a magazine of the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism, published monthly by the Communist Party of the United States of America, August, 1934, vol. XIII, No. 7, pp. 751-754. From an article entitled "The Tasks of Revolutionary Social-Democracy in the European War," by V. I. Lenin.)

3. Lenin insisted on the inevitable connection between the class struggle and civil war and branded as opportunists those who denied this view.

Civil War and the Class Struggle

Civil wars are also wars. Those who accept the class struggle must accept civil wars, which, under certain circumstances, are a natural and inevitable continuance, development and accentuation of the class struggle in every society based on class division. * * * To deny or overlook civil wars would mean becoming a victim of the most hopeless opportunism and abandoning the social revolution. (Excerpt from an article entitled "Socialism and War," by V. I. Lenin, published in the *Daily Worker*, April 8, 1933, p. 5.)

4. *Again and again in his writings he stressed the need of turning a so-called "imperialist war" into civil war.*

Turn Imperialist War Into Civil War

But if in 1914 failure to understand that the imperialist war must inevitably be turned into a civil war was merely philistine stupidity, now, in 1919, it is already something worse. It is treachery to the working class. For civil war both in Russia, and in Finland, and in Latvia, and in Germany, and in Hungary is a fact. (Lenin on the Historic Significance of the Third International (Martin Lawrence, London, 1934), p. 22.)

5. *Lenin emphasized and developed Marx' theory about the necessity of smashing the democratic state machine by force.*

Smashing the Bureaucratic-military Machine

In his notes on Marx' Critique of the Gotha Programme, Lenin refers to "the 'smashing' of the bureaucratic-military machine" and to the necessity of "crushing of the resistance of the rich by force." (Lenin on the Critique of the Gotha Programme, from his notebook, Marxism on the State (January-February, 1917), published in Critique of the Gotha Programme, by Karl Marx (International Publishers, New York, 1938), pp. 50 and 56.)

6. *One of the heroes of the international Communist movement, eulogized by Lenin, was Karl Liebknecht, the German Socialist, who urged the German workers to turn their guns against their own government during the First World War.*

Turn Guns Against Own Government

Karl Liebknecht called upon the workers and soldiers of Germany to turn their guns against their own government. Karl Liebknecht did that openly from the parliamentary tribune (the Reichstag). * * *

Those who confine themselves to "demanding" that the bourgeois governments should conclude peace or "ascertain the will of the peoples for peace," etc., are actually slipping into reforms. For, objectively, the problem of war can be solved only in a revolutionary way. (The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution, Draft of a Platform for the Proletarian Party, from a speech delivered by V. I. Lenin on April 23 (10), 1917, and published in the *Communist International*, by V. I. Lenin (International Publishers, New York, 1938), pp. 7 and 9.)

7. *Lenin showed that possibilities of civil war were not limited to Russia but could be extended to include the most developed capitalist countries.*

Civil War in Developed Capitalist Countries

Civil war has become a fact, not only in Russia, but also in the most developed capitalist countries of Europe, for example, Germany. (Ibid., Speech at the Opening of the First Congress of the Communist International, March 2, 1919, p. 26.)

8. *Similarly, turning "imperialist war" into civil war could be extended to nations outside of Russia.*

Transformation of Imperialist War Into Civil War

Now, the transformation of imperialist war into civil war has become a fact in a number of countries, not only in Russia, but also in Finland, in Hungary, in Germany, and even in neutral Switzerland, and the growth of civil war is observed, is felt, is palpable in all advanced countries without exception. (Ibid., The Tasks of the Third International, p. 48.)

9. *Lenin time and again pilloried those who opposed propaganda calling for the defeat of the capitalists through civil war.*

Inevitability of Civil War

The lackey souls of the Berne International never think of imbuing the masses with the consciousness of the inevitability and necessity of defeating the bourgeoisie in civil war * * * (Ibid., p. 49.)

10. *He leveled his sharpest criticism against those who counseled reliance upon constitutional means instead of civil war.*

State Apparatus Must Be Broken and Smashed. Civil War Decides Questions

Comical pedants! They failed to understand that voting within the limits, the institutions, the customs of bourgeois parliamentary is *part* of the bourgeois state apparatus which must be broken and smashed from top *to bottom* in order to effect the dictatorship of the proletariat, in order to pass from bourgeois democracy to proletarian democracy.

They failed to understand that, generally speaking, it is not voting but civil war that decides all serious questions of politics when history places the dictatorship of the proletariat on the order of the day. (*Ibid.*, p. 51.)

11. *The task of accomplishing the violent overthrow of the state was pointed out by Lenin in outlining the fundamental tasks of the Communist International.*

Violent Overthrow of the Bourgeoisie and State Apparatus

Only the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the confiscation of its property, the destruction of the whole of the bourgeois state apparatus from top to bottom—parliamentary, judicial, military, bureaucratic, administrative, municipal, etc., right up to the very wholesale deportation or internment of the most dangerous and stubborn exploiters * * * only such measures can ensure the real subordination of the whole class of exploiters. (*Theses on the Fundamental Tasks of the Second Congress of the Communist International*, delivered July 4, 1920, *ibid.*, p. 164.)

12. *Lenin openly scoffed at legality and as early as 1920 held that America was entering the stage of civil war.*

Civil War in America

In nearly all countries in Europe and America the class struggle is entering the stage of civil war. Under the circumstances, the Communists can have no confidence in bourgeois legality. (*The Conditions of Affiliation to the Communist International*, *ibid.*, p. 202.)

13. *Prior to World War I, Lenin urged the necessity of turning the weapons of the army against the government itself as essential for the social revolution.*

Turning Weapons Against Government

The slogans of Social-Democracy must now be: First, an all-embracing propaganda of the Socialist revolution, to be extended also to the army and the area of military activities: emphasis to be placed on the necessity of turning the weapons, not against the brother wage-slaves of other countries, but against the reaction of the bourgeois governments and parties in each country. * * * (*The Tasks of Revolutionary Social Democracy in the European War*, Collected Works of V. I. Lenin, vol. XVIII, *The Imperialist War* (International Publishers, New York, 1930), p. 63.)

14. *He proposed the slogan of civil war instead of peace.*

Change National War Into Civil War

The slogan of "peace" is incorrect, as the slogan must be: changing the national war into civil war. (This change may take a long time, it may and will demand a number of preliminary conditions, but the work must be conducted *along the line of* such a change, in this spirit and in this direction.) (*Ibid.*, p. 74.)

15. *He advocated systematic preparation of the armed forces for civil war.*

Civil War Not in One Nation Alone

As to ourselves, we must prepare a mass (at least a collective) action in the army, not of one nation alone, and conduct *all* the work of propaganda and agitation in this direction. To direct the work (stubborn, systematic work that may require a long time) in the spirit of transforming the national war into civil war—this is the whole issue. (*Ibid.*, p. 75.)

16. Lenin was a ruthless opponent of those who advocated reform instead of civil war.

Class Struggle Inevitably Transformed Into Civil War

The opportunist had long been preparing this collapse by rejecting the Socialist revolution and substituting for it bourgeois reformism; by repudiating the class struggle with its inevitable transformation into civil war at certain moments * * * (*Ibid.*, p. 80.)

17. According to Lenin the policy of transforming an "imperialist war" into civil war, which he advocated, was founded upon principles established by the Paris Commune.

Transforming Imperialist War Into Civil War. Paris Commune as an Example of Civil War

The proletariat exposes this swindle (of national war) in that it raises the slogan of transforming the imperialist war into civil war. This very slogan was suggested by the Stuttgart and Basle resolutions, which had in mind not war in general but precisely the present war, and which spoke not of the "defence of the fatherland" but of "hastening the collapse of capitalism," of utilizing for this aim the crisis created by the war, and of the example of the Commune. The Commune was a transformation of war between peoples into civil war. (*Ibid.*, p. 87.)

18. He specifically laid down, as the task of the Communist International, civil war against the capitalist class of all countries.

Raise the Banner of Civil War. Civil War Against Capitalists (Bourgeoisie) of All Countries

Work directed toward transforming the war of the peoples into a civil war is the only Socialist work in the epoch of an imperialist armed conflict of the bourgeoisie of all nations. Down with the sentimental and foolish preacher's yearnings for a "peace at any price!" Let us raise the banner of civil war! * * * If not today, then certainly tomorrow; if not during the present war, then after it; if not in this war, then in the following one, the proletarian banner of civil war will rally not only hundreds of thousands of enlightened workers, but also millions of semi-proletarians and petty bourgeois * * *. The Third International is confronted with the task of organizing the forces of the proletariat for a revolutionary onslaught on the capitalist governments, for civil war against the bourgeoisie of all countries * * *. (*Ibid.*, pp. 88 and 89. It should be noted that the Russian Communists (Bolsheviks) were in 1914, when this article was written, members of the Social Democratic Labor Party of Russia.)

19. Quoting Engels, Lenin pointed out cunningly how to place the blame for violence and civil war upon what he called the ruling class.

Choose the Moment for Changing Ballots Into Bullets

Engels wrote in 1891, advocating, most correctly, the use of bourgeois legality by us revolutionists in the period of so-called peaceful development. Engels' idea was perfectly clear; we class-conscious workers, he said, would be the next to shoot; it is more favourable for us to choose the moment for changing the ballots into bullets (to pass to civil war) when the bourgeoisie itself has broken the legal basis created by it. (*Ibid.*, p. 95.)

20. Lenin had no use for those who advocated civil peace, indicating clearly his preference for civil strife with arms in hand.

Turn Imperialist War Into Civil War. Arms in Hand. Against Civil Peace

To turn the present imperialist war into civil war is the only correct proletarian slogan following from the experience of the Commune, indicated by the Basle (1912) resolution and dictated by all the conditions of an imperialist war between highly developed bourgeois countries.

Civil war to which revolutionary Social-Democracy calls at the present period is a struggle of the proletariat, with arms in hand, against the bourgeoisie for the purpose of expropriating the capitalist class in the advanced capitalist countries * * *.

As the first steps towards changing the present imperialist war into civil war, we may indicate * * *. Complete break with the policy of "civil peace" * * *. Support to every kind of revolutionary mass action of the proletariat in general. (*Ibid.*, p. 147.)

21. As a preparation for civil war, Lenin proposed every possible measure for weakening the government, including the army.

Defeat of the Army in Preparation for Civil War

The struggle against the government that conducts the imperialist war must not halt in any country before the possibility of that country's defeat in consequence of revolutionary propaganda. The defeat of the governmental army weakens the government, aids the liberation of the nationalities oppressed by it, and makes civil war against the ruling classes easier. (*Ibid.*, p. 149.)

22. Lenin called attention to the importance of military reverses as a means of facilitating civil war.

Civil War Facilitated by Military Reverses

Revolution in war time is civil war. *Transformation* of war between governments into civil war is, on the one hand, facilitated by military reverses (defeats) of the government; on the other hand, it is *impossible* to strive in practice towards such a transformation without at the same time working towards military defeat. (*Ibid.*, p. 198.)

23. He urged that advantage be taken of the difficulties of the government in order to break civil peace.

Breaking Civil Peace

The only policy of a real, not verbal, breaking of "civil peace," of accepting the class struggle, is for the proletariat to take advantage of the *difficulties* of the government and its bourgeoisie with the aim of overthrowing them. (*Ibid.*, p. 200.)

24. He further stressed civil war and mass action as the only possible road to socialism.

Civil War for Socialism

Do not trust any high-sounding programmes, we say to the masses; rely on your own mass revolutionary actions against your government and your bourgeoisie, try to develop such actions; there is no escape from barbarism, there is no possibility for progress in Europe outside of civil war for Socialism. (*Ibid.*, p. 207.)

25. Lenin proposed that civil war be incorporated into the party program.

Civil War or Revolutionary Mass Action

In our opinion the Left must come forth with a general declaration of *ideas* which would * * * offer a programme of revolutionary actions (whether to say civil war or revolutionary mass action is not so important after all) * * * (*Ibid.*, p. 208.)

26. It was Lenin's opinion that all consistent class struggle in time of war leads inevitably to civil war.

Actions Leading to Civil War

Our duty is to help make these (revolutionary) sentiments conscious, to deepen them and give them form. The only correct expression of this task is the slogan "Turn the imperialist war into civil war." All consistent class struggle in time of war, all "mass actions" earnestly conducted must inevitably lead to this. (*Ibid.*, p. 232.)

27. *Lenin's support for the policy of ushering in civil war during a so-called imperialist war dates back to his agitation within the Russian Socialist Party.*

Revolutionary Marxism, Mass Revolutionary Action, Civil War

It is the chief task of the Social-Democratic opposition at the present moment to raise the banner of revolutionary Marxism, to tell the workers firmly and definitely how to look upon imperialist wars, to put forth the slogan of mass revolutionary action, i.e., to turn the period of imperialist war into the beginning of a period of civil wars. (*Ibid.*, p. 248.)

28. *Lenin planned the use of armed force against other non-Communist states by the country in which the revolution had been successful.*

Use of Armed Forces for Attack on Capitalist World

The victorious proletariat of that country, having expropriated the capitalists and organized Socialist production at home, would rise against the rest of the capitalist world, attracting the oppressed classes of other countries, raising among them revolts against the capitalists, launching, in case of necessity, armed forces against the exploiting classes and their states. (*Ibid.*, p. 272.)

29. *In the plainest terms Lenin advised members of the armed forces to use their weapons against their own government.*

Use of Arms Against Your Own Government

Tomorrow you are deprived of the election ballot, you are given a rifle and a splendid machine gun equipped according to the last word of machine technique—take this weapon of death and destruction, do not listen to the sentimental whiners who are afraid of war. Much has been left to the world that *must* be destroyed by fire and iron for the liberation of the working class. And if bitterness and despair grow in the masses, if a revolutionary situation is at hand, prepare to organize new organizations and *utilize* these so useful weapons of death and destruction *against your own government and your bourgeoisie.* (*Ibid.*, p. 316.)

30. *The continuity and modern validity of Marx' and Engels' advocacy of force and violence is shown by Lenin in the following passage:*

Forceful Struggle and Its Techniques

Marx and Engels, in 1847, while living abroad * * * appealed for revolution; they openly and directly spoke of applying force. * * * Either we are really and firmly convinced that the war is creating a revolutionary situation in Europe, that all the economic and social-political circumstances of the imperialist epoch lead up to a revolution of the proletariat—then it is our bounden duty to explain to the masses the necessity of a revolution, to appeal for it, to create befitting organizations, to speak fearlessly and in the most concrete manner of the various methods of forceful struggle and of its technique * * *." (*Ibid.*, pp. 346, 347.)

31. *Lenin explained clearly the functions of the Soviets as organs of insurrection.*

Soviets as Organs of Insurrection

Soviets of Workers' Deputies, etc., must be looked upon as organs of insurrection, as organs of revolutionary power. (*Ibid.*, p. 357.)

32. *He categorically rejected the possibility of a peaceful seizure of power.*

This essence of the matter is that at present power can no longer be seized peacefully. (Collected Works of V. I. Lenin, vol. XXI, book I, Toward the Seizure of Power (International Publishers, New York, 1932), p. 45. Translated by Moissaye J. Olgin.)

33. *Lenin outlined historically the role of an armed and organized minority in imposing its will upon the unorganized majority.*

Armed Uprising. Armed Minority Versus Majority. Class Struggle in Form of Civil War

A revolution, furthermore, is distinguished from the "normal situation" in a state in that the controversial state questions are decided directly by the struggle of classes and masses, including the armed uprising. It cannot be otherwise, once the masses are free and armed * * *. Beginning with the Peasant War in the Middle Ages in Germany, through all the large-scale revolutionary movements and epochs up to 1848 and 1871, and further up to 1905, we see innumerable examples of how the more organized, more class-conscious, better armed minority forces its will upon the majority and is victorious over it.

Friedrich Engels particularly emphasized the lesson of the experiences which to some degree make the peasant uprising of the sixteenth century identical to the 1848 Revolution in Germany, namely the desultory character of the actions, the absence of centralization among the oppressed masses, which is due to their petty-bourgeois status in life. Approaching the matter from this angle we arrived at the same conclusion. A plain majority of the petty-bourgeois masses decides nothing, and can decide nothing. * * *

It is well known that in the long run the problems of social life are decided by the class struggle in its bitterest, sharpest form, namely, in the form of civil war. (*Ibid.*, pp. 68 and 69.)

34. *Citing Karl Marx on uprising as an "art," Lenin recalled the need of popularizing armed uprising.*

Preparations for Armed Uprising Without Press Commitment. Uprising as an Art

What we are concerned with is not the "day" of the uprising, not the "moment" of the uprising in the narrow sense of the word. This will be decided by the common voice of those who are in contact with the workers and soldiers, with the masses. * * *

What matters is that we must make the *task* clear to the party, place on the order of the day the *armed uprising in Petrograd and Moscow* (including their regions), the conquest of power, the overthrow of the government. We must think of how to make propaganda in favor of this without committing ourselves in the press.

We must recall and ponder the words of Marx on uprising: "*Uprising is an art*," etc. (*Ibid.*, p. 222.)

35. *He adds the following from a letter to the Central Committee of the Social-Democratic Labor Party of Russia, of which he was a member:*

Uprising as an Art. Organize Insurrectionary Detachments

MARXISM AND UPRISING

(Letter to the Central Committee of the Social-Democratic Labor Party)

Among the most vicious and perhaps most widespread distortions of Marxism practiced by the prevailing "Socialist" parties, is to be found the opportunist lie which says that preparations for an uprising, and generally the treatment of an uprising as an art is "Blanquism." * * *

To accuse Marxists of Blanquism for treating uprising as an art! Can there be a more flagrant distortion of the truth, when there is not a single Marxist who denies that it was Marx who expressed himself in the most definite, precise and categorical manner on this score; that it was Marx who called uprisings nothing but an *art*, who said that uprising must be treated as an art, that one must *gain* the first success and then proceed from success to success without stopping the *offensive* against the enemy and making use of his confusion, etc., etc. (The definition of uprising as an art is given in Revolution and Counterrevolution in Germany; the book was written not by Marx, as was thought for a long time to be the case, but by Engels (footnote No. 83), *ibid.*, p. 300.)

To refuse to treat the uprising *as an art* means to betray Marxism and the revolution. * * *

Having recognized the absolute necessity of an uprising of the workers of Petrograd and Moscow for the sake of saving the revolution and of saving Russia from being

"separately" divided among the imperialists of both coalitions, we must first adapt our political tactics at the conference to the conditions of the maturing uprising; secondly, we must prove that we accept, and not only in words, the idea of Marx about the necessity of treating uprising as an art. * * *

And in order to treat uprising in a Marxist way, i.e. as an art, we must at the same time, without losing a single moment, organize the staff of the insurrectionary detachments; designate the forces; move the loyal regiments to the most important points; surround the Alexander Theatre; occupy Peter and Paul Fortress; arrest the general staff and the government; move against the military cadets, the Wild Division, etc., such detachments as will die rather than allow the enemy to move to the centre of the city; we must mobilize the armed workers, call them to a last desperate battle, occupy at once the telegraph and telephone stations, place *our* staff of the uprising at the central telephone station, connect it by wire with all the factories, the regiments, the points of armed fighting, etc.

Of course, this is all by way of example, to *illustrate* the idea that at the present moment it is impossible to remain loyal to the revolution *without treating uprising as an art*.—N. Lenin. (*Ibid.*, pp. 224, 227, 228, and 229.)

36. *He analyzed the nature of civil war from the eighteenth century on, urging the futility of reliance upon parliamentary means, as shown by this analysis.*

Civil War as Sharpest Form of Class Struggle. Extraparliamentary Struggle

This experience, in full accord with the experience of all the European revolutions, from the end of the eighteenth century on, shows us that civil war is the sharpest form of the class struggle, it is that point in the class struggle when clashes and battles, economic and political, repeating themselves, growing, broadening, becoming acute, turn into an armed struggle of one class against another class. Most often—one may say almost always—there is to be observed in all more or less free and advanced countries a civil war between those classes whose contradictory positions towards each other is created and deepened by the entire economic development of capitalism, by the entire history of modern society the world over, namely, between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. * * *

Such are the facts. Such is the history of our own revolution. We must learn most of all from this history, we must ponder most of all on its course and its class meaning. * * *

A comparison of the data concerning "parliamentary" elections with the data concerning the above-named mass movements, fully corroborates, as far as Russia is concerned, an observation often made in the West, namely, that the *strength* of the revolutionary proletariat, from the point of view of influencing the *masses* and drawing them into the struggle, is incomparably larger in the *extraparliamentary* than in the parliamentary struggle. This is a very important observation as regards civil war. (*Ibid.*, pp. 231 and 234.)

37. *The following exhibit presented as a model and guide, shows the precision with which Lenin prepared for armed uprising.*

Military Preparation for Overthrow

(Letter to I. T. Smilga, chairman of the Regional Committee of the Army, Navy and Workers of Finland (in Helsingfors) by Lenin, October 10, 1917:)

I think you must utilize your high position, shift to the assistants and secretaries all the petty routine work without wasting time on "resolutions," but giving *all your attention* to the *military* preparation of the troops in Finland plus the fleet for the impending overthrow of Kerensky. You must create a *secret* committee of *trustworthy* military men, together with them discuss matters thoroughly, collect (and personally verify) the most accurate data concerning the composition and location of troops near and in Petrograd, the transfer of troops in Finland to Petrograd, the movement of the navy, etc. (*Ibid.*, pp. 265 and 266. Lenin advised Smilga to burn this letter. Smilga kept the letter, only tearing from it the name of the sender, out of consideration of conspiracy (footnote), *ibid.*, p. 303.)

38. *Lenin advised a sudden attack from several strategic points and the armed seizure of certain key buildings.*

Armed Uprising. Sudden Attack. Seizure of Public Buildings

The victory of the uprising is now *secure* for the Bolsheviks; (1) we can * * * (if we do not "await" the Soviet Congress) launch a *sudden* attack from three points, from Petrograd, from Moscow, from the Baltic fleet; (2) we have slogans whose support is guaranteed; down with the government that suppresses the uprising of the peasants against the landowners; (3) we have a majority *in the country*; (4) complete disorganization of the Mensheviks and S.R.'s; (5) we are technically in a position to seize power in Moscow (which might even be the one to start, so as to deal the enemy a surprise blow); (6) we have *thousands* of armed workers and soldiers in Petrograd who can seize at *once* the Winter Palace, the General Staff Building, the telephone exchange and all the largest printing establishments. * * *

If we were to attack at once, suddenly from three points, in Petrograd, Moscow, and the Baltic fleet, there are ninety-nine out of a hundred chances that we would gain a victory. * * * If with chances like the present, we do not seize power, then all talk of Soviet rule becomes a *lie*. (*Ibid.*, pp. 277 and 278.)

39. *Again Lenin repeats his emphasis on the nature of the Soviets as organs of insurrection.*

Soviets as Organs of Insurrection

The question, then, is: What is to be the work of the Soviets of Workers' Deputies? We repeat what we once said on No. 47 of the Geneva Social-Democrat (October 13, 1915): "They must be regarded as organs of insurrection, as organs of revolutionary power." (*Collected Works of V. I. Lenin*, vol. XX, book I, *The Revolution of 1917* (International Publishers, New York, 1929), translated by Joshua Kunitz and Moissaye J. Olgin, p. 49.)

40. *Here Lenin shows how Marx' advice to smash the ready-made state machinery was actually carried out.*

Destruction of State Machinery

The proletariat, however, if it wants to preserve the gains of the present revolution and to proceed further to win peace, bread, and freedom, must "destroy," to use Marx' word, this "ready-made" state machinery. * * *

I have said that the workers have smashed the old state machinery. To be more precise: They *have begun* to smash it. * * * The police of Petrograd and many other places have been partly killed off, and partly removed. (*Ibid.*, p. 50.)

41. *Lenin specifies that in the course of shattering the government apparatus, the army, the police, and the bureaucracy be destroyed.*

Eliminate Government in All Burgeois States

In the foregoing letters the tasks of the revolutionary proletariat of Russia have been outlined as follows * * * (4) it must shatter and completely eliminate the old government apparatus prevailing in all the bourgeois countries, the army, the police, the bureaucracy, putting in its place (5) not only a mass organization but an organization of a universally armed people * * *. (*Ibid.*, p. 63.)

42. *During World War I, Lenin showed that the Soviet Government must be the initiator of civil war in other countries.*

Civil War. Russian Workers, the Initiators

THE REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA AND THE TASK OF THE WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES
Comrade-Workers:

* * * The imperialist war, i. e., the war for the division of spoils among the capitalists, for the crushing of weak peoples, has begun to change into civil war, i. e., a war of the workers against the capitalists * * *.

The honor and the good fortune of being the initiators of the revolution, i. e., of the great, the only legitimate and just war, the war of the oppressed against the oppressors, has fallen to the lot of the Russian workers. *Ibid.*, p. 64.

43. *Lenin counseled the overthrow not only of kings but also of democratic governments which he called bourgeois.*

Overthrow of Bourgeois Governments

We must tell the workers and soldiers in a simple, popular language, free of learned words, that it is their duty to overthrow not only Wilhelm, but the English and the Italian kings as well. That is the first thing. Secondly and chiefly, it is their duty to overthrow the bourgeois governments. * * * *Ibid.*, p. 72.

44. *Again and again he tried to drive home Marx's dictum regarding the necessity of smashing the state machinery.*

Necessity to Smash the State Machine. Armed Workers

Marx teaches us, on the basis of the experience of the Commune of 1871, that "the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state-machine and make it serve its own purposes." Karl Marx, *The Civil War in France*, p. 80, noted *ibid.*, p. 356.

The proletariat must smash this machine (the army, the police, the bureaucracy). It is this that the opportunists are denying and minimizing. This is the most important practical lesson to be learned from the Paris Commune and the Russian Revolution of 1905. * * *

But we differ from the opportunists and the Kautskians in that we insist that we do not need a "ready-made" state-machine as it exists in democratic bourgeois republics, but actual power in the hands of the armed and organized workers. This is the state that we need. In their essence the Commune of 1871 and the Soviets of Workers' Deputies in Russia in 1905 and 1917 were just such a state. * * * It (the Soviet Workers' Deputies) declares that it has no confidence in all the bourgeois governments. It calls upon the workers of the world to overthrow their governments. *Ibid.*, pp. 80 and 81.

45. *Lenin presents here a clear definition of a Soviet Government as distinguished from other governments to show that it is not based upon law but outright seizure of power.*

Soviet Dictatorship Based Upon Outright Revolutionary Seizure, Not Upon Law

What is the class composition of that other government (the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies)? * * * It is a revolutionary dictatorship, i.e., it is a power based not on laws made by a centralized state power, but on outright revolutionary seizure. * * * It is a power quite different from that of the ordinary type of parliamentary bourgeois-democratic republic that is still prevalent in the advanced countries of Europe and America. * * * The fundamental characteristics of this kind of power are: (1) Its origin is not in a law previously considered and passed by Parliament, but in the direct initiative of the masses from below, everywhere; in outright "seizure," to use a popular expression. * * * *Ibid.*, p. 115.

46. *Lenin repeatedly held out Karl Liebknecht as a model to revolutionists throughout the world because the latter had urged German soldiers to turn their guns against their own government.*

Turn Guns Upon Own Government

Karl Liebknecht called upon the workers and soldiers of Germany to turn their guns upon their own government. * * * Liebknecht alone represents Socialism, the proletarian cause, the proletarian revolution. *Ibid.*, p. 148.

47. *In a manner similar to the American Communist Party of recent years, Lenin pointed out that under certain conditions the civil war slogan may be set aside, but only temporarily.*

Setting Aside Civil War Slogan Temporarily

One must know how to look from the Marxist standpoint which says that the imperialist war will turn into civil war as a result of objective conditions and not as a result of subjective desires. For the time being we lay aside this slogan, but only for the time being. *Ibid.*, p. 279.

48. *Designating the Soviets as agencies based upon direct and open force rather than law, Lenin called them the central force of the revolution. Today we find similar bodies being set up in various countries on the eve of revolutionary coups and known as "action committees."*

Soviets of Workers and Soldiers Rests Upon Force, Not Law

The Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, spreading the network of their organization over all of Russia are at this moment the central force of the revolution. * * * Such power is a dictatorship, i.e., it rests not on the law, not on the formal will of the majority, but on direct and open force. Force is the instrument of power. *Ibid.*, p. 281.

49. *While Lenin did not completely disapprove of the policy of the Paris Commune of 1793 in guillotining the rulers of France, he thought that mass arrests would be sufficient in the twentieth century. His present-day exponents have not hesitated, however, to resort to methods similar to those of the Paris Commune.*

Arrest Capitalists

The Jacobins of 1793 were the representatives of the most revolutionary class of the eighteenth century, the city and country poor. Against this class that had actually (not merely in words) done away with their monarch, with their landowners, with their moderate bourgeoisie by means of the most revolutionary measures, including the guillotine, against this truly revolutionary class of the eighteenth century the combined monarchs of Europe were waging war. * * * This example of the Jacobins is instructive. It has not yet become obsolete, except that it should be applied to the revolutionary class of the twentieth century, to the proletarians and semiproletarians. For to this class, in the present twentieth century the enemies of the people are not the monarchs, but the landowners and the capitalists as a class. * * *

The "Jacobins" of the twentieth century would not guillotine the capitalist; following a good example does not necessarily require imitating it. It would be sufficient to arrest from fifty to one hundred magnates and bank leaders. * * * (Collected Works of V. I. Lenin, vol. XX, book II, *The Revolution of 1917* (International Publishers, New York, 1929), p. 226.)

50. *Communist philosophy and theory calls for the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin defines such a dictatorship as based upon force and unrestricted by law. He specifically shows that this approach applies to America.*

Dictatorship is rule based directly upon force and unrestricted by any laws.

Dictatorship of Proletariat Maintained by Violence Unrestricted by Law.

Violence Against Bourgeoisie. Application to America

The revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat is rule won and maintained by the use of violence by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, rule that is unrestricted by any law. * * *

The proletarian revolution is impossible without the forcible destruction of the bourgeois state machine. * * *

And, the question having been put, there can be no doubt as to the reply: the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat is violence against the bourgeoisie; and the necessity for such violence is particularly created, as Marx and Engels have repeatedly explained in detail (especially in *The Civil War in France* and in the preface to it), by the existence of a *military and a bureaucracy*. But it is precisely these institutions that were nonexistent in England and America in the 1870's when Marx made his observations (they do exist in England and in America now). (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. XXIII, 1918-19 (International Publishers, New York, 1945), pp. 354, 355, and 356.)

51. *Lenin's teachings were used as a guide in teaching the need of insurrection to American workers. By way of example we cite the following from a pamphlet published by the Trade Union Educational League, then headed by William Z. Foster, who is now chairman of the*

Communist Party, U. S. A. The author of the pamphlet is A. Losovsky, now director of the information bureau attached to the Soviet Council of Ministers, who was then head of the Red International of Trade-Unions.

Technical Preparation for Armed Insurrection

Lenin conceived of the revolution as of something that was moving right upon us, and not as something lying in a far-off distance. Because of this he never tired of insisting that we must prepare ourselves daily for the revolution, even politically and technically. The political preparation consisted in training the masses for action through everyday struggle. Lenin used to say: "The most important thing is to bring the masses in motion, thereby enabling them to accumulate experiences within a short period of time." The revolution confronts us directly with the problem of armed insurrection. And to speak of this without proper technical preparations, is merely to mouth empty phrases. He who wants the revolution must systematically prepare for it the broad masses, who will, in the process of preparation, create the necessary organs of the struggle. * * *

The Mensheviks were fond of ridiculing the idea of technical preparations for an armed insurrection. According to their conception the center of gravity would lie in the sphere of propaganda, of arming the minds of the workers. To this Lenin's reply was: "He who refuses technically to prepare for the insurrection ultimately rejects the insurrection itself, and transforms the program of the revolution into an empty phrase." (*Lenin, The Great Strategist of the Class War*, by A. Losovsky (Trade Union Educational League, 1113 West Washington Street, Chicago, Illinois; September 1924), p. 17.)

52. Lenin was no mere theorist in his advocacy of force and violence. He insisted upon his followers learning the use of arms and actually using them.

Use of Arms by Proletariat

An oppressed class which does not strive to learn how to use arms, to acquire arms, deserves to be treated like slaves. We cannot forget, unless we become bourgeois pacifists or opportunists, that we are living in a class society, that there is no way out, and there can be no way out, but the class struggle. * * *

Our slogan must be arming of the proletariat in order to vanquish, to expropriate and to disarm the bourgeoisie. These are the only possible tactics a revolutionary class can adopt; these tactics follow logically from the whole objective development of capitalist militarism, and are dictated by that development. (*Lenin, The Military Program of the Proletarian Revolution*, reprinted in *The Communist*, vol. XIV, January 1935, p. 26.)

53. Lenin declared the necessity of forcefully suppressing those opposed to the Communist dictatorship.

Forceful Suppression of Exploiters

History teaches that no oppressed class has ever come to power or could have come to power, without going through a period of dictatorship, that is the conquest of the political power and the forceful suppression of the desperate, savage resistance which is always offered by the exploiters and which stops at nothing—not even the greatest crimes. (*Lenin on Bourgeois Democracy and Proletarian Dictatorship*, op. cit., *The Communist*, vol. X, No. 4, April 1931, p. 360.)

54. Lenin outlined the course of revolutionary development from strikes to armed uprising and civil war.

Armed Uprising Civil War

In the matter of tactical leadership of the revolutionary struggle, the proletariat must be guided by two basic theses. In the first place, Leninism does not limit the movement to any one particular form of struggle but rather strives to master all forms. Various forms of proletarian struggle are the strike movement, demonstrations, parliamentary struggle, revolutionary utilization of parliament when the situation demands it and also the higher forms of struggle; armed uprising, civil war, dictatorship of the proletariat. In the second place, Leninism approaches the problem as to

what particular form of struggle is to be utilized, historically, in connection with and taking into consideration the entire concrete situation. In the choice of means it is necessary to show the greatest flexibility. (V. Adoratsky on the Theoretical Foundations of Marxism-Leninism, *The Communist*, vol. XI, No. 5, May 1932, p. 469.)

55. *In the following passage Lenin showed the continuity of the doctrine of the use of force and violence from 1848 to 1915. The volume cited herewith, it should be noted, was published by International Publishers, American Communist publishing house, in 1943, long after the adoption in 1938 of the constitution of the Communist Party, U. S. A., which sought to imply denial of the use of force and violence.*

Using Force. Coming Insurrection

* * * the famous Manifesto of the Communist Party, called for revolution; they openly and directly spoke of using force; and they declared the attempt to hide revolutionary aims, tasks and methods of struggle to be contemptible. The Revolution in 1848 proved that Marx and Engels alone had approached the events with correct tactics. Several years before the 1905 Revolution in Russia, Plekhanov, then still a Marxist, wrote an unsigned article in the old *Iskra* of 1901, expressing the views of all the editors on the coming insurrection, on ways of preparing for it, such as street demonstrations, and even on technical devices, such as using wire in the fight against the cavalry. The revolution in Russia proved that only the old *Iskra*-ists had approached the events with correct tactics. Now we are faced with this alternative; either we are really and firmly convinced that the war is creating a revolutionary situation in Europe, that all the economic and social-political circumstances of the imperialist epoch are leading to a revolution of the proletariat—in that case we are in duty bound to explain to the masses the need for a revolution, to call for it, to create the necessary organizations, to speak fearlessly and in the most concrete manner of the various methods of violent struggle and of its “technique.”

In Russia, nobody places the beginning of the 1905 Revolution before January 22 (9), 1905, whereas revolutionary propaganda, in the very narrow sense of the word, the propaganda and the preparation of mass action, demonstrations, strikes, barricades, had been conducted for years before that. *Selected Works*, V. I. Lenin, vol. V (International Publishers, New York, 1943), Revolutionary Marxists at the International Socialist Conference, September 5-8, 1915, pp. 228 and 230.)

56. *Citing Marx and Engels as his authority, Lenin made a central point of the need for smashing the army.*

Armed Workers Smash the Army

Engels wrote that in France, after each revolution the workers were armed. The armed workers were the embryo of a new army, the nucleus of the organization of a new social order. The first commandment of every victorious revolution, as Marx and Engels repeatedly emphasized, was: smash the old army, dissolve it and replace it by a new one. In rising to power, the new social class never could, and cannot now, attain power or consolidate it except by absolutely disintegrating the old army. *Ibid.*, What Is Internationalism, p. 174.)

57. *Lenin excoriated his fellow Socialists prior to 1917 for failing to appreciate the merits of revolutionary violence. His words are reprinted by the Communists today as the acme of wisdom.*

Violence

Hence, to talk about “violence” in general, without examining the conditions which distinguish reactionary from revolutionary violence means being a petty bourgeois who renounces revolution, or else it means simply deceiving oneself and others by sophistry. The same holds good about violence against nations. Every war is the exercise of violence against nations but that does not prevent Socialists from being in favour of a revolutionary war. (*Ibid.*, p. 175.)

58. *Explicit rules and instructions dealing with what he termed the art of insurrection were laid down by Lenin.*

Insurrection as an Art

Now, insurrection is an art quite as much as war or any other and subject to certain rules of proceeding which, when neglected, will produce the ruin of the party neglecting them. Those rules, logical deductions from the nature of the parties and the circumstances one has to deal with in such a case, are so plain and simple that the short experience of 1848 had made the Germans pretty well acquainted with them. Firstly, never play with insurrection unless you are fully prepared to face the consequences of your play. Insurrection is a calculus with very indefinite magnitudes the value of which may change every day; the forces opposed to you have all the advantage of organization, discipline, and habitual authority; unless you bring strong odds against them you are defeated and ruined. Secondly, the insurrectionary career once entered upon, act with the greatest determination, and on the offensive. The defensive is the death of every armed rising; it is lost before it measures itself with its enemies. Surprise your antagonists while their forces are scattering, prepare new successes, however small, but daily; keep up the moral ascendancy which the first successful rising has given to you; rally those vacillating elements to your side which always follow the strongest impulse, and which always look out for the safer side; force your enemies to a retreat before they can collect their strength against you; in the words of Danton, the greatest master of revolutionary policy yet known, "de L'audace, de L'audace, encore de L'audace!" (Germany: Revolution and Counter-Revolution). (*Ibid.*, Can the Bolsheviks Retain State Power, pp. 291 and 292.)

59. *On August 20, 1918, Lenin sent a letter addressed to "American workers" which was widely distributed by the Communists in the United States and has since been reprinted a number of times. We quote from this letter:*

Civil War and Terror. Call to American Workers

For the class struggle in revolutionary times has always inevitably and in every country taken on the form of a civil war, and civil war is unthinkable without the worst kind of destruction, without terror and limitations of formal democracy in the interests of the war.

The American people has a revolutionary tradition adopted by the best representatives of the American proletariat, who gave repeated expression to their full solidarity with us, the Bolsheviks.

But now, when we are confronted with the vastly greater task of the overthrow of capitalist wage slavery, the overthrow of the rule of the bourgeoisie—now the representatives and defenders of the bourgeoisie, as well as the social-reformists, frightened by the bourgeoisie and shunning the revolution, cannot understand and do not want to understand the necessity and legality of civil war.

The American workers will not follow the bourgeoisie. They will be with us for civil war against the bourgeoisie. (A pamphlet published by the International Publishers, New York, Second printing, 1935, in an edition of 100,000: *A Letter to American Workers*, V. I. Lenin, pp. 16 and 17.)

60. *The well-known reporter of the New York Times, Cyrus L. Sulzberger, has shown the continuity of the Leninist line on force and violence as applied at the present time.*

Frightful Collisions With Bourgeois States

At a party congress in 1919, Lenin proclaimed: "We are living not merely in a state but in a system of states, and the existence of the Soviet republic side by side with imperialist states for a long time is unthinkable.

"One or the other must triumph in the end. And before that end supervenes, a series of frightful collisions between the Soviet republic and the bourgeois states will be inevitable."

In 1920, Lenin addressing the Moscow Communist Party nucleus said: "* * * As soon as we are strong enough to defeat capitalism as a whole, we shall take it by the scruff of the neck." (New York Times of October 16, 1947, p. 8, from an article by C. L. Sulzberger, entitled "World Reds Show Continuity of Adherence to Leninism.")

(C) JOSEPH STALIN

As Prime Minister of the Soviet Government and as the secretary-general of the leading Communist Party of the world, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Joseph Stalin occupies a post of undisputed authority in the international Communist movement.

The attitude of the Communist Party, U. S. A., toward him is one of complete idolatry, as indicated by the following statements of its leaders:

In the whole past period, Joseph Stalin has made the most invaluable contributions toward helping the American Communists become the best representatives of the interests of the American proletariat. It was Stalin's profound contribution to the discussion of the problems of the American working class which armed our party in the struggle against the treacherous and splitting intrigue of the Lovestone clique. * * * This prepared our party politically to take the lead in gathering the forces of the working class for effective organization and struggle. * * *

In the course of doing this, Stalin enriched our party's understanding of the fact that proletarian internationalism is based on the common international features of capitalism and the struggle against it. * * *

As against the reactionary efforts of social-democracy to chain the working class to support of the imperialist war, the policy of the Soviet Union, led by Joseph Stalin, teaches the workers in the capitalist countries to struggle against the imperialist war, to develop their own independent class policy, to strengthen their organizations and positions, and to develop the struggle against imperialism, and for socialism. (Lenin and Proletarian Internationalism, by Max Weiss, member, National Committee, Communist Party, U. S. A., in *The Communist*, January, 1941, pp. 31 and 34.)

In June, 1936, and in May, 1938, Joseph Stalin was elected to the honorary presidium of the Communist Party, U. S. A. The March, 1943, issue of *The Communist* carries greetings to Joseph Stalin as "Supreme Commander in Chief" of the Red Army and as "Lenin's best collaborator, his continuator and successor," and as "the greatest of war captains of our time." The greeting is signed by Earl Browder, then general secretary of the American party.

The leading article in the January, 1940, issue of *The Communist* on Sixteen Years With Lenin, refers to Joseph Stalin as "Lenin's greatest disciple and closest collaborator," who vowed to "build and strengthen the Communist International," a vow which "sounded like a clarion call" to which the "struggling masses in all countries responded."

1. *The following citations on force and violence are quoted from the standard works of Joseph Stalin. In large measure they reiterate the utterances of Marx, Engels, and Lenin.*

Civil War. Dictatorship Based on Force. Incitement to Revolt and Armed Intervention Against Capitalist World

I quote Lenin once more:

"The dictatorship of the proletariat is a peculiar form of class alliance between the proletariat (the vanguard of all those who labour) and the various strata of the nonproletarian labouring masses (the petty bourgeoisie, independent artisans, peasants, members of the intelligentsia, etc.) or with the majority of these; it is an alliance against capital; an alliance aiming at the complete overthrow of capital, at the crushing of bourgeois resistance and the frustrating of any attempt at a bourgeois restoration; an alliance designed for the establishment and the definitive consolidation of socialism. This peculiar form of alliance is entered into under special circumstances at a time when civil war is raging; it is an alliance between the convinced supporters of socialism and its wavering allies. (Some of the allies may be 'neutrals,' and then an agreement to fight may be replaced by an agreement to maintain neutrality.) It is an alliance between classes which differ economically, politically, socially, and ideologically" (*Works*, Russian edition, vol. xvi, p. 241.)

With reference to the crushing of the exploiters, as one of the chief aims of the dictatorship, Lenin writes:

"Scientifically defined, a dictatorship is an authority based directly on force, an authority which is absolutely unrestricted by any laws or regulations. * * * The dictatorship means (let the cadets grasp the fact once for all!) power, unlimited power, based on force and not on law. When civil war is raging, the authority of the victors cannot be anything but a dictatorship." * * * (*Works*, Russian edition, vol. xvii, pp. 355 and 361.)

Of course, the dictatorship of the proletariat does not mean force and nothing else, although a dictatorship cannot be maintained except by force. To quote Lenin:

"The dictatorship does not mean force alone, though it is impossible without force. It likewise betokens a higher organization of labour than has previously existed." (*Works*, Russian edition, vol. xvi, p. 222.)

"The dictatorship of the proletariat * * * is not merely the exercise of force against the exploiters, and indeed does not chiefly consist in the use of force. The economic basis of this revolutionary force, the guarantee of its vitality and success is that the proletariat represents and realizes a type of social organization of labour higher than that represented and realized by the capitalist system. That is the main point. Herein lies the source of the strength of Communism; wherein we find assurance of its inevitable victory * * *." (*Works*, Russian edition, vol. xvi, pp. 247-248.)

Let us turn to Lenin. In August, 1915, more than two years before the October revolution, he said:

"Irregularity in economic and political development is an invariable law of capitalism. It is, therefore, possible for socialism to triumph at the outset in a small number of capitalist countries, nay, even in one alone. The victorious proletariat in such a land, having expropriated the capitalists and having organized socialist production, would rise against the remainder of the capitalist world, winning over to its cause the oppressed classes in other lands, inciting them to revolt against the capitalists, and even, when needs must, having recourse to armed intervention against the exploiting classes and their states." (*Works*, Russian edition, vol. xiii, p. 133.) (*Leninism*, by Joseph Stalin (International Publishers, New York, 1928), pp. 25, 26, 27, 58, and 59.)

2. Again, Stalin, the present undisputed dictator of the world Communist movement, validated the dicta of Marx, Engels, and Lenin on the necessity of force and violence to accomplish the Communist revolution. The United States is specifically mentioned as no exception to this formula.

The dictatorship of the proletariat cannot arise as the outcome of the peaceful development of bourgeois society and bourgeois democracy. It can only arise as the outcome of the destruction of the bourgeois State machine, the bourgeois army, the bourgeois bureaucracy, and the bourgeois police force.

Marx and Engels, guided by the experience of the Paris Commune, wrote:

"The working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made State machinery and wield it for its own purposes." (*The Civil War in France*, Truelove, London, 1871, p. 15.)

Smash Government Machine. United States. Force Against Bourgeois State Machine. Forcible Destruction of Bourgeois State Machine. Procedure After Seizure of Power. Liquidation of Classes. Arm the Revolution

Again writing to Kugelmann in 1871, Marx said:

"The aim of the proletarian revolution is no longer (as used to be thought) to transfer the bureaucratic and military machine from one set of hands to another, but to smash that machine. This is the indispensable prerequisite for any genuine folk-revolution on the continent.

Marx's reservation "on the Continent" has given the opportunists and Mensheviks of all lands the chance of shouting in chorus that at any rate as regards certain countries that were not on the continent of Europe (Britain and the United States) he conceded the possibility of the peaceful development of bourgeois democracy into proletarian democracy. Marx did, in actual fact, admit this possibility and he had good reason for doing so in regard to the Britain and the United States of the early seventies, before the days of monopolist capitalism and imperialism, and at a time when in those countries (owing to the peculiar conditions of their development) militarism and bureaucracy were but little in evidence. That was at an epoch when imperialism was

in its infancy. But several decades later, changed, when imperialism had grown to its full stature and was dominant in all capitalist countries without exception, when militarism and bureaucracy had become established in Britain and the United States as well as on the continent of Europe, and when the exceptional conditions favourable to a peaceful development in the English-speaking world has passed away—then Marx's reservation "on the Continent" had become obsolete, and what he said of continental Europe applied with equal force to Britain and the United States.

In 1917, Lenin wrote:

"Nowadays, in the epoch of the first great imperialist war, Marx's reservation lapses. Britain and the United States, which have been up till now (thanks to their exemption from militarism and bureaucracy) the last and greatest embodiments of Anglo-Saxon 'freedom,' have at length come, like the other nations, to wallow in the foul and bloody mire of bureaucratic and militarist institutions, which establish a universal tyranny. Today in Britain and the United States, no less than elsewhere, the smashing, the destruction of 'the ready-made State machinery' (which in those lands has during the years 1914-1917 achieved the same imperialist perfection as on the continent of Europe) 'is the indispensable prerequisite of any genuine folk-revolution'." (*Works*, Russian edition, vol. xiv., pt. II, p. 327.)

In other words, as far as the imperialist countries are concerned, we must regard it as a universally applicable law of the revolutionary movement that the proletarian revolution will be effected by force, that the bourgeois State machine will have to be smashed, as an indispensable preliminary to the revolution.

No doubt in the distant future, if the proletariat has triumphed in the chief countries that are now capitalist, and if the present capitalist encirclement has given place to a socialist encirclement, it will be possible for a "peaceful" transition to be effected in certain capitalist countries where the capitalists, in view of the "unfavourable" international situation will deem it advisable "of their own accord" to make extensive concessions to the proletariat. But this is to look far ahead, and to contemplate extremely hypothetical possibilities. As concerns the near future, there is no warrant for any such expectations.

That is why Lenin is perfectly right when he says:

"The proletarian revolution cannot take place without the forcible destruction of the bourgeois State machine and its replacement by a new machine." (*Works*, Russian edition, vol. xv., p. 453.) (*Ibid.*, pp. 116, 117, 118.)

"The question of power is the fundamental question of the revolution" (Lenin). Does this mean that the only thing required is to seize power? No, it does not. The seizure of power is only the beginning. For a number of reasons the bourgeoisie overthrown in one country remains for a considerable time stronger than the proletariat which has overthrown it. Therefore, the important thing is to retain power, to consolidate it and make it invincible. What is required to attain this end? At least three main tasks confronting the proletariat "on the morrow" of victory must be fulfilled. They are:

(a) To break the resistance of the landed proprietors and capitalists now overthrown and expropriated by the revolution, and to liquidate every attempt they make to restore the power of capital;

(b) To organize construction in such a way as will rally all toilers around the proletariat and prepare the way for the liquidation, the extinction of classes;

(c) To arm the revolution and to organize the army of the revolution for the struggle against the external enemy and for the struggle against imperialism. (Ch. IV from *Foundations of Leninism*, by Joseph Stalin, published by the International Publishers, New York, 1932, pp. 44, 45.)

3. Stalin considered the overthrow of our system as inevitably the result of resort to violence. For strategic and propagandistic reasons he places the responsibility for such measures upon those who oppose the Communist revolution.

Violence

Capitalism is decaying but it must not be compared simply with a tree which has decayed to such an extent that it must fall to the ground of its own accord. No, revolution, the substitution of one social system for another, has always been a struggle, a painful and a cruel struggle, a life and death struggle. And every time the people of the new world came into power they had to defend themselves against the attempts of the old world to restore the old order by force; these people of the new

world always had to be on the alert, always had to be ready to repel the attacks of the old world upon the new system. That is why the Communists say to the working class: Answer violence with violence; do all you can to prevent the old dying order from crushing you; do not permit it to put manacles on your hands, on the hands with which you will overthrow the old system. As you see, the Communists regard the substitution of one social system for another, not simply as a spontaneous and peaceful process but as a complicated, long and violent process. Communists cannot ignore facts. (*Marrism versus Liberalism—An Interview of Joseph Stalin*, by H. G. Wells [International Publishers, New York, 1935], pp. 16, 17.)

4. *He endorsed Lenin's prediction as to the sanguinary, violent, and military phases of the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat.*

Violent Phases of Struggle. Proletarian Dictatorship and Civil War

That is why Lenin declares: "The dictatorship of the proletariat is the fiercest, sharpest and most merciless war of the new class against its more powerful enemy, the bourgeoisie, whose resistance is increased tenfold by its overthrow. * * * The dictatorship of the proletariat is a stubborn struggle—sanguinary and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative—against the forces and traditions of the old society." ("Left"—Communism). * * *

We must, therefore, regard the dictatorship of the proletariat, the transition from capitalism to communism, not as a fleeting period replete with "super-revolutionary" deeds and decrees, but as an entire historical epoch full of civil wars and external conflicts, of persistent organizational work and economic construction, of attacks and retreats, of victories and defeats." (Ch. IV from *Foundations of Leninism* by Joseph Stalin, published by the International Publishers, New York, 1932, p. 47.)

5. *Stalin gave his full endorsement to Marx' prediction regarding the necessity for many years of civil war.*

Marx on Civil War

Marx said to the workers: "You will have to go through fifteen, twenty, fifty years of civil wars and conflicts of peoples, not only to change the conditions, but in order to change yourselves and to make yourselves capable of wielding political power." (*Ibid.*, published by International Publishers, New York, 1934, in an edition of 100,000, p. 49.)

6. *Stalin reiterated that the dictatorship of the proletariat can only come about through violent revolution. He completely discounted the possibility of peaceful change in this direction. He called for the smashing of the state machine in all its parts.*

Proletarian Dictatorship Based on Violence. Peaceful Development Impossible

The dictatorship of the proletariat does not arise on the basis of the bourgeois order; it arises while this order is being torn down, after the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, in the process of the expropriation of the landlords and capitalists, during the process of socialisation of the principal instruments and means of production, in the process of violent proletarian revolution. The dictatorship of the proletariat is a revolutionary power based on violence against the bourgeoisie.

To put it briefly: The dictatorship of the proletariat is the domination of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie untrammelled by law and based on violence and enjoying the sympathy and support of the toiling and exploited masses (Cf. Lenin State and Revolution).

Second deduction: The dictatorship of the proletariat cannot come about as a result of the peaceful development of bourgeois society and of bourgeois democracy; it can come only as the result of the destruction of the bourgeois state machine, of the bourgeois army, of the bourgeois civil administration, and of the bourgeois police. (*Ibid.*, pp. 50, 51, 52.)

7. *He repeated that the necessity for smashing the government military machine applies in the United States. He considered the law of violent revolution as an inevitable part of the law of revolution in such countries as the United States.*

Smash Military Machine. United States. Shattering of State Machinery in United States. Violent Proletarian Revolution

In his letter to Kugelmann (April 12, 1871) Marx wrote that the task of the proletarian revolution must "be no longer, as before, to transfer the bureaucratic-military machine from one hand to another, but to smash it, and that is essential for every real people's revolution on the Continent" (Letters to Dr. Kugelmann, International Publishers, p. 123).

Marx did in fact concede that possibility, and he had good grounds for doing so in regard to the England and the United States of the seventies of the last century when monopoly capitalism and imperialism did not yet exist and when these countries, owing to the special conditions of their development, had as yet no developed militarism or bureaucracy. That is how matters stood before developed imperialism made its appearance. But later, after a lapse of thirty to forty years, when a state of affairs in these countries had undergone a radical change, when imperialism was developing and was embracing all capitalist countries without exception, when militarism and bureaucracy appeared in England and the United States also, when the special conditions of peaceful development in England and the United States had disappeared—then the qualification in regard to these countries could no longer apply.

Lenin said: "Today, in 1917, in the epoch of the first great imperialist war, this exception made by Marx is no longer valid. Both England and America, the greatest and last representatives of Anglo-Saxon 'liberty' in the whole world in the sense of the absence of militarism and bureaucracy, have today plunged headlong into the all-European dirty, bloody morass of military bureaucratic institutions to which everything is subordinated and which trample everything underfoot. Today, both in England and in America, 'essential for every real people's revolution' is the break-up, the shattering of the 'ready-made' state machinery (brought in those countries, between 1914 and 1917, to general 'European' imperialist perfection)" (State and Revolution, Little Lenin Library, p. 34; Collected Works, vol. XXI, book II, p. 180).

In other words, the law of violent proletarian revolution, the law of destruction of the machinery of the bourgeois state as a condition precedent for such revolution, is an inevitable law of the revolutionary movement in the imperialist countries of the world. * * *

Lenin is therefore right in saying: "The proletarian revolution is impossible without the violent destruction of the bourgeois state machine and its replacement by a new one" (The proletarian Revolution and Renegade Kautsky).

The Soviet Power is the State Form of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. The victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat signified the suppression of the bourgeoisie, the break-up of the bourgeois state machine and the displacement of bourgeois democracy by proletarian democracy. That is clear. (*Ibid.*, pp. 53, 54, 55.)

(D) HISTORY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

Communist literature is replete with references to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as a model party, as "an example for the Communist Parties of all countries." William Z. Foster, present chairman of the Communist Party, U. S. A., has extolled the CPSU as the "leading party" of the Communist International, "by virtue of its great revolutionary experience." It is therefore highly significant that the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, which explains in great detail how that party seized power by resort to force and violence, is a subject of required reading and study for Communist Party members, for Communist schools, and is presently on sale at Communist bookshops throughout the United States.

The Communist Information Bureau, modern version of the Communist International, has given the following clear directive to all Communist Parties:

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Party of Lenin-Stalin, which has a membership of many millions, serves as a great example to the Communist Parties of other countries who see in the CPSU (B) the foremost champion for peace, freedom and the independence of peoples. (For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy, Organ of the Information Bureau of the Communist Parties, published in Belgrade, February 15, 1948, p. 1.)

New Century Publishers, official American Communist publishing house, in its most recent catalog dated 1948 has listed the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* as "A classic work of historical and dialectical materialism."

The Jefferson School of Social Science, cited by Attorney General Tom C. Clark as an "adjunct of the Communist Party," announced in its spring 1947 catalog, a course entitled "History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union," in which the book *History of the CPSU* was to serve as "the basic text."

On March 1, 1939, when 100,000 copies of the English edition of this work were released for publication as the "greatest story of this generation," Earl Browder, then general secretary of the Communist Party, U. S. A., said:

This is no ordinary book to be skimmed through and then laid aside on a bookshelf. It is a scientific textbook to be studied and mastered, not a collection of dogmas to be memorized, not for mechanical quotation of extracts, but to understand the essence of the theory of Marxism-Leninism so that it can be applied to the most varied and different problems and situations, so that this theory can be enriched with new experiences of the revolutionary working class movement also of our country.

(*Daily Worker*, March 1, 1939, p. 3.)

The December 1938 Plenum of the Communist Party, U. S. A., stressed the importance of this volume even more emphatically, and declared:

Our great brother Party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which gave to the world the supreme example of the Communist program translated into life, has also now provided us with a great instrument for our ideological rearmament. It is the new book, A Short Course in the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, prepared under the direction of its Central Committee, with the personal participation and leadership of Comrade Stalin. * * *

In this connection the following steps for popularizing the publication were announced by the Central Committee of the CPUSA:

A campaign has been launched to get the book into the hands of every member of the Communist Party and through them, to their friends. * * *

Each district is called upon to organize at least one mass meeting at which a leader of the Party should lecture on the book. * * *

The national educational department of the Communist Party is preparing an outline to aid in the study of the book.

The Communist press will run a series of articles by Communist leaders on various phases of the book. (*Daily Worker*, February 13, 1939, p. 6.)

As recently as November 1947, in the magazine *Political Affairs*, William W. Weinstone, New York State educational director of the Communist Party, recommended the *History of the CPSU* for both intermediate and advanced stages of study of Marxism-Leninism.

In the March 1948 issue of *Political Affairs*, official Communist Party monthly theoretical organ, Eugene Dennis, general secretary of the Party, insisted that the Party—

must acquire a new and more profound grasp of the theory and lessons to be learned from such Marxist classics as * * * the *History of the CPSU* as well as from such authoritative Marxist political journals as the new publication of the Communist Information Bureau, *For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy*.

The following citations on force and violence are taken from the *History of the CPSU* serving as a clear instruction and guide to all members of the Communist Party, U. S. A.:

1. *This basic guide for American Communists reiterates the principles of Marx and Engels regarding the impossibility of accomplishing the socialist revolution by other than violent means.*

Impossibility of Overthrow of Capitalism by Peaceful Means. Revolutionary Violence

Marx and Engels taught that it was impossible to get rid of the power of capital and to convert capitalist property into public property by peaceful means, and that the working class could achieve this only by revolutionary violence against the bourgeoisie, by a proletarian revolution, by establishing its own political rule—the dictatorship of the proletariat—which must crush the resistance of the exploiters and create a new, classless, Communist society. (*History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)*. Short course. Edited by a commission of the Central Committee of the CPSU (B). Authorized by the Central Committee of the CPSU (B). International Publishers, New York, copyright, 1939, p. 9.)

2. *As a type study the History of the CPSU calls attention to the armed revolt on the Russian battleship "Potemkin," the first revolutionary action in the Russian armed forces.*

Revolt in the Navy. Armed Clashes With Police and Troops

In June 1905 a revolt broke out on the "Potemkin," a battleship of the Black Sea Fleet. The battleship was at that time stationed near Odessa, where a general strike of the workers was in progress. The insurgent sailors wreaked vengeance on their detested officers and brought the vessel to Odessa. The battleship "Potemkin" had gone over to the side of the revolution. * * *

Lenin attributed immense importance to this revolt. He considered it necessary for the Bolsheviks to assume the leadership of this movement and to link it up with the movement of the workers, peasants and local garrisons. * * *

The "Potemkin" revolt was the first instance of mass revolutionary action in the army and navy, the first occasion on which a large unit of the armed forces of the tsar sided with the revolution. * * *

The workers' recourse to mass political strikes and demonstrations, the growth of the peasant movement, the armed clashes between the people and the police and troops, and, finally, the revolt in the Black Sea Fleet, all went to show that conditions were ripening for an armed uprising of the people. (*Ibid.*, pp. 60, 61.)

3. *Time and again it stressed the importance of armed uprising.*

Armed Uprising. Organize for Insurrection

Lenin considered that the most effective means of overthrowing tsardom and achieving a democratic republic was a victorious armed uprising of the people. Contrary to the Mensheviks, Lenin held that "the general democratic revolutionary movement has already brought about the necessity for an armed uprising," that "the organization of the proletariat for uprising" had already "been placed on the order of the day as one of the essential, principal and indispensable tasks of the Party," and that it was necessary "to adopt the most energetic measures to arm the proletariat and to ensure the possibility of directly leading the uprising."

To guide the masses to an uprising and to turn it into an uprising of the whole people, Lenin deemed it necessary to issue such slogans, such appeals to the masses as would set free their revolutionary initiative, organize them for insurrection and disorganize the machinery of power of tsardom. He considered that these slogans were furnished by the tactical decisions of the Third Party Congress, to the defense of which his book "Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution" was devoted. (*Ibid.*, p. 70.)

4. *The book reiterates the necessity of armed force to accomplish a successful revolution.*

Military Force

A decisive victory of the revolution over tsardom is the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry, Lenin said: " * * * Such a victory will be precisely a dictatorship, i.e., it must inevitably rely on military force, on the arming of the masses, on an uprising and not on institutions of one kind or another, established in a 'lawful' or 'peaceful' way."

The Bolsheviks called the workers to arms, to prepare for armed uprising. (*Ibid.*, pp. 70 and 78.)

5. *The History of the CPSU then describes in detail Lenin's preparatory steps for the armed uprising.*

Armed Struggle. Armed Insurrection. Lenin and Armed Uprising.

Stalin Calls for Arms

The bulk of the sailors and soldiers in revolt did not yet clearly realize the necessity for the overthrow of the tsarist government, for the energetic prosecution of the armed struggle. They were still too peaceful and complacent; they frequently made the mistake of releasing officers who had been arrested at the outbreak of the revolt, and would allow themselves to be placated by the promises and coaxing of their superiors. * * *

The revolutionary movement had approached the verge of armed insurrection. The Bolsheviks called upon the masses to rise in arms against the tsar and the landlords, and explained to them that this was inevitable. The Bolsheviks worked indefatigably in preparing for armed uprising. Revolutionary work was carried on among the soldiers and sailors, and military organizations of the Party were set up in the armed forces. Workers' fighting squads were formed in a number of cities, and their members taught the use of arms. The purchase of arms from abroad and the smuggling of them into Russia was organized, prominent members of the Party taking part in arranging for their transportation.

In November 1905 Lenin returned to Russia. He took a direct part in the preparations for armed uprising, while keeping out of the way of the tsar's gendarmes and spies. His articles in the Bolshevik newspaper, *Novaya Zhizn* (New Life), served to guide the Party in its day-to-day work.

At this period Comrade Stalin was carrying on tremendous revolutionary work in Transcaucasia. He exposed and lashed the Mensheviks as foes of the revolution and of the armed uprising. Speaking at a meeting of workers in Tiflis on the day the tsar's Manifesto was announced, Comrade Stalin said: "What do we need in order to really win? We need three things: first—arms, second—arms, third—arms and arms again!" (*Ibid.*, p. 81.)

6. *The volume describes the participation and the leadership of the Russian Communists in the armed revolt.*

Communist Role in Armed Uprising. Lenin on Taking Arms

As by that time the armed uprising had already begun in Moscow, the conference, on Lenin's advice hastily completed its work and dispersed to enable the delegates to participate personally in the uprising. * * *

In reply to this, the Moscow Bolsheviks and the Moscow Soviet of Workers' Deputies which they led and which was connected with the broad masses of the workers, decided to make immediate preparations for armed uprising. On December 5 (18) the Moscow Bolshevik Committee resolved to call upon the Soviet to declare a general political strike with the object of turning it into an uprising in the course of the struggle. This decision was supported at mass meetings of the workers. * * *

When the Moscow proletariat began the revolt, it had a fighting organization of about one thousand combatants, more than half of whom were Bolsheviks. In addition there were fighting squads in several of the Moscow factories. In all, the insurrectionaries had a force of about two thousand combatants. The workers expected to neutralize the garrison and to win over a part of it to their side. * * *

The uprising assumed a particularly stubborn and bitter character in the Krasnaya Presnya district of Moscow. This was the main stronghold and centre of the uprising. Here the best of the fighting squads, led by Bolsheviks, were concentrated. * * *

The uprising was not confined to Moscow. Revolutionary uprising broke out in a number of other cities and districts. There were armed uprisings in Krasnoyarsk, Motovilikha (Perm), Novorossisk, Sormovo, Sevastapol and Kronstadt. * * *

The oppressed nationalities of Russia also rose in armed struggle. Nearly the whole of Georgia was up in arms. A big uprising took place in the Ukraine, in the cities of Gorlovka, Alexandrovsk and Lugansk (now Voroshilovgrad) in the Donetz Basin. A stubborn struggle was waged at Latvia. In Finland the workers formed their Red Guard and rose in revolt. * * *

"On the contrary," Lenin said, "we should have taken to arms more resolutely, energetically and aggressively; we should have explained to the masses that it was impossible to confine ourselves to a peaceful strike and that a fearless and relentless armed fight was indispensable." (*Ibid.*, pp. 82, 83, 84.)

7. This revolutionary textbook then recalls Marx' definition of force.

Force

"Force," said Karl Marx, "is the midwife of every old society pregnant with a new one." (*Ibid.*, p. 130.)

8. In full support of the line laid down by Lenin this authoritative work rejects the moderates' plea for civil peace and urges civil war in preference.

Civil War vs. Civil Peace. Uprising Against Own Government. Policy Applicable to All Belligerent Countries

In opposition to the Menshevik and Socialist-Revolutionary renunciation of revolution and their treacherous slogan of preserving "civil peace" in time of war, the Bolsheviks advanced the slogan of "converting the imperialist war into a civil war." This slogan meant that the laboring people, including the armed workers and peasants clad in soldiers' uniform, were to turn their weapons against their own bourgeoisie and overthrow its rule if they wanted to put an end to the war and achieve a just peace. * * *

In opposition to the Menshevik and Socialist-Revolutionary policy of defending the bourgeois fatherland, the Bolsheviks advanced the policy of "the defeat of one's own government in the imperialist war." This meant voting against war credits, forming illegal revolutionary organizations in the armed forces, supporting fraternization among the soldiers at the front, organizing revolutionary actions of the workers and peasants against the war, and turning these actions into an uprising against one's own imperialist government. * * *

Lenin held that the policy of working for the defeat of one's own imperialist government must be pursued not only by the Russian revolutionaries, but by the revolutionary parties of the working class in all the belligerent countries. (*Ibid.*, p. 167.)

9. The conversion of "imperialist war" into civil war is practically the theme song of this work.

Turn Weapons Against Own Government

At the front, the Party agitated for fraternization between the soldiers of the warring armies, emphasizing the fact that the world bourgeoisie was the enemy, and that the war could be ended only by converting the imperialist war into a civil war and turning one's weapons against one's own bourgeoisie and its government. Cases of refusal of army units to take the offensive became more and more frequent. There were already such instances in 1915, and even more in 1916. (*Ibid.*, p. 172.)

10. The volume describes how the police and armed forces were either disarmed or disintegrated.

Police Disarmed

On the morning of February 26 (March 11) the political strike and demonstration began to assume the character of an uprising. The workers disarmed police and gendarmes and armed themselves. Nevertheless, the clashes with the police ended with the shooting down of a demonstration on Znamenskaya Square. * * *

On February 26 (March 11) the 4th Company of the Reserve Battalion of the Pavlovsky Regiment opened fire, not on the workers, however, but on squads of mounted

police who were engaged in a skirmish with the workers. A most energetic and persistent drive was made to win over the troops especially by the working women, who addressed themselves directly to the soldiers, fraternized with them and called upon them to help the people to overthrow the hated tsarist autocracy. (*Ibid.*, p. 175.)

11. *The arrest of ministers at the direction of the leaders of the Central Committee in the Communist Party is described together with the steps toward mutiny in the armed forces.*

Armed Struggle Against Government. Arrest of Ministers. Firing on Police

On February 26 (March 11) the Bureau of the Central Committee issued a manifesto calling for the continuation of the armed struggle against tsardom and the formation of a Provisional Revolutionary Government. * * *

The workers and soldiers who had risen in revolt began to arrest tsarist ministers and generals and to free revolutionaries from jail. The released political prisoners joined the revolutionary struggle. * * *

In the streets, shots were still being exchanged with police and gendarmes posted with machine guns in the attics of houses. But the troops rapidly went over to the side of the workers, and this decided the fate of tsarist autocracy. * * * (*Ibid.*, p. 176.)

12. *Lenin's precept that the Soviets (now known as action committees in certain countries) are the actual organs of armed uprising, is given added emphasis.*

Soviets Organs of Armed Uprising

The Revolution of 1905 had shown that the Soviets were organs of armed uprising and at the same time the embryo of a new, revolutionary power. (*Ibid.*, p. 177.)

13. *The volume then describes the detailed instruction for the armed uprising given by Lenin to the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party.*

Plan of Uprising

The Bolsheviks began intensive preparations for the uprising. Lenin declared that, having secured a majority in the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies in both the capitals—Moscow and Petrograd—the Bolsheviks could and should take the state power into their own hands. Reviewing the path that had been traversed, Lenin stressed the fact that "the majority of the people are for us." In his articles and letters to the Central Committee and the Bolshevik organizations, Lenin outlined a detailed plan for the uprising showing how the army units, the navy and the Red Guards should be used, what key positions in Petrograd should be seized in order to ensure the success of the uprising, and so forth. * * *

On October 10, 1917, the historic meeting of the Central Committee of the Party took place at which it was decided to launch the armed uprising within the next few days. The historic resolution of the Central Committee of the Party, drawn up by Lenin, stated:

"The Central Committee recognizes that the international position of the Russian revolution (the revolt in the German navy which is an extreme manifestation of the growth throughout Europe of the world Socialist revolution; the threat of conclusion of peace by the imperialists with the object of strangling the revolution in Russia) as well as its military position (the indubitable decision of the Russian bourgeoisie and Kerensky and Co. to surrender Petrograd to the Germans), and the fact that the proletarian party has gained a majority of the Soviets—all this, taken in conjunction with the peasant revolt and the swing of popular confidence towards our Party (the elections in Moscow), and, finally, the obvious preparations being made for a second Kornilov affair (the withdrawal of troops from Petrograd, the dispatch of Cossacks to Petrograd, the surrounding of Minsk by Cossacks, etc.)—all this places the armed uprising on the order of the day.

"Considering therefore that an armed uprising is inevitable, and that the time for it is fully ripe, the Central Committee instructs all Party organizations to be guided accordingly, and to discuss and decide all practical questions (the Congress of Soviets of the Northern Region, the withdrawal of troops from Petrograd, the action of our people in Moscow and Minsk, etc.) from this point of view." (*Ibid.*, pp. 204 and 205.)

14. *A clear description is given of how the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party directed the armed revolt in both the Army and the Navy.*

Party Prepares Forces for Uprising

The Pre-parliament was dissolved. The Smolny, the headquarters of the Petrograd Soviet and of the Bolshevik Central Committee, became the headquarters of the revolution, from which all fighting orders emanated.

The Petrograd workers in those days showed what a splendid schooling they had received under the guidance of the Bolshevik Party. The revolutionary units of the army, prepared for the uprising by the work of the Bolsheviks, carried out fighting orders with precision and fought side by side with the Red Guard. The navy did not lag behind the army. Kronstadt was a stronghold of the Bolshevik Party, and had long since refused to recognize the authority of the Provisional Government. The cruiser Aurora trained its guns on the Winter Palace, and on October 25 their thunder ushered in a new era, the era of the Great Socialist Revolution.

On the night of October 25 the revolutionary workers, soldiers and sailors took the Winter Palace by storm and arrested the Provisional Government. (*Ibid.*, p. 208.)

15. *Joseph Stalin here describes the Communist (Bolshevik) Party as a party of a new type particularly suited to the struggle for power in a period of sharp collisions.*

Seizure of Power

The history of the Party teaches us that only a party of the new type, a Marxist-Leninist party, a party of social revolution, a party capable of preparing the proletariat for decisive battles against the bourgeoisie and of organizing the victory of the proletarian revolution, can be such a party. * * *

The Bolshevik Party in the U. S. S. R. is such a party.

"In the pre-revolutionary period," Comrade Stalin says, "in the period of more or less peaceful development, when the parties of the Second International were the predominant force in the working class movement and parliamentary forms of struggle were regarded as the principal forms, the party neither had nor could have had that great and decisive importance which it acquired afterwards, under conditions of open revolutionary battle."

Party Contrasted With Parties of Peaceful Period

"But matters have changed radically with the dawn of the new period. The new period is one of open class collisions, of revolutionary action by the proletariat of proletarian revolution, a period when forces are being directly mustered for the overthrow of imperialism and the seizure of power by the proletariat. In this period the proletariat is confronted with new tasks, the tasks of reorganizing all party work on new, revolutionary lines; of educating the workers in the spirit of revolutionary struggle for power; of preparing and moving up reserves; of establishing an alliance with the proletarians of neighbouring countries; of establishing firm ties with the liberation movement in the colonies and dependent countries, etc., etc." (*Ibid.*, pp. 353, 354.)

(E) COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

The American Communist Party in all its stages, has been openly and avowedly affiliated with and has accepted the guidance and discipline of the Communist International until November 16, 1940, when it formally decided to—

cancel and dissolve its organizational affiliation to the Communist International * * * for the specific purpose of removing itself from the terms of the so-called Voorhis Act.

This act requires such organizations to register.

On May 30, 1943, the Communist International (Comintern) was formally dissolved, to be succeeded by the Information Bureau of the

Communist Parties (Cominform) established in September 1947 with headquarters in Belgrade; later moved in 1948 to Bucharest.

There is every reason to believe that the Communist International was never actually dissolved and that the Communist Party, U. S. A., is as completely subordinated to the discipline of this Moscow-dominated world party, as it ever was. This belief is based upon the following characteristics of the American party prevailing during its affiliation with the Comintern and today:

1. Rigid adherence to policies paralleling in every respect the line of Moscow.

2. Interlocking affiliations and support of other Communist Parties throughout the world.

3. *Devotion to the teachings and principles of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin.*

4. Acceptance of press, radio, and other services from Moscow and Communist-dominated puppet states.

5. Sending of leaders to Moscow for guidance and instruction.

6. Glorification of Joseph Stalin.

7. Collaboration of representatives of the Soviet Government and its subsidiary puppet states with American Communist organizations.

8. Enforcement of Comintern statutes, discipline, and general procedure.

9. Authority of Moscow-designated representatives.

The authority of the Communist International, presently known as the Information Bureau of the Communist Parties, is both unchallenged and continuing, as the following statements of outstanding Communists will show:

(a) Joseph Stalin at the Second Congress of Soviets of U. S. S. R. (1924):

Departing from us, Comrade Lenin adjured us to remain faithful to the principles of the Communist International. We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that we will not spare our lives to strengthen and extend the union of the toilers of the whole world—the Communist International! (*History of the CPSU*, p. 269, quoting *The Lenin Heritage*, by Joseph Stalin (International Publishers, New York, 1939).)

(b) William Z. Foster, present chairman, Communist Party, U.S.A., in 1932:

The Communist Party of the United States * * * is the American section of the Communist International * * *. The Communist International is a disciplined world party * * *. (*Toward Soviet America*, by William Z. Foster (Coward-McCann, Inc., New York, 1932).)

(c) *The Communist Party—A Manual on Organization*, in 1935:

We do not question the political correctness of the decisions, resolutions, etc., of the Executive Committee of the C. I. (Communist International). (*The Communist Party—A Manual on Organization*, by J. Peters, with an introduction by Jack Stachel (Workers Library Publishers, New York, July 1935), p. 27.)

(d) Walter G. Krivitsky, former Chief of the Soviet Military Intelligence for Western Europe, in 1939:

The Communist International is not an organization of autonomous parties. The Communist Parties are nothing more than branch offices of the Russian Communist Party. The Communist International that operates in Moscow is nothing more than an administrative body which transmits the decrees reached by the political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Russia. (*Testimony before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities*, October 11, 1939, hearings, p. 5722.)

(e) Testifying on September 29, 1939, before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, William Z. Foster admitted that he was at that time a member of the executive committee of the Communist International and of its Presidium. Mr. Foster could not recollect a single instance in which the Communist Party, U. S. A., had violated any of the statutes of the Comintern. He admitted that he considered the program of the Communist International as "a guide to general policy," which he accepted.

(f) Louis Francis Budenz, former managing editor of the *Daily Worker*, official Communist Party, U. S. A., organ, former member of the national Committee of the Communist Party, U. S. A., in 1946:

Now, I want to get here to the dissolution of the Communist International. * * * And it was agreed (by the National Committee) that Mr. Berger (Gerhart Eisler) should write this piece which he did write, in order to show to our comrades that internationalism still lives—"internationalism still lives" was the phrase used—even with the dissolution of the Communist International. And in order to drive that home, it was decided to put in (*The Communist*) a prominent article by Dmitri Manuilsky * * * because every trained Communist knows that Dmitri Manuilsky represents leadership of the Communist International even to this day. That was the understanding which prompted his open threat to the United Nations recently of the power of the Communist Parties throughout the world. That is the speech that is putting every party on its toes and was the signal from the Communist International. (*Testimony before the Committee on Un-American Activities* on November 22, 1946, p. 23.)

For more than fifteen years prior to the adoption of the so-called Trojan Horse policy, the *Daily Worker* proclaimed itself on its masthead as the "Official organ of the Communist Party, U. S. A., section of the Communist International." The following citations are taken from official documents of the Communist International indicating that resort to force and violence is an integral part of its programmatic directives to the Communist Parties of the World including the Communist Party, U. S. A.:

1. *The Communist International from its foundation has pointed out the futility of resort to legal channels for its revolutionary purposes and the need of destroying the state machinery.*

Blowing Up Bourgeois State Machinery

The bourgeois parliaments, which constitute one of the most important instruments of the state machinery of the bourgeoisie, cannot be won over by the proletariat any more than can the bourgeois order in general. The task of the proletariat consists in blowing up the whole machinery of the bourgeoisie in destroying it, and all the parliamentary institutions with it, whether they be republican or constitutional monarchial.

The same relates to the local government institutions of the bourgeoisie, which theoretically it is not correct to differentiate from state organizations. In reality they are part of the same apparatus of the State machinery of the bourgeoisie which must be destroyed by the revolutionary proletariat and replaced by local Soviets of Workers' Deputies. Thesis, Communist International Second Congress, 1920, republished in *The Communist*, vol. XI, No. 2, February 1932, pp. 186, 187.)

2. *A fundamental tenet of the Comintern policy has been the need of resort to armed uprising.*

Armed Uprising

The working class cannot triumph completely over the bourgeoisie through the use of only the general strike and the tactics of "crossed arms." The proletariat must have resort to armed uprising. Those who understand this must also understand that out of this inevitably flows the necessity of an organized political party, and that the formless labor associations are insufficient for this purpose. The Second Congress of the Communist International, *Published Papers*, U. S. State Department, 1920, p. 90.)

3. *An armed struggle for the overthrow of democratic governments and for the establishment of an international Soviet Republic is the aim set down by the Third (Communist) International in 1920.*

Armed Struggle for International Soviet Republic

The Communist International makes its aim to put up an armed struggle for the overthrow of the international bourgeoisie and to create an International Soviet Republic as a transition stage to the complete abolition of the state. Theses and Statutes of the Third (Communist) International, published by the Publishing Office of the *Communist International*, Moscow, 1920, and reprinted by the United States Communist Party of America, p. 4.)

4. *This gathering also called for the violent defeat of the middle classes including business and professional men and the annihilation of the governmental apparatus of democracy.*

Violent Defeat of Bourgeoisie

Only a violent defeat of the bourgeoisie, the confiscation of its property, the annihilation of the entire bourgeois governmental apparatus, parliamentary, judicial, military, bureaucratic, administrative, municipal, etc., even the individual exile or internment of the most stubborn and dangerous exploiters, the establishment of a strict control over them for the repression of all inevitable attempts at resistance and restoration of capitalist slavery—only such measures will be able to guarantee the complete submission of the whole class of exploiters. (*Ibid.*, p. 11.)

5. *The assembly stressed that questions at issue must be settled by force of arms.*

Force of Arms

That which before the victory of the proletariat seems but a theoretical difference of opinion on the question of "democracy" becomes inevitably on the morrow of the victory a question which can only be decided by force of arms. (*Ibid.*, p. 15.)

6. *The Communist International called the present an epoch of civil war.*

Civil War. Arms in Hand

The World proletariat is confronted with decisive battles. We are living in an epoch of civil war. The critical hour has struck. In almost all countries where there is a labor movement of any importance the working class, arms in hand, stands in the midst of fierce and decisive battles. Now more than ever is the working class in need of a strong organization. Without losing an hour of invaluable time, the working class must keep on indefatigably preparing for the impending decisive struggle. (*Ibid.*, p. 33.)

7. *It repudiated the notion that reforms can be achieved through parliamentary or legal means and stated that parliamentary institutions must be destroyed.*

Break and Destroy Parliamentary Apparatus

Parliament at present can in no way serve as the arena of a struggle for reform for improving the lot of the working people, as it has at certain periods of the preceding epoch. It is the immediate historical task of the working class to tear this apparatus out of the hands of the ruling classes, to break and destroy it and to create in its place a new proletarian apparatus. * * *

Consequently, Communism repudiates parliamentarism as the form of the future; it renounces the same as a form of the class dictatorship of the proletariat; it repudiates the possibility of winning over the parliaments; its aim is to destroy parliamentarism. Therefore, it is only possible to speak of utilizing the bourgeois State organizations with the object of destroying them. The question can be discussed only and exclusively on such a plane. (*Ibid.*, pp. 44 and 46.)

8. *According to the Comintern Congress, the Communist Party is to constitute the general staff of the civil war.*

Real Nature of Civil War

The elementary means of the struggle of the proletariat against the rule of the bourgeoisie is, first of all, the method of mass demonstrations. Such mass demonstrations are prepared and carried out by the organized masses of the proletariat, under the direction of a united, disciplined, centralized Communist Party. Civil war is war. In this war the proletariat must have its efficient political officers, its good political general staff, to conduct operations during all stages of that fight. * * *

The mass struggle means a whole system of developing demonstrations growing ever more acute in form, and logically leading to an uprising against the capitalist order of government. In this warfare of the masses developing into a civil war, the guiding party of the proletariat must, as a general rule, secure every and all lawful positions, making them its auxiliaries in the revolutionary work, and subordinating such positions to the plans of the general campaign, that of the mass struggle. (*Ibid.*, p. 47.)

9. *Communists are instructed to enter parliamentary institutions, blow them up, and destroy them.*

Blow Up Parliamentary Machinery

One such auxiliary support is the rostrum of the bourgeois parliament. Against participating in a political campaign one should not use the argument that parliament is a bourgeois government institution. The Communist Party enters such institutions not for the purpose of organization work, but in order to blow up the whole bourgeois machinery and the parliament itself from within. (*Ibid.*, p. 47.)

10. *The Communist International declared that civil war is on the order of the day in all countries.*

Civil War

All over the world civil war is on the order of the day. Its watchword is—All Power to the Soviets! (The Capitalist World and the Communist International, manifesto of the Second Congress of the Third Communist International, published by the Publishing Office of the Third Communist International, Moscow, 1920, American edition, published by the United Communist Party of America, p. 23.)

11. *The Manifesto of the Second Congress of the Communist International in 1920 specifically called for and encouraged barricade battles.*

Barricade Battles

The pariahs have arisen! Their aroused sentiments extend eagerly towards Soviet Russia, to the barricade battles in the streets of German cities, to the growing strike wave in Great Britain, to the Communist International. (*Ibid.*, p. 25.)

12. *The Comintern attacked those Socialists who refused to support the policy of armed uprising.*

Armed Uprising

The Socialist who aids directly or indirectly in maintaining the privileges of one nation at the expense of another, he who acquiesces in colonial slavery, he who draws a line of distinction between races and colors in the matter of human rights; he who helps the bourgeoisie of the metropolis to perpetuate its domination in the colonies instead of promoting the armed uprising, the British Socialist who fails to support by all possible means the uprisings in Ireland, Egypt and India against the London plutocracy—such a Socialist should not only not get a mandate of confidence from the workers but should be shot or at any rate branded with shame. (*Ibid.*, p. 25.)

13. *The Comintern accused the moderate Socialists of flinching from civil war and terrorism.*

Civil War and Revolutionary Terrorism

The number of victims required in this struggle is great, inasmuch as the conservative Social Democrats still retain their influence in the Independent Social Democracy, constantly reverting to the Social Democracy of the times of Bebel, failing to understand the nature of the present revolutionary epoch, flinching from civil war and revolutionary terrorism, and lingering in the train of events in the expectation of a miracle which is to come to the assistance of their inefficiency. (*Ibid.*, p. 28.)

14. *The following citations from the pen of N. Bucharin are significant because he was for years the leading theoretician of the Communist International next to Lenin. He drafted the program of the Communist International adopted by its Sixth Congress in the summer of 1928. He explained the official Communist attitude on force as follows:*

Revolutionary Force

And so you, Communists, are for force, we may be asked. Certainly, we shall reply. But we are for revolutionary force. First of all we think that by mere gentle persuasion the working class will never attain anything at all. The road of compromise, as preached by the mensheviks and the socialist revolutionaries will lead nowhere. The working class will achieve liberty in no other way except through a revolution, that is to say, through the overthrow of the power of capitalism, through the destruction of the bourgeois State. But every revolution is a form of violence against former rulers. The March revolution in Russia was force against the oppressors, landlords and the czar. The October revolution was force, of the workers, peasants and soldiers, against the bourgeoisie. And such force against those who have oppressed millions of the toiling masses is not wrong—it is sacred. * * *

But the working class is compelled to use force against the bourgeoisie even after the bourgeoisie has been overthrown in an open revolutionary fight. * * *

The proletarian State, similar to other States, is an organization of the dominant class (the dominating class is here the working class) and an organization of force over the bourgeoisie, as a means of putting an end to the bourgeoisie and getting rid of it. * * *

He who is afraid of this kind of force is not a revolutionist. The question of force should not be regarded from the point of view that every kind of force is pernicious. (Programme of the World Revolution, by N. Bucharin, published by the Contemporary Publishing Association, New York, 1920, pp. 18, 19, and 20.)

15. *Bucharin considered the best guarantee of security a bayonet in the hands of the worker. He echoed the words of Frederick Engels.*

Bayonet in Workers' Hands

The best guarantee, the best security for freedom, is a bayonet in the hands of the workers. These are the words of one of the creators of scientific Communism, Frederick Engels. (*Ibid.*, p. 81.)

16. *Bucharin, acting for the Communist International, called for revolts and insurrection in so-called imperialist countries, a term applied by Communists to non-Soviet countries, like the United States.*

Armed Insurrection

We must pursue the tactics of universal support of the International Revolution by means of revolutionary propaganda strikes, and revolts in Imperialist countries and by propagating revolts and insurrections in the colonies of these countries. * * *

The overthrow of Imperialist Governments by means of armed insurrection and the organization of the International Soviet Republic, such is the way to an international dictatorship of the working class. (*Ibid.*, pp. 90 and 91.)

17. He insisted that the Socialist revolution could be accomplished only by force of arms.

Armed Forces of the Revolution. Arm the Workers. Force of Arms

The most efficient means of supporting the international revolution is the organization of armed forces of the revolution. * * *

The better we are organized, the better we arm the battalions of workers and peasants, the stronger will be the proletarian dictatorship in Russia, and the quicker will the cause of international revolution advance. * * *

In Russia, where the revolutionary struggle and the development of the revolution in October caused the question of Socialism and the overthrow of the bourgeois government to be settled; immediately the dispute between the traitors to Socialism and the adherents of true Socialism was decided by force of arms. (*Ibid.*, pp. 91, 92, and 94.)

18. Bucharin scoffed at the possibility of revolution without civil war even in advanced countries.

No Revolution Without Civil War

But there can be no revolution without a civil war. Or do they perhaps imagine that in other more advanced countries Socialist revolutions will take place without civil war? The example of Finland has proved the best evidence of civil war in advanced capitalist countries being even more fierce, more bloody, more cruel and frenzied than ours proved to be. Now we can foresee that in Germany, for instance, the war between the classes will be extremely acute. The German officers are already shooting their soldiers and sailors by hundreds for the slightest attempt at rebellion. It is only through civil war and the iron dictatorship of the workers that Socialism can be attained. Such is the programme of the Communists. (*Ibid.*, p. 95.)

19. In its thesis on tactics the Third Congress of the Communist International in 1921 envisaged a long series of civil wars.

Civil Wars in Capitalist Countries

Thesis on Tactics. The Communist were therefore right in declaring, while the war was still raging, that the period of imperialism was developing into the epoch of social revolution, i.e., of a long series of civil wars in a number of capitalist countries and of wars between the capitalist states on one side and proletarian states and exploited colonial peoples on the other side. (Theses and Resolutions, adopted at the Third World Congress of the Communist International (June 22-July 12, 1921), published by the Contemporary Publishing Association, New York City, 1921, p. 35.)

20. It further insisted that strikes and political conflicts may develop into civil wars.

Civil War to Conquer State Power. Strikes and Civil War

The Communist Party must in this manner convince the widest circles of the proletariat by word and deed, that every economic or political conflict, given the necessary combination of circumstances, may develop into civil war, in the course of which it will become the task of the proletariat to conquer the power of the state.

The bourgeoisie, though apparently conscious of its power and actually bragging about its stability, knows through its leading governments quite well, that it has merely obtained a breathing spell and that under the present circumstances every big strike has the tendency to develop into civil war and the immediate struggle for possession of power. (*Ibid.*, pp. 60, 61.)

21. The Third Comintern Congress urged its followers to secure military training in preparation for revolutionary battles to come.

Provide Workers With Weapons

The proletariat rejects on principle and combats with the utmost energy, every kind of military institution of the bourgeois state, and of the bourgeois class in general. Nevertheless, it utilizes these institutions (army, rifle clubs, citizen guard organizations, etc.) for the purpose of giving the workers military training for the revolutionary battles to come. Intensive agitation must therefore be directed not

against the military training of the youth and workers, but against the militaristic regime, and the domination of the officers. Every possibility of providing the workers with weapons should most eagerly be taken advantage of. (*Ibid.*, pp. 91, 92.)

22. *This gathering also urged the seizure of the factories.*

Seizure of Factories

At a time when the struggle against misery and poverty is the order of the day for millions of workers, when the requisitioning of bourgeois houses is imperative for the solution of the housing problem of the proletariat, when the practical experiences of life force the workers to interest themselves in the question of the arming of the working class, when the seizure of factories by the workers is taking place in various countries, can it be asserted that in such a period the trade unions must not take part in such a struggle and must remain neutral which really means that they must serve the bourgeoisie? (*Ibid.*, pp. 133, 134.)

23. *The Communist International carefully graded all forms of direct action all the way from strikes and street demonstrations to armed uprising.*

Armed Uprising

The basis of the tactics of the trade unions is the direct action of revolutionary masses and their organizations against capitalism. The gains of the workers are in proportion to the degree of direct action and revolutionary activity of the masses. Under "direct action" we mean all forms of direct pressure of the workers upon the employers and the state: boycott, strike, street demonstrations, seizure of the factories, armed uprisings and other revolutionary activity which tend to unite the working class in the fight for Socialism. The aim of the revolutionary trade unions is, therefore, to turn direct action into a weapon of education and fighting ability of the working masses for the social revolution and institution of the dictatorship of the proletariat. (*Ibid.*, p. 143.)

24. *In its call to the workers of all countries in 1921 the Communist International urged them to arm themselves.*

Arm Yourself

A call to new work and new struggles addressed to the proletariat of all countries by the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

* * * Forward to meet new great battles! Arm yourselves for new struggles. Straighten out the general battlefront of the proletariat! (*Ibid.*, p. 192.)

25. *Denouncing the futility of pacifism, the Comintern urged the efficacy of force of arms.*

Force of Arms

For it would be very detrimental to the proletarian struggle for liberation if the working-class were to disarm under the influence of such propaganda instead of arming and fighting on with increasing energy.

Nebulous pacifist and sentimental hopes should not displace the clear realization that the bourgeoisie is able to rule and exploit thanks to the control of the creative and destructive means of production.

The proletariat must acquire the control of both of these if it is to free itself from exploitation and serfdom.

But since its freedom is denied it by force of arms, it must acquire and defend it by force of arms. It must deprive the property-owning class of the military as well as of the political machines, and reconstruct them to serve its own demands and historical task. (*The Worker*, New York, Saturday, June 17, 1922, p. 4. Excerpt from the Theses of the Enlarged Committee of the Communist International, incorporated in an article entitled "Against the Next War the World Revolution.")

(F) PROGRAM OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

The Program of the Communist International was adopted at its Sixth Congress held in the summer of 1928 in Moscow. It is the most

authoritative programmatic document ever issued by that organization as a guide to Communist Parties throughout the world. It has been published and republished in many languages many times and it has never been superseded or repudiated despite the alleged dissolution of the Comintern.

Testifying on September 29, 1939, William Z. Foster, now chairman of the Communist Party, U. S. A., admitted that he accepts the program of the Communist International and that he quoted extensively from this source in his book, *Toward Soviet America*. (Hearings of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, p. 5356.)

Mr. Foster was a member of the presidium of the Communist International. We cite from the Comintern program:

Proletarian Civil Wars. Armed Conflict

The transition from the world dictatorship of imperialism to the world dictatorship of the proletariat extends over a long period of proletarian struggles with defeats as well as victories; a period of continuous general crisis in capitalist relationships and the maturing of socialist revolutions, i.e., of proletarian civil wars against the bourgeoisie; a period of national wars and colonial rebellions which, although not in themselves revolutionary proletarian socialist movements, are nevertheless, objectively, insofar as they undermine the domination of imperialism, constituent parts of the world proletarian revolution; a period in which capitalist and socialist economic and social systems exist side by side in (peaceful) relationship as well as in armed conflict. (Program of the Communist International Together With Its Constitution, published by Workers Library Publishers, New York, 1936, p. 34.)

1. *This document called for forcible invasion of property relationships by the workers.*

Forcible Invasion of Property Relationships by the Proletariat

Proletarian revolution, however, signifies the forcible invasion of the proletariat into the domain of property relationships of bourgeois society, the expropriation of the expropriating classes, and the transference of power to a class that aims at the radical reconstruction of the economic foundations of society and the abolition of all exploitation of man by man. (*Ibid.*, p. 35.)

2. *The Comintern flatly discounted the possibility of capturing power by peaceful means.*

Violent Overthrow of Bourgeois Power

The conquest of power by the proletariat does not mean peacefully "capturing" the ready-made bourgeois state machinery by means of a parliamentary majority. The bourgeoisie resorts to every means of violence and terror to safeguard and strengthen its predatory property and its political domination. Like the feudal nobility of the past, the bourgeoisie cannot abandon its historical position to the new class without a desperate and frantic struggle. Hence the violence of the bourgeoisie can be suppressed only by the stern violence of the proletariat. The conquest of power by the proletariat is the violent overthrow of bourgeois power, the destruction of the capitalist state apparatus (bourgeois armies, police, bureaucratic hierarchy, the judiciary, parliaments, etc.) and substituting in its place new organs of proletarian power, to serve primarily as instruments for the suppression of the exploiters. (*Ibid.*, p. 36.)

3. *The program of the Comintern pointed out that the Soviet state for the establishment of which all Communist Parties strive, is an armed proletarian state. In Communist literature Communist goon squads are usually referred to as the armed proletariat.*

Arms in Hands of Proletariat

The Soviet state completely disarms the bourgeoisie and concentrates all arms in the hands of the proletariat; it is the armed proletarian state. The armed forces under the Soviet state are organized on a class basis, which corresponds to the general structure of the proletarian dictatorship, and guarantees the role of leadership to the industrial proletariat. (*Ibid.*, p. 39.)

4. The Comintern called for confiscation of all property without compensation. In Communist-controlled countries forceful means have been used for this purpose.

Confiscation of Private Property

In this sphere the Communist International advances the following fundamental tasks of the proletarian dictatorship:

"A. Industry, Transport and Communication Services:

"a. The confiscation and proletarian nationalization of all private capitalist undertakings (factories, plants, mines, electric power stations) and the transference of all state and municipal enterprises to the Soviet.

"b. The confiscation and proletarian nationalization of private capitalist railway, waterway, automobile, and air transport services (commercial and passenger air fleet) and the transference of all state and municipal transport services to the Soviets.

"c. The confiscation and proletarian nationalization of private capitalist communication services (telegraphs, telephones and wireless) and the transference of state and municipal communication services to the Soviets.

"B. Agriculture:

"a. The confiscation and proletarian nationalization of all large landed estates in town and country (private church, monastery and other lands) and the transference of state and municipal landed property including forests, minerals, lakes, rivers, etc., to the Soviets with subsequent nationalization of the whole of the land.

"b. The confiscation of all property utilized in production belonging to large landed estates, such as buildings, machinery and other inventory, cattle, enterprises for the manufacture of agricultural products (large flour mills, cheese plants, dairy farms, fruit and vegetable drying plants, etc.)" (*Ibid.*, pp. 40 and 41.)

5. The Comintern reiterated the definition of the dictatorship of the proletariat and called attention to its bloody, violent, and military phases.

Bloody, Violent, and Military Phases of Proletarian Dictatorship

The dictatorship of the proletariat is a continuation of the class struggle under new conditions. The dictatorship of the proletariat is a stubborn fight—bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, pedagogical and administrative—against the forces and traditions of the old society against external capitalist enemies, against the remnants of the exploiting classes within the country, against the upshoots of the new bourgeoisie that spring up on the basis of still existing commodity production. (*Ibid.*, pp. 48 and 49.)

6. Armed demonstrations and armed insurrection conducted under the rules of military science constitute the climax of the various forms of direct action proposed by the Comintern.

Seizure of Property. Armed Demonstrations. Armed Insurrection

In the event of a revolutionary upsurge, if the ruling classes are disorganized, the masses are in a state of revolutionary ferment and the intermediary strata are inclining towards the proletariat, if the masses are ready for action and for sacrifice, the Party of the proletariat is confronted with the task of leading the masses to a direct attack upon the bourgeois state. This it does by carrying on propaganda in favor of increasingly radical transitional slogans (for Soviets, workers' control of industry, for peasant committees for the seizure of the big landed properties, for disarming the bourgeoisie and arming the proletariat, etc.) and by organizing mass action, upon which all branches of the Party agitation and propaganda, including parliamentary activity, must be concentrated. This mass action includes: A combination of strikes and demonstrations; a combination of strikes and armed demonstrations and finally, the general strike conjointly with armed insurrection against the state power of the bourgeoisie. The latter form of struggle, which is the supreme form, must be conducted according to rules of military science; it presupposes a plan of campaign, offensive fighting operations and unbounded devotion and heroism on the part of the proletariat. (*Ibid.*, pp. 80 and 81.)

7. *The Communist International has designated the demand "convert imperialist war into civil war" as one of its fundamental slogans.*

Convert Imperialist War Into Civil War

The fundamental slogans of the Communist International in this connection must be the following: Convert imperialist war into civil war; defeat "your own" imperialist government; defend the U. S. S. R. and the colonies by every possible means in the event of imperialist war against them. (*Ibid.*, p. 84.)

8. *Bringing Marx up to date the Comintern called for the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions.*

Forcible Overthrow of Existing Social Conditions

The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their aims can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all the existing social conditions. (*Ibid.*, p. 85.)

The sixth congress of the Communist International adopted in addition to its program, a resolution on "*The Struggle Against Imperialist War and the Tasks of the Communists*," based upon a report by Palmiro Tagliotti, then known as Ercoli, who was a member of the Presidium of the Comintern, and who is now the active head of the Communist Party of Italy.

This resolution is singularly relevant at the present moment during which the international Communist organization is seeking to label every effort to stem the tide of Soviet expansionism as a step toward imperialist war. It is a standard guide for Communist conduct in the present period, as the following exhibits will show:

Capitalist Overthrow Impossible Without Force

But the overthrow of capitalism is impossible without force, without armed uprising and proletarian wars against the bourgeoisie. In the present epoch of imperialist wars and world revolution, as Lenin has stated, proletarian civil wars against the bourgeoisie, wars of the proletarian dictatorship against bourgeois states and against world capitalism, and national revolutionary wars of the oppressed peoples against imperialism, are inevitable and revolutionary. (*The Struggle Against Imperialist War and the Tasks of the Communists*, published by Workers Library Publishers, New York, second edition, p. 10.)

9. *The Comintern resolution stated that the Communists strive to transform the so-called imperialist war into civil war.*

Transform War Into Civil War

Although convinced that war is inevitable under the rule of the bourgeoisie, the Communists, in the interests of the masses of the workers and of all the toilers who bear the brunt of the sacrifice entailed by war, wage a persistent fight against imperialist war and strive to prevent imperialist war by proletarian revolution. They strive to rally the masses around their standard in this struggle, and if unable to prevent the outbreak of war, they strive to transform it into civil war for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. (*Ibid.*, p. 13.)

10. *Where strikes and demonstrations do not suffice, the Comintern recommended sharper methods of struggle.*

Sharper Methods of Struggle

All the important questions of foreign policy, of armaments, of the introduction of new weapons of war, etc., must be brought before the masses of the workers and utilized for the organization of revolutionary mass action. In this struggle the Communist Party, giving due and sober consideration to its strength, must march boldly and determinedly at the head of the masses. It must organize demonstrations and strikes against the war policy of the imperialist bourgeoisie and, at the proper moment, put to the masses the question of the general strike and of still sharper methods of struggle. (*Ibid.*, p. 20.)

11. The exigencies of civil war proposed by the Communist International require revolutionary mass action in the rear of the army and fraternization at the front.

Civil War to Establish Dictatorship of Proletariat

To transfer the war between the imperialist states into proletarian civil war against the bourgeoisie, for the purpose of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat and Socialism—this transformation to be achieved by means of revolutionary mass action in the rear, and fraternization at the front. (*Ibid.*, p. 21.)

12. The Comintern cautioned against pacifism as a possible obstacle to civil war.

Transform Imperialist War Into Civil War

It is the bounden duty of Communists strongly to combat all peace phrasemongering; for at a certain moment, in the war, this can be utilized by the bourgeoisie as an extremely important ideological weapon to prevent the imperialist war from being transformed into civil war. (*Ibid.*, p. 21.)

13. Communists are called upon to show the relationship between revolutionary mass action and the final act of armed overthrow of the government.

Armed Overthrow of Bourgeoisie

The Communist must tell the workers that the struggle against war is not a single and simultaneous act, and that revolutionary mass action on the part of the workers and poor peasants, in the rear and at the front, for the armed overthrow of the bourgeoisie, is the only proper means of combating war, to which all other means must be directed. (*Ibid.*, p. 22.)

14. The Comintern considered the general strike as a transition form of activity to the armed uprising.

Strike as Step Toward Armed Uprising

Side by side with other revolutionary mass actions (demonstrations, strikes in munition works, transport strikes, etc.), the general strike—as the supreme form of the mass strike movement—is an extremely important weapon, and as a transition to the armed uprising it constitutes a stage in the transformation of imperialist war into civil war. (*Ibid.*, p. 23.)

15. It advised steering the general strike toward the goal of armed rebellion.

Transform General Strike Into Armed Rebellion

The general strike must not be an abstract watchword. It must be the aim and the outcome of our general practical activity. That being the case, the revolutionary proletariat must be ready, in the event of general strike, firmly to steer a course towards transforming the strike into an armed rebellion, if conditions are propitious for that. (*Ibid.*, pp. 23, 24.)

16. The Comintern opposed boycotting the army and preferred the policy of penetrating it in preparation for civil war.

Arming Proletariat. Civil War

It means that the Communists, while strongly combating the harmful and illusory boycott slogan, must agitate for revolutionary work and organization in the bourgeois army, for the arming of the proletariat and for the transforming of imperialist war into civil war. (*Ibid.*, p. 24.)

17. The formation of guerilla forces was recommended as a preparation for civil war. This policy is now being carried out by the Communists in Greece and China.

Formation of Guerilla Forces

If the general situation is favorable for it, Communists must utilize such mass movements for the formation of guerilla forces, and for the immediate development of civil war. This applies especially to countries where strong national-revolutionary movements exist. In such countries the Communists, on the declaration of war—especially war against the Soviet Union—or in the course of the war, if the situation is favorable, must issue the slogan of national-revolutionary rebellion against the imperialists and for the immediate formation of national-revolutionary guerilla forces. (*Ibid.*, p. 25.)

18. Significantly the Comintern pointed out that civil war may break out in normal or peaceful periods. The necessary conditions for such rebellion were clearly outlined.

Civil War Under Normal Capitalism. Study Lesson of Uprising. Preliminary Conditions for Uprising. Preparation for Rebellion. Disintegrating the Army. Rebellion in the Colonies. Time for Rebellion. Rules for Rebellion

The civil wars in Germany in 1920 and 1923, in Bulgaria in 1923, in Esthonia in 1924, and in Vienna in July 1927, prove that proletarian civil war may not only break out in times of bourgeois imperialist wars, but also in the present "normal conditions" of capitalism; for present day capitalism intensified the class struggle to an acute degree and at any moment may create an immediate revolutionary situation. The proletarian uprisings in Shanghai in March 1927, and in Canton in December 1927, contained important lessons for the proletariat, especially in the nationally oppressed colonial and semi-colonial countries. Events in Shanghai particularly show how proletarian uprisings can be utilized as a weapon in a national war against imperialism and its lackeys.

All this makes it incumbent upon the Communists, primarily in connection with struggle against imperialist and counter-revolutionary wars, to put the question of proletarian civil war openly to the masses and to study the lessons of the above-mentioned uprisings.

These lessons are:

(a) In regard to the necessary conditions precedent for rebellion. A revolutionary situation must prevail, i.e., the ruling class must be in a state of crisis, for example, as the result of military defeat. The misery and oppression of the masses must be intensified to an extraordinary degree and the masses must be active and ready to overthrow the government by revolutionary mass action. A tried and tested Communist Party, having influence over the decisive masses of the proletariat, must exist.

(b) In regard to the preparations for rebellion. The rebellion cannot be based solely on the Party; it must be based upon the broad masses of the working class. Of decisive importance is the preparatory work in the proletarian mass organizations particularly in the trade unions; to secure their active participation in the work of preparing for the rebellion, and the creation of special organizations for rebellion, which shall unite the masses. The question of rebellion must be put openly to the masses.

Persistent and intensified work must be conducted for the purpose of disintegrating the bourgeois armies, which work at the moment of the uprising will assume the character of a struggle for the army.

Activities for organizing rebellion and military preparation must both occupy a prominent place in the work among the proletarian masses and among the toilers in the colonies and semi-colonies.

The time for launching the rebellion will be determined by the state of maturity of the objective and subjective prerequisites for it. The time can be fixed definitely only if the closest contact exists between the Party and the masses of the revolutionary proletariat.

(c) In regard to carrying out the rebellion. The rule must be no playing with rebellion. The rebellion once launched must be vigorously prosecuted until the enemy is utterly crushed. Hesitation and lack of determination will cause the utter defeat of the revolutionary armed uprising. The main forces must be thrown against the main forces of the enemy. Efforts must be made to secure the superiority of the

proletarian forces at the decisive moment at the decisive place, and without delay the rebellion must be carried over the widest possible territory. There is an art in rebellion; but rebellion is not purely a military problem, it is primarily a political problem. Only a revolutionary Party can lead a rebellion. On the outbreak of the rebellion the Party must subordinate the whole of its activity to the requirements of the armed struggle. (*Ibid.*, pp. 27, 28.)

19. The Communist International underscored Lenin's prediction that wars for national independence might serve its purposes at times.

Wars and Rebellion

The tendency for national wars and rebellions to become transformed into proletarian wars and rebellions led by the proletariat—a tendency which Lenin predicted already in 1916—has notably increased. (*Ibid.*, pp. 35, 36.)

20. The Communist International agitated for the breaking up of the army by the proletariat.

Break Up Armies

In imperialist States the attitude of the proletariat towards armies is determined by the following:

No matter what their form of organization may be, armies are a constituent part of the bourgeois State apparatus, which the proletariat, in the course of its revolution, must not democratize, but break up. (*Ibid.*, pp. 40, 41.)

21. This supreme body of the world Communist movement recommended the formation of a Red Guard and Red Guerilla detachments in the period prior to the formation of a Red Army.

Arm Proletariat Red Army

The Military Question During the Proletarian Revolution. The main slogans upon which the democratic partial demands are based are: disarm the bourgeoisie; arm the proletariat.

The arming of the proletariat assumes various forms at various stages of the revolution. In the period prior to the seizure of power, and in the first period after the seizure of power, it takes the form of a proletarian militia—a militia of the toilers, the Red Guard, and also Red Guerilla detachments. The Red Army is the form of military organization of the Soviet Government, i. e., it is the army of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The demand for a proletarian militia (a militia consisting of toilers, a workers' and peasants' militia) in an imperialist country is merely another way of formulating the demand for arming the proletariat and can be put forward only in the inevitable transitional stage in the military policy of the proletarian revolution, in the period prior to the organization of the Red Army. (*Ibid.*, pp. 47, 48.)

22. The function of the Red Guard, or Red goon squads, is to be the establishment of the so-called dictatorship of the proletariat or Communist dictatorship.

Red Guard

The Red Guard is an organ of the rebellion. It is the duty of the Communists to agitate for the establishment of such a Red Guard and to organize it when an immediate revolutionary situation arises. * * *

The proletarian militia is the armed organization of the proletariat fighting for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat or, an organ of the proletarian dictatorship for the purpose of suppressing the exploiters. (*Ibid.*, p. 48.)

23. Officer units of the army are to be liquidated under the Communist program.

Liquidation of Army Officers

With regard to the national armies, the military program of Marx and Engels of 1848-1870, i. e., the democratization of these armies for the purpose of converting them into revolutionary armies, must be applied with certain modifications. In regard to the imperialist armies, we can apply only the defeatist program, i. e., disintegration from within. In the event of special officer units or bourgeois class military organizations existing, efforts must be made to isolate and liquidate them. (*Ibid.*, p. 50.)

24. *With characteristic perfidy the Comintern called its goon squads a proletarian militia. These were to be formed to accomplish the actual seizure of power.*

Proletarian Militia. Armed Seizure of Power

In countries passing through the stage of democratic revolution, the slogan for militia will prove inadequate and must therefore be expanded into the slogan: Organize a revolutionary army. This, of course, does not prevent the militia slogan from being advanced at the same time, particularly in preparing for rebellion. It must be noted that arming the proletariat does not contradict the demand for the armed nation; in fact, the armed proletariat is a fundamental part of the armed nation. While participating in the general organizations of the armed nation, it is absolutely essential to set up special, proletarian, armed units commanded by officers elected by these units. * * *

The slogan proletarian militia (a militia of the toilers, a workers' and peasants' militia) takes the place of the demand for a democratic militia. When, in the process of the revolution in the colonies, the question of armed seizure of power arises, the question of organizing a Red Army must be brought up simultaneously with the organization of Soviets. The old, revolutionary, democratic forms of army organization must be substituted by class forms, dictated by the proletariat revolution. (*Ibid.*, pp. 52, 53.)

25. *The Comintern believed in advancing the need of civil war prior to the actual outbreak of war.*

Explain Need for Civil War Before "Imperialist" War Begins

Work must be immediately commenced to explain to the workers why they must stand for the defeat of their imperialist country in the coming war. The slogan "transform imperialist war into civil war," must already become the leading idea in our propaganda, before imperialist war breaks out. (*Ibid.*, p. 66.)

26. *The chief target of Communist tactics in conducting a civil war is to be what they call "the vital parts of the war machine" such as strategic industrial plants, communications, arsenals, etc.*

Transformation of Imperialist War Into Civil War

In fighting against war, the Communist must prepare even now for the transformation of the imperialist war into civil war, concentrate their forces in each country, at the vital parts of the war machine of imperialism. (The *Communist*, a magazine of the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism, published monthly by the Communist Party of the United States of America, February, 1934, vol. XIII, No. 2. Fascism, the Danger of War and Tasks of the Communist Parties, thesis of the Thirteenth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, p. 140.)

27. *The Communist Party, U. S. A., reprinted the Comintern's demand for the confiscation without compensation of all property.*

Crushing of Bourgeois Rule. Confiscation of Property

The Communist Parties must, with all resoluteness, raise before the masses the task of the revolutionary way out of the crisis of capitalism.

Against the quack recipes of the fascists and the social-fascists for saving decayed capitalism, the Communists must prove to the masses that the ills of capitalism are incurable. Therefore, the Communists, while defending in every way the demands of the toilers, must untiringly disclose to the masses who are suffering from starvation and exploitation the whole truth, viz., that their catastrophic conditions will grow worse and worse under the blows of the continuous offensive of capitalism, until the toilers succeed in uniting their forces for a counter-blow and the crushing of bourgeois rule.

There is no way out of the general crisis of capitalism other than the one shown by the October Revolution, via the overthrow of the exploiting classes by the proletariat, the confiscation of the banks, of the factories, the mines, transport, houses, the stocks of goods of the capitalist, the lands of the landlords, the church and the crown. (*Ibid.*, p. 143.)

28. *The Workers Library Publishers, New York official Communist Party, U. S. A. publishing house, has reprinted the Comintern's call for civil war aimed at the vital parts of the country's defenses.*

Concentrate at Vital Parts of War Machine for Civil War

In fighting against war, the Communists must prepare even now for the transformation of the imperialist war into civil war, concentrate their forces in each country, at the vital parts of the war machine of imperialism. (Theses and Decisions of the Thirteenth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International—December, 1933, published by Workers Library Publishers, New York, March, 1934, p. 13.)

29. *The call for transformation of so-called imperialist war into civil war was reiterated by the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International in 1935 and reprinted by Workers Library Publishers.*

Transform Imperialist War Into Civil War

From the Struggle for Peace to the Struggle for Revolution. Should a new imperialist world war break out, despite all efforts of the working class to prevent it, the Communists will strive to lead the opponents of war, organized in the struggle for peace, to the struggle for the transformation of the imperialist war into civil war against the fascist instigators of war, against the bourgeoisie, for the overthrow of capitalism. (A pamphlet published by Workers Library Publishers, New York, November, 1935, Seventh World Congress of the Communist International held in Moscow from July 25 to August 20, 1935, p. 47.)

30. *The same document calls for the victory of the Red Army over our own in the event of a conflict.*

Victory of Red Army

If the commencement of a counter-revolutionary war forces the Soviet Union to set the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army in motion for the defense of socialism, the Communists will call upon all toilers to work with all means at their disposal and at any price, for the victory of the Red Army over the armies of the imperialists. (*Ibid.*, p. 48.)

31. *Georgi Dimitroff, present head of the Communist government of Bulgaria and former general secretary of the Comintern, in his speech to that body in 1935, revived Lenin's teachings on the characteristics and lessons of civil war.*

School for Civil War

"The school of civil war," Lenin says, "does not leave the people unaffected. It is a harsh school, and its complete curriculum inevitably includes the victories of the counter-revolution, the debaucheries of enraged reactionaries, savage punishments meted out by the old governments to the rebels, etc. But only downright pedants and mentally decrepit mummies can grieve over the fact that nations are entering this painful school; this school teaches the oppressed classes how to conduct civil war; it teaches how to bring about a victorious revolution; it concentrates in the masses of present-day slaves that hatred which is always harbored by the downtrodden, dull, ignorant slaves, and which leads those slaves who have become conscious of the shame of their slavery to the greatest historic exploits." Lenin, *Inflammable Material in World Politics*, Selected Works, Vol. IV, Page 298. International Publishers, New York. (Georgi Dimitroff, general secretary of the Communist International, in the Hall of Columns, Moscow, at the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International on August 2, 1935. Published by Workers Library Publishers, New York; second edition, September, 1935; also by International Publishers in 1938 as ch. I in Dimitroff's book, the United Front. Dimitroff—Working Class Unity—Bulwark Against Fascism, pp. 19, 20.)

32. *He further stressed the lessons to be learned from the October Revolution of 1917 led by Lenin as to the necessity for arming the revolution.*

Arm the Revolution

The experience of the October Revolution has demonstrated patently that the basic content of the proletarian revolution is the question of the proletarian dictatorship, which is called to crush the resistance of the overthrown exploiters, to arm the revolution for the struggle against imperialism and to lead the revolution to the complete victory of socialism. (*Ibid.*, p. 66.)

33. *In a history of the Communist International published by the Workers' Library Publishers the decisive part played by the civil war in Russia is explained.*

Transform Imperialist War Into Civil War

On the same day was issued the manifesto of the Central Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (Bolshevik) on the imperialist war. * * *

The manifesto divulges the treachery of the leaders of the Social-Democratic Parties and calls upon all consistent internationalists to explain to the masses the real character of the war, to expose the treachery of these leaders, to break off all relations with them, to carry on work among the masses under the slogan "Down with the imperialist war, transform it into civil war directed against your own governments. Long live proletarian revolution and socialism."

V. LEGAL DETERMINATIONS AS TO COMMUNIST PARTY AND ITS ADVOCACY OF OVERTHROW OF GOVERNMENT BY FORCE AND VIOLENCE

(See also, Pages 564-588, Part Two, for a complete analysis of California antisubversive legislation and applicable court decisions.)

SUPREME COURT DECISIONS

The Schneiderman Case

The Communist Party and its spokesmen have, ever since the opinion in the Schneiderman case (320 U. S. 118, 1943) was handed down by the Supreme Court in the summer of 1943, claimed that this decision established the fact that the Communist Party does not advocate the overthrow of the government by force and violence, whereas in reality the holding in the case was on the narrow issue as to whether the government, in a denaturalization proceeding, had sustained the burden of proof by clear, unequivocal, and convincing evidence that Schneiderman was not in fact attached to the principles of the Constitution. The court determined the government had not sustained the necessary burden of proof.

Moreover, the court expressly stated:

For some time the question whether advocacy of governmental overthrow by force and violence is a principle of the Communist Party of the United States has perplexed courts, administrators, legislators, and students. * * * This court has never passed upon the question whether the party does so advocate and it is unnecessary for us to do so now.

The Bridges Case

Another case often referred to by the Communist Party in an endeavor to prove that one may advocate overthrow of the government by force and violence and still not be subject to deportation under the pertinent statute is that of *Bridges v. Wixon*. (326 U. S. 135, 1945.)

The court in this case merely held (1) that the government had not proved that Bridges was so associated with the Communist Party as to

necessarily advocate the overthrow of the government by force and violence, but that he was in reality cooperating with the Communist Party only in wholly legitimate measures and, therefore, was not so affiliated therewith, in the sense intended by the statute, as to warrant his deportation; and (2) that evidence of affiliation employed to find that Bridges was a member of the Communist Party was improperly admitted. *Nowhere did the court suggest that the Communist Party did not advocate the overthrow of the government by force and violence, since that question was not in issue.*

FEDERAL COURT DECISIONS

Opposed to this refusal on the part of the Supreme Court of the United States to make a judicial determination as to whether the Communist Party advocates the overthrow of the government by force and violence we have the decision of many lower federal courts that the party does so advocate.

Kenmotsu v. Nagle (44 F. 2d 953, 954-955 (C. C. A. 9)); certiorari denied (283 U. S. 832) ; *Saksagansky v. Weedin* (53 F. 2d 13, 16 (C. C. A. 9)); *Wolck v. Weedin* (58 F. 2d 928, 929 (C. C. A. 9)); *Sormunen v. Nagle* (59 F. 2d 398, 399 (C. C. A. 9)); *Branch v. Cahill* (88 F. 2d 545, 546 (C. C. A. 9)); *Berkman v. Tillinghast* (58 F. 2d 621; 622-623 (C. C. A. 1)); *In re Saderquist* (11 F. Supp. 525, 526-527 (D. Me.)); affirmed sub nom., *Sorquist v. Ward* (83 F. 2d 890 (C. C. A. 1)); *United States v. Curran* (11 F. 2d 683, 685 (C. C. A. 2)); certiorari denied sub nom., *Vojnovic v. Curran* (271 U. S. 683) ; *United States v. Smith* (2 F. 2d 90, 91 (W. D. N. Y.)); *Re Worozcyt et al.* (58 Can. Cr. Cas. 161 (Sup. Ct. Nova Scotia, 1932)). Of the three cases mentioned in the opinion of *Schneiderman v. United States* (320 U. S. 118, at 148, fn. 30) as holding to the contrary, one—*Colyer v. Skeffington* (265, Fed. 17 (D. Mass.))—was, as there noted, reversed on appeal (sub nom. *Skeffington v. Katzeff*, 277 Fed. 129 (C. C. A. 1)); and one—*Strecker v. Kessler* (95 F. 2d 976 (C. C. A. 5))—was affirmed by this court, with modification, on other grounds, and without consideration of this point (307 U. S. 22). In the third, *Ex parte Fierstein* (41 F. 2d 53 (C. C. A. 9)), the only evidence adduced in support of the finding was the bare statement of the arresting detective that the party did so advocate.

These courts have uniformly sustained, when based on comparable records, administrative findings to the effect that the Communist Party from its inception in 1919 has believed in, advised, advocated, and taught the overthrow by force and violence of the Government of the United States. Other courts have gone to the extent of holding that the Communist Party, as a matter of law, will be presumed to advocate force and violence even in the absence of specific evidence.

Murdock v. Clark (53 F. 2d 155, 157 (C. C. A. 1)); *United States ex. rel. Yokinen v. Commissioner* (57 F. 2d 707 (C. C. A. 2)); certiorari denied (287 U. S. 607) ; *United States ex. rel. Fernandes v. Commissioner of Immigration* (65 F. 2d 593 (C. C. A. 2)); *United States v. Perkins* (79 F. 2d 533 (C. C. A. 2)); *United States v. Reimer* (79 F. 2d 315, 316 (C. C. A. 2)); *United States ex. Fortmueller v. Commissioner of Immigration* (14 F. Supp. 484, 487 (S. D. N. Y.)); *Ungar v. Seaman* (4 F. 2d

80, 81 (C. C. A. 8)); *Ex parte Jurgans* (17 F. 2d 507, 511 (D. Minn.), affirmed, 25 F. 2d 35 (C. C. A. 8)).

The following are excerpts from opinions of still other federal courts on the advocacy by the Communist Party of the overthrow of the government by force and violence:

Antolish v. Paul et al. (283 F. 957 at p. 959) :

(3) When, therefore, purposes and methods are announced which indicate an overthrow of society and government as now organized, constituted, or claimed to be dominated in language such as "by direct action," by "mass action," by "revolutionary mass action," suggesting "the army of the proletariat," the "revolutionary soldiers," the "red guard," the use of all means of "battle," direct conflict with governmental machinery in open combat, and the like, the query at once arises whether such language is fairly susceptible of a meaning which necessarily excludes all but peaceable or persuasive means and necessarily suggests repugnance to force or violence, or that it excludes any idea except a change so peaceable, yet so certain, that the transition from the old to the new era will come about with a sort of gradual spontaneity, the old quite willingly receding before the new. It suffices to accept the concession, made by counsel upon argument, that it is hardly fair to ascribe to such language a meaning so exceedingly mild. In other words, the concession was made that, of necessity, the means to be used, if success is to be achieved, involved the use of force if and whenever other means prove unavailing.

Skeffington v. Katzeff (277 F. 129, at pp. 132-133) :

We have carefully examined these exhibits for the purpose of ascertaining whether they contain statements which, giving to language its ordinary meaning, would warrant any reasonable mind in reaching the conclusion that the Communist Party teaches or advocates the overthrow by force and violence of this government as now constituted.

Following are some of the declarations of purpose and program which, whether found in the manifesto of the Communist International or in the manifesto and constitution of the Communist Party of America, are binding upon a member of the latter, for in the application for membership the applicant declares "his adherence to the principles and tactics of the party and the Communist International" :

"Communism does not propose to 'capture' the bourgeoisie parliamentary state but to conquer and destroy it. As long as the bourgeoisie state prevails the capitalist class can baffle the will of the proletariat. * * *

"The state is an organ of coercion. * * *

"Therefore it is necessary that the proletariat organize its own state for the coercion and suppression of the bourgeoisie. Proletarian dictatorship is a recognition of that fact; it is equally a recognition of the fact that in the Communist reconstruction of society the proletariat alone counts as a class. * * *

"The proletarian class struggle is essentially a political struggle. It is a political struggle in the sense that its objective is political—overthrow of the political organizations upon which capitalist exploitation depends, and the introduction of a proletarian state power. The object is the conquest by the proletariat of the power of the state. * * *

"The organized power of the bourgeoisie is in the civil state, with its capitalistic army under control of bourgeoisie-junker officers, its police and gendarmes, jailers and judges, its priests, government officials, etc. Conquest of the political power means not merely a change in the personnel of ministries, but annihilation of the enemy's apparatus of government; disarmament of the bourgeoisie, of the counter-revolutionary officers, of the white guard; arming of the proletariat, the revolutionary soldiers, the red guard of workingmen. * * *

"The revolutionary era compels the proletariat to make use of the means of battle which will concentrate its entire energies; namely, mass action, with its logical resultant, direct conflict with the governmental machinery in open combat. All other methods, such as revolutionary use of bourgeoisie parliamentarism, will be of only secondary significance. * * *

"Civil war is forced upon the laboring classes by their archenemies. The working class must answer blow for blow if it will not renounce its own object and its own future, which is at the same time the future of all humanity.

"The Communist Parties, far from conjuring up civil war artificially, rather strive to shorten its duration as much as possible—in case it has become an iron

necessity—to minimize the number of its victims, and above all to secure victory for the proletariat. This makes necessary the disarming of the bourgeoisie at the proper time, the arming of the laborer, and the formation of a Communist army as the protector of the rule of the proletariat and the inviolability of the social structure. Such is the Red Army of Soviet Russia, which arose to protect the achievements of the working class against every assault from within or without. The Soviet Army is inseparable from the Soviet state.”

We think it would be going far afield to say that, from such statements of purpose, no reasonable man could reach the conclusion that force and violence are the necessary instrumentalities for its accomplishment and are contemplated, and that, if consummated, it would overthrow government as now instituted. On the contrary, it seems to us that a program which advocates the disarmament of the armed forces of the existing state, the arming of the laborers and the formation of a Communist army to protect the rule of the proletariat, affords substantial evidence that the Communist Party, of which the relators are confessed and avowed members, teaches and advocates the overthrow of government by force and violence.

United States ex rel. Abern v. Wallis, Commissioner of Immigration
(286 F. 413) :

* * * the manifesto and program of the Communist Party, together with other exhibits in the case, are of such character as to easily lead a reasonable man to conclude that the purpose of the Communist Party is to accomplish its end—namely, the capture and destruction of the state, as now constituted—by force and violence. Since the party has seen fit to use words of general application, which in their popular and ordinary sense may fairly import, and which are appropriate to the use of, force and violence, and which have been found to have that meaning, there is no obligation upon the court to refine and construe the language so as to reach a different result. If force and violence be not within the contemplation of the party, it would be a simple matter to have the absence of such thought clearly appear. As it is, the language used would seem designed to mean all things to all men, and to be fairly susceptible of meaning, even though it does not unequivocally declare in favor of, force and violence.

* * * * *

It may, of course, be suggested that some regard should be had for the imminence of such a possibility, and I am free to say that from the party's organization, as appears in the record, such possibility is not of the immediate future. The act of Congress, however, under which this proceeding was instituted provides for the deportation of aliens who are members of or affiliated with any organization that entertains a belief in, teaches, or advocates the overthrow by force and violence of the Government of the United States. It will thus be observed that the question here is not one of degrees of imminence of overthrow by force and violence, but rather whether that is the ultimate purpose of the organization.

Dunne et al. v. United States (138 F. (2d) 137)

This case involves members of the Socialist Workers Party, a dissident Communist group not affiliated with the Communist International nor officially recognized by either the Communist hierarchy in Moscow or the Communist Party, U. S. A.

Essentially, however, both the official and unofficial groups base themselves upon the teachings of Marx, Engels, and Lenin.

The Socialist Workers Party are followers of Leon Trotsky, who was expelled from the Russian Communist Party. The official Communists are followers of Joseph Stalin. *The legal questions involved are, however, fully relevant to this discussion.*

At pages 148 and 149 in its decision, the court said: The declaration sets forth the program of action to effectuate this overthrow of the existing capitalistic society and the government which supports it. The first step is to build up the strength of the party so that it can have a majority of the exploited classes back of its leadership. The final step is to overthrow the existing government by force. The statements now to

be quoted from the declaration leave no doubt that the final means are to be force and not orderly change:

The belief that in such a country as the United States we live in a free, democratic society in which fundamental economic change can be effected by persuasion, by education, by legal and purely parliamentary methods is an illusion (R. 1182).

The fundamental instruments of the workers' struggle for power cannot be the existing institutions of the governmental apparatus, since these represent basically the interests only of the capitalistic minority (R. 1183).

Whenever the revolutionists find themselves in a Labor Party, they will stand at each stage for those concrete policies and actions which sum up a progressive and class perspective; for complete breaks with the capitalist parties and no support of candidates on capitalist tickets; for direct mass actions and avoidance of limitation to parliamentary activities; for full internal democracy; for support and defense of concrete working-class rights against their invasion from any source, including invasions from candidates of the Labor Party itself; etc. (R. 119).

While relying primarily on mass actions, propaganda, and agitation as the means for furthering its revolutionary aim, the party will also participate in electoral campaigns, though at all times contending against the fatal illusion that the masses can accomplish their emancipation through the ballot box.

That the final use of force to overthrow the Government was the method of the party is further shown by expressions in the official publications of the party, by its leaders, officers, organizers, speakers, lecturers, and writers, and by the privately expressed statements of such. The party opposed Stalin (R. 932-934, 1196, 1266, 1272), supported Trotsky, and adopted and supported the Trotsky program from the beginning of the party (R. 944-945.) After Trotsky arrived in Mexico (January, 1937), various leaders of the party conferred with him there as to policies and actions. In the spring of 1938 and thereafter the matter of the use of defense guards was discussed with him (R. 288, 946-947). He either originated or endorsed the idea of such bodies (R. 286-287, 546, 569, 606, 686, 742-743, 949-950). The guards were to be organizations which party members would foster within labor unions to use force in protection of the unions. They were to grow into a militia and finally into the Red Army (R. 286-289, 415, 491, 546, 606, 716, 968-969, 1085-1086). Such a defense guard was organized in the Teamsters' Local No. 544 at Minneapolis in July or August, 1938 (R. 1044) or in the fall of 1938 (R. 1014, 1102). This record leaves no doubt that force was the ultimate means to be used by the party in the overthrow of the government by the "proletariat." Also, the record is substantial that a plan of organizing this force through the development of defense guards was employed.

United States ex rel. Georgian v. Uhl (271 Fed. 676 (C. C. A. 2d)).

The question whether the advocacy or belief contemplated by the statute (SEC. I and II of the act of October 16, 1918, as amended by the act of June 5, 1920) must relate to "immediate overthrow" has been considered by several courts.

In this case, the court said:

We express no opinion as to the result upon our minds of the evidence adduced at the deportation hearing, beyond this, viz, there was evidence, indeed it was admitted, that though he did not and does not believe in the immediate overthrow of the Government of the United States that position is not the result of any affection for the same or approval of this Republic, nor of any objection to force and violence per se, but only results from an opinion that the time is not ripe. Ripeness is to be attained by teaching, and by the dissemination of the style of literature which it is his business to circulate; when the time is ripe, it is to be hoped that force and violence will not be necessary, but they will be appropriate as soon as they are likely to prevail.

However fantastic the above-outlined social program may seem, it is impossible to say that a professed and avowed effort to hasten its consummation is not evidence of that which the statute forbids.

Turner v. Williams (194 U. S. 279)

This is another case illustrative of the point that advocacy or belief in the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and

violence need not relate to "immediate overthrow" to be within the meaning of the pertinent immigration law.

In this case, the court said :

In that case there was involved the constitutionality of a provision contained in the Immigration Act of 1903 for the deportation of aliens who, at the time of entry, were "anarchists." The argument was made that "conceding that Congress has the power to shut out any alien, the power nevertheless does not extend to some aliens, and that if the act includes all alien anarchists, it is unconstitutional, because some anarchists are merely political philosophers, whose teachings are beneficial rather than otherwise" (p. 292). After pointing out through a dictionary definition that the term "anarchist" is used in the popular sense as "one who seeks to overturn by violence all constituted forms and institutions of society and government, all law and order, and all rights of property, with no purpose of establishing any other system of order in the place of that destroyed" the court said (p. 293) : "The language of the act is 'anarchists, or persons who believe in or advocate the overthrow by force of violence of the Government of the United States or of all forms of law, or the assassination of public officials.' If this should be construed as defining the word 'anarchists' by the words which follow, or as used in the popular sense above given, it would seem that when an alien arrives in this country, who avows himself to be anarchist, without more, he accepts the definition. And we suppose counsel does not deny that this Government has the power to exclude an alien who believes in or advocates the overthrow of the Government or of all governments by force or the assassination of officials. To put that question is to answer it."

The court then reviewed the evidence with reference to the alien involved and came to the conclusion (p. 294) that "we cannot say that the inference was unjustifiable either that he contemplated the ultimate realization of this ideal by the use of force, or that his speeches were incitements to that end."

There is nothing in the legislative history of the phrase "the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States" as used either in the 1920 or 1918 acts or in the prior statutes of 1917, 1907, and 1903, which indicates that Congress intended the phrase to be given such a narrow construction as would include only those aliens or organizations that believe in, teach, or advocate the immediate overthrow of this Government. Congressman Shattuc, the chairman of the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, in presenting to the House the bill which became the 1903 act, and in pointing to some of the evils which it sought to meet, indicated a purpose in the bill as a whole broader than the protection of our Government against a danger of present overthrow :

"* * * it has developed, new elements have been purposely injected into the stream [of immigrants] which, unless checked, threatened not only to seriously pollute it, but also to thrust upon our Nation and the States burdens they should not be called upon to bear.

"By reason of this change the feeling of welcome which had hailed the incoming immigrants from 1821 to 1875 changed to one of alarm lest 'the unguarded gate' might allow entrance too freely to elements discordant and not easily assimilated, as well as burdensome and harmful to the best interests of the country.

"Hence there has arisen the demand growing more and more insistent, that restrictive measures should be enacted to regulate the influx and sift the quality of the incoming aliens. * * *" (35 Congressional Record, 5757).

(The report of the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, accompanying this bill, with respect to the instant provision, stated : "The second class [the class herein involved] was introduced to enable this country to deal effectively with an evil of a most insidious character, by rejecting those aliens whose purpose in seeking the protection and freedom furnished by American institutions is to propagate the doctrine of forcible resistance, by bloodshedding if necessary, to organize law and order, upon the theory that an effective treatment of the evil can be best secured by refusing admission to the teachers and disciples of a system not indigenous to the soil of this country"—H. Rept. No. 982, 57th Cong., 1st sess., p. 3.)

Portions of the foregoing are excerpts from the brief of the United States Government in the case of *Kessler v. Strecker* (307 U. S. 22 (1939)),

FINDINGS OF FACT BY ATTORNEY GENERAL BIDDLE IN THE HARRY BRIDGES CASE

On May 28, 1942, Attorney General Biddle in his opinion in the case of Harry Bridges, on pages 31 and 32, made the following findings of fact relative to the Communist Party of the United States:

That the Communist Party of the United States of America, from the time of its inception in 1919 to the present time, is an organization that believes in, advises, advocates, and teaches the overthrow by force and violence of the Government of the United States.

That the Communist Party of the United States of America, from the time of its inception to the present time, is an organization that writes, circulates, distributes, prints, publishes, and displays printed matter advising, advocating, or teaching the overthrow by force and violence of the Government of the United States.

That the Communist Party of the United States of America, from the time of its inception to the present time, is an organization that causes to be written, circulated, distributed, printed, published, and displayed printed matter advising, advocating, and teaching the overthrow by force and violence of the Government of the United States.

That the Communist Party of the United States of America, from the time of its inception to the present time, is an organization that has in its possession for the purpose of circulation, distribution, publication, issue, and display, printed matter advising, advocating and teaching the overthrow by force and violence of the Government of the United States.

On pages 7, 8, and 9 of his report the Attorney General stated the following relative to the history of the Communist Party, its aims and purposes:

The Communist Party of the United States, a section of the so-called Third International, was founded in 1919, and, after its name was changed several times, finally became the Communist Party of the United States of America in 1929. The Third International advocated the class struggle, which was described as entering the phase of civil war in America. Illegal methods were also advocated, where necessary, to carry on its work; systematic agitation in the Army, the renouncing of patriotism, and the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism.

The American "section" adopted a program declaring: "The Communist Party will systematically and persistently propagate the idea of the inevitability of and necessity for violent revolution and will prepare the workers for armed insurrection as the only means of overthrowing the capitalist state."

The Communist Party teaches the violent overthrow of existing governments, including the United States. This concept reaches back to the famous manifesto of Marx and Engels of 1848, which declares: "The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions."

In the *Thesis and Statutes of the Third International* (1920) this doctrine is expanded:

"The mass struggle means a whole system of developing demonstrations growing ever more acute in form and logically leading to an uprising against the capitalistic order of government." Lenin speaks of the necessity of violent revolution.

This and much other documentary evidence introduced by the Government, and the oral evidence of a number of witnesses to the same effect, who testified that the Communist Party of the United States had indoctrinated its members with these purposes, establishes, as Judge Sears concludes, that it is an organization that advises, advocates, and teaches the overthrow by force and violence of the Government of the United States.

The evidence also sustained the Government's contention that the party writes, circulates, distributes, prints, publishes, and displays printed matter advising such overthrow, so that the party comes within the purview of the statute. This also Judge Sears found.

VI. HISTORICAL PRECEDENTS AS TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY'S ADVOCACY OF THE OVERTHROW OF THE GOVERNMENT BY FORCE AND VIOLENCE

In a printed document, Hearings Before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, Sixty-eighth Congress, first session, entitled *Recognition of Russia*, at page 530, the

following statement of Robert F. Kelley, Division of Eastern European Affairs, Department of State, appears:

It is believed that the evidence presented by the Department of State at this hearing has conclusively established three facts:

First, the essential unity of the Bolshevik organization known as the Communist Party, so-called Soviet Government, and the Communist International, all of which are controlled by a small group of individuals, technically known as the political bureau of the Russian Communist Party.

Second, the spiritual and organic connection between this Moscow group and its agent in this country—the American Communist Party and its legal counterpart, the Workers' Party. Not only are those organizations the creation of Moscow, but the latter has also elaborated their program and controlled and supervised their activities. While there may have existed in the United States individuals, and even groups, imbued with Marxist doctrines prior to the advent of the Communist International, the existence of a disciplined party equipped with a program aiming at the overthrow of the institutions of this country by force and violence is due to the intervention of the Bolshevik organizations into the domestic political life of the United States. The essential fact is the existence of an organization in the United States created by and completely subservient to a foreign organization striving to overthrow the existing social and political order of this country.

Third, the subversive and pernicious activities of the American Communist Party and the Workers' Party and their subordinate and allied organs in the United States are activities resulting from and flowing out of the program elaborated for them by the Moscow group.

JUSTICE DOUGLAS' STATEMENT

The New York *Times* of March 23, 1948, quotes Hon. William O. Douglas, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, as stating that Communism places state power in the hands of one small clique, enforces that power by secret police with the weapons of murder and terror, and sees to it that the people are deprived of the means of replacement and change. While this statement is not an official judicial decision, it is worthy of note as coming from a member of the United States Supreme Court.

From all of the above-quoted legal authorities, it is indisputably clear that, as presently constituted, the Communist Party of the United States advocates the overthrow by force and violence of the Government.

VI. DEFINITIONS

Finally, we come to the legal meaning of the words "civil war," "force," "violence," and "aggression." Some of the preceding material sheds light on this matter and additional excerpts from the following authorities and opinions of courts are helpful:

American Jurisprudence, volume 56, section 2, defines "public war; civil war," as follows:

War is an armed struggle or contest by force carried on for any purpose between two or more nations or states exercising at least de facto authority over persons within a given territory and commanding an army prepared to observe the ordinary laws of war. War also may be defined as consisting in the exercise of force by bodies politic against each other and under the authority of their respective governments with a purpose of coercion, and as that state in which a nation prosecutes its rights or its claims by force of arms. War is thus to be distinguished from insurrection and rebellion. The latter terms are used to describe open and active opposition of a number of citizens or subjects of a country or state to its government; neither insurrection nor rebellion constitutes war in a legal sense prior to the recognition of the participants as belligerents by the existing domestic governments or by foreign nations. Those who join in an insurrection or rebellion of major proportions may, however, be

recognized by the existing government as belligerents; and when the hostilities conducted attain such dimensions as to interfere with the exercise of the functions of the existing government and interrupt the regular course of justice, and particularly where the existing government's jurisdiction has been entirely suspended in some of the territorial districts, a state of civil war exists, which is ordinarily accompanied by the incidents of an international war.

An armed struggle between two opposing and contending factions of the state ordinarily for the control of the state government, is termed a "civil" war; an armed struggle between two nations in external matters is a "public" war.

Volume 64 Federal Digest, page 226, has the following comment on civil war:

United States, Michigan, 1870: General usage of nations regards civil war as entitling both the contending parties to all the rights of war as against each other, and even as it respects neutral nations (*Miller v. United States* (78 U. S. 268; 11 Wall. 268; 20 L. Ed. 135)).

United States, New York, and Massachusetts, 1862: When parties in rebellion occupy and hold in hostile manner a certain portion of territory, declare their independence, cast off their allegiance, organize armies, and commence hostilities against their former sovereign, the parties in rebellion are "belligerents" and the contest is a "war" (*The Army Warwick* (67 U. S. 635; 2 Black; 17 L. Ed. 459) and, C. C. N. Y., *The Hiawatha* (Fed. Cas. No. 6450, which affirmed Fed. Cas. No. 6451; Blatchf. Pr. Cas. 1; 18 Leg. Int. 332)).

When the regular course of justice is interrupted by revolt, rebellion, or insurrection so that courts of justice cannot be kept open, "civil war" exists and hostilities may be prosecuted on same footing as if those opposing the government were foreign enemies invading the land (*The Army Warwick* (67 U. S. 635; 2 Black 635; 17 L. Ed. 459) and, C. C. N. Y., *The Hiawatha* (Fed. Cas. No. 6450, which affirmed Fed. Cas. No. 6561; Blatchf. Pr. Cas. 1; 18 Leg. Int. 332)).

The permanent edition No. 7 of Words and Phrases at page 344, has the following to say about "civil war":

A civil war exists when a party is formed in a state which no longer obeys the sovereign, and is of strength sufficient to make head against him. A civil war breaks the bands of society and government, or, at least, it suspends their forces and effect (*Juando v. Taylor* (13 Fed. Cas. 1179, 1183)).

Custom appropriates the term "civil war" to every war between the members of one and the same political society. If it be between part of the citizens on one side and the sovereign, with those who continue in obedience to him, on the other—provided those in rebellion have any reason for taking up arms—nothing further is required to entitle such disturbances to the name of "civil war" instead of "rebellion" (*Hubbard v. Harnden Exp. Co.* (10 R. I. 244, 246, quoting Vattel, *Law of Nations*, Chitty's Ed., book 3, c. 18, p. 421)).

"Force," as defined by Webster's New International Dictionary, second edition, is:

Strength or power, of any degree exercised without law or contrary to law upon persons or things; violence. In cases of forcible entry, robbery, rape, etc., the word "force" is generally interpreted as including not only actual application of physical force, but such threats or display of physical force as are reasonably calculated to "inspire fear of death or bodily harm."

Following are three cases which define "force" and "violence":

Stromberg v. California (283 U. S. 359, 367): "Thus in one opinion it is said: Appellant's counsel concedes that sedition laws which 'interdict against the use of force or violence' are consistently upheld by the courts, and all of the authorities cited by him support that proposition. * * * Sedition is defined as the stirring up of disorder in the state, tending toward treason, but lacking an overt act. Certainly the 'advocacy of force or violence' in overturning the government of a state falls within that definition."

Gitlow v. New York (268 U. S. 652, 662-664, 665-666): "The court of appeals held that the manifesto 'advocated the overthrow of this government by violence, or by unlawful means.' In one of the opinions representing the views of a majority of

the court, it was said: 'It will be seen * * * that this defendant through the manifesto * * * advocated the destruction of the state and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. * * * To advocate * * * the commission of this conspiracy or action by mass strike whereby government is crippled, the administration of justice paralyzed, and the health, morals, and welfare of a community endangered, and this for the purpose of bringing about a revolution in the state, is to advocate the overthrow of organized government by unlawful means.' In the other it was said: 'As we read this manifesto * * * we feel entirely clear that the jury were justified in rejecting the view that it was a mere academic and harmless discussion of the advantages of communism and advanced socialism' and 'in regarding it as a justification and advocacy of action by one class which would destroy the rights of all other classes and overthrow the state itself by use of revolutionary mass strikes. It is true that there is no advocacy in specific terms of the use of * * * force or violence. There was no need to be. Some things are so commonly incident to others that they do not need to be mentioned when the underlying purpose is described.'

"The means advocated for bringing about the destruction of organized parliamentary government—namely, mass industrial revolts usurping the functions of municipal government, political mass strikes directed against the parliamentary state, and revolutionary mass action for its final destruction—necessarily imply the use of force and violence, and in their essential nature are inherently unlawful in a constitutional government of law and order. That the jury were warranted in finding that the manifesto advocated not merely the abstract doctrine of overthrowing organized government by force, violence, and unlawful means, but action to that end is clear."

Lewin v. United States (62 F. (2d) 619, 620): "We agree that the statute contemplates opposition to, or interference with, the officers by the use of force, that it does not apply to escape by stealth, and that, if the smoke screen had no effect except to obscure the *Lassgehn*, no crime would be committed under it. According to the government's evidence, however, the effect of the smoke screen when breathed was to make the helmsman of the cutter sufficiently ill to incapacitate him from performing his duties. We have no doubt that this was a violation of the statute, without regard to whether that result was or was not intended. Force may be chemical as well as physical; poison gas may be as deadly as a bullet. Anything which interferes with the physical ability of officers of the law is within the scope of this statute."

We cite the definitions contained in *Words and Phrases* on "force," "constructive force," "physical force," "implied force," "use of force," "violence," "aggression," and "aggressors."

Volume 17 of the permanent edition at page 237 has the following comment:

Terms "violence" and "force" are synonymous when used in relation to assault, and include any application of force even though it entails no pain or bodily harm and leaves no mark (*People v. James* (48 P. 2d 1011, 1012; 9 Cal. Ap. 2d 162)).

Volume 8 of the permanent edition at page 819 gives us the following information on "constructive force":

As related to the commission of robbery, "actual force" is applied to the body, while "constructive force" is by threatening words or gestures, and operates on the mind (*Jones v. State* (88 S. W. 217, 220; 48 Tex. Cr. R. 363; 1 L. R. A., N. S., 1024; 122 Am. St. Rep. 759; 13 Ann. Cas. 455)).

The pocket part of volume 32, at page 496, has the following comment on "physical force":

"Violence" is defined by Webster to be "physical force; strength of action or motion." *Bouvier's Law Dictionary* says it is "the abuse of force; that force which is employed against any rights, against the laws, and against public liberty" (*Commonwealth v. Rhoads* (Pa., 2 Chest. Co. Rep. 146)).

Violence, according to the law dictionaries, is synonymous with "physical force." According to the *American and English Encyclopedia of Law*, it is a general term, and includes all sorts of force; and in *High v. State* (10 S. W. 238; 26 Tex. App. 545, 573; 8 Am. St. Rep. 488) it was held that a mere assault was not violence (*Alexander v. State* (50 S. W. 716, 717; 40 Tex. Cr. R. 395)).

Volume 20 of the pocket edition in the 1947 annual pocket part at page 62 states as follows re "implied force":

Conduct of agents of assignee of conditional sales contract in retaking automobile which was such as to imply force or to cause buyer to yield to demands of agents would constitute "implied force" which would sustain action of trespass against assignee (*American Discount Co. v. Wyckroff* (191 So. 790, 794; 29 Ala. App. 82)).

Volume 43 of the permanent edition at page 524 has the following comment on the words "use of force":

The words "use of force" are used to describe conduct which invades any of another's interests of personality and so is, unless privileged, a battery, assault, or false imprisonment (Restatement, Torts), 117).

Volume 44 of the permanent edition at page 291-292 gives us the following comment on the word "violence":

In a prosecution under Laws 1919, page 518, for criminal syndicalism by soliciting persons to join the IWW, an instruction that "sedition" means to speak or write against the character and Constitution of the Government or seek to change it by any means except those prescribed by law was prejudicial error; the term "sedition" was shown by the accompanying words in the statute, "crime, violence, intimidation, or injury," being used as meaning something more than theoretical discussion (*State v. Aspelin* (203 p. 964, 965; 118 Wash. 331)).

Within Act of October 16, 1918, paragraph 1 (8 U. S. C. A., par. 137) authorizing deportation of alien members of organizations advocating the forcible overthrow of the Government, "overthrow" means more than radical change in the form and functions of the Government. An organization for the avowed purpose of changing our Government by the use of a general strike is not seeking the overthrow of the Government by force or violence, within Act of October 16, 1918, paragraph 1 (8 U. S. C. A., par. 137) even if "force," as used therein, is not synonymous with "violence," since it does not mean force of the religious, moral, political, or economic kind, especially in view of the context, dealing with assassination, destruction of property, and similar kinds of force, and since the general trend of legislation is to protect, and not to restrict, the right to strike (*Colyer v. Skeffington* (D. C. Mass.; 265 F. 17, 61)).

Volume 44 of the permanent edition at pages 292-293 has the following comment on the words "force" and "physical force":

The word "violence" is one of the synonyms of the word "force" (*State v. Daly* (18 P. 357, 358; 16 Or. 240)).

Terms "violence" and "force" are synonymous when used in relation to assault, and include any application of force even though it entails no pain or bodily harm and leaves no mark (*People v. James* (48 P. 2d 1011, 1012; 9 Cal. App. 2d 162)).

The word "violence," in the common-law definition of robbery as a felonious taking of money or goods of any value from the person of another, or in his presence, against his will, by violence or putting in fear, has the same meaning as the word "force" in the statutory definition of the crime (*Long v. State* (12 Ga. 292, 320)).

"Violence" is force, physical force; force unlawfully exercised (*Agee v. Employers' Liability Assur. Corporation, Limited, of London, Eng.* (253 S. W. 46, 48; 213 Mo. App. 693)).

Criminal Syndicalism Act, pages 1, 2, defining criminal syndicalism, held not unconstitutional as vague, or as failing to fix an ascertainable standard of guilt; "sabotage" signifying a willful act of destruction, and "violence" meaning unlawful exercise of physical force, or intimidation by its exhibition and threat of employment (*People v. Ruthenberg* (201 N. W. 358, 361; 229 Mich. 315)).

The 1947 annual pocket part of volume 44 of the permanent edition at page 54 comments upon the words "violence" and "force" as follows:

"Violence" means a concerted intent of the perpetrators to mutually assist one another against all who should oppose them in the doing of an unlawful act (*Waller v. Northern Ins. Co. of New York* (18 N. E. 2d 906, 908, 910; 370 Ill. 283; 121 A. L. R. 244)).

The forcible stopping of automobiles and intimidating occupants by gathering in large numbers constitutes forcible "violence" (*Ex parte Bell. Cal.* (122 P. 2d 22, 32; 19 Cal. 2d 488); *Salem Mfg. Co. v. First American Fire Ins. Co. of New York* (C. C. A. Or.; 111 F. 2d 797, 804)).

"Violence" is force, physical force, force unlawfully exercised, the abuse of force, that force which is employed against common right, against the laws, and against public liberty (*Anderson-Berney Bldg. Co. v. Lowry* (Tex. Civ. App., 143 S. S. 2d 401, 403)).

"Violence" denotes the unjust or unwarranted exercise of force, usually with the accompaniment of vehemence, outrage, or fury. Force, violence, compulsion, coercion, constraint agree in the idea of the exertion of power against the will, wish, or consent (*People v. McIlwain* (130 P. 2d 131, 134; 55 Cal. App. 2d 322)).

The 1947 annual pocket part of volume 2 of the permanent edition at page 166 gives the following comment on the word "aggressor":

One who first employs hostile force (*Penn. v. Henderson* (146 P. 2d 760, 766; 174 Or. 1)).

The Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Maxim Litvinov, in 1933 proposed as one of five acts constituting aggression:

Support to armed units which have been organized on its territory and have invaded the territory of another state.

Worcester's dictionary, unabridged, defines "aggress" as "to commit a first act of violence or injury" and defines "aggressor" as "a violent assailant."

"The dictatorship of the proletariat can not be effectively realized without 'belts' to transmit power from the vanguard (Communist Party) to the mass of the advanced class, and from this to the mass of those who labor."

JOSEPH STALIN, quoting V. I. Lenin, in "Problems of Leninism,"
International Publishers, 1928, pp. 29, 30.

OFFICIAL CITATIONS OF COMMUNIST FRONTS AND PUBLICATIONS

The following is a compilation by the Senate Committee on Un-American Activities of organizations and publications that have been cited as Communist, Communist-dominated or Communist-infiltrated, by official agencies. Publications are cited separately and will be found on Pages 381-410.

Only the finding of official agencies at the federal, state, county and municipal levels, are included in this compilation.

The list revises and brings up to date the listing of front organizations on Pages 91-393 of this committee's 1948 Fourth Report to the Legislature; and also the compilation of "Citations by Official Government Agencies," released by the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities in December, 1948, in a limited printing; and makes available for the first time to legislators and to a large number of California officials and community leaders this valuable reference material.

OFFICIAL SOURCES

Following is a list of the official agencies whose citations have been compiled in this reference section:

Attorney General Tom Clark; former Attorney General Francis Biddle; the congressional Committee on Un-American Activities and its predecessor, the Special Committee on Un-American Activities; the California Senate Committee on Un-American Activities and its predecessor committees; the Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities; the Rapp-Coudert committee (Joint Legislative Committee to Investigate Procedures and Methods of Allocating State Moneys for Public School Purposes and Subversive Activities, New York State); a special subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations; the Washington State Committee Investigating Un-American Activities; Wisconsin Committee on the Investigation of Charges of Communistic Teachings and Other Subversive Activities; the New York City Council Committee investigating the Municipal Civil Service Commission; and the Pennsylvania Commonwealth Council.

This committee repeatedly has warned that the Communists continuously conduct a "scientific" Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist program of

attempting to smear, discredit and belittle any factual exposure of Communist conspiracy in an attempt to confuse and befuddle the average American on the subject.

The standard Communist technique is to denounce any exposure or criticism of Communism and appeasement or apology for Communism as "vicious red-baiting" and to insinuate slyly that official citations are based on careless, unsupported, irresponsible decisions. Nothing could be further from the truth.

Your Senate committee and its predecessor committees, as well as the various Congressional committees, attorneys general and legislative and other official investigating committees, whose citations are presented herewith, have devoted long, arduous and careful study to the difficult task of penetrating through the smokescreen of Stalinist propaganda and trickery that surrounds Communist-front activity.

REDS WON'T DEBATE FACTS

It is a matter of record that the loud clamor of Communists and their apologists always is couched in vague generalities and that their accusations of "unfair smearing" never descend from the clouds of generalized vituperation to the debatable and provable level of specific facts.

Your committee again reminds the Legislature and the people of California that there have been developed by this committee and by other investigating agencies, simple, sensible and practical methods and formulae to be used as yardsticks in evaluating Stalinist activity.

These methods have been explained repeatedly in simple language and still the Communists and their apologists continue to lie and misrepresent about the technique of determining the citation of a Communist-front activity or a Stalinist individual's record.

The committee, therefore, presents herewith a brief preface in which we have compiled, condensed and brought up to date a clear and simple restatement of the best material available from the official statements of this and other committees and agencies on the technique for determining the Communist character of the activities of an individual or organization.

THE IDENTIFICATION OF RED FRONTS

Communist-front organizations are characterized by their common origin, the rigid conformity of these organizations to the Communist pattern, their interlocking personnel, and their methods generally used to deceive the American public. Being part of a conspiratorial movement, their essence is deception.

During the first few years of the Communist International, immediately following the stimulus of the Russian revolution, its international appeal was stridently revolutionary. As world economic conditions improved following the First World War, the international revolutionary movement began to wane. The Hungarian and German Communist revolutions failed and the Communist International began to lose strength. Hence it was deemed necessary to moderate the earlier revolutionary appeal, to adopt middle-of-the-road slogans, and to build so-called united-front organizations, as bridge and supporting organizations in the interest of the international Communist movement.

One of the leading organizers of these "innocent" organizations on an international scale was Willi Munzenberg, a prominent German Communist, whose organizing ability won him the sobriquet of the "Henry Ford of the Communist International." Munzenberg was engagingly frank in describing the real purpose of these organizations:

1. To arouse the interest of those millions of apathetic and indifferent workers * * * who simply have no ear for Communist propaganda. These people we wish to attract and arouse through new channels, by means of new ways.

2. Our sympathetic organizations should constitute bridges for the nonparty workers * * * who have not yet mustered the courage to take the final step and join the Communist Party, but who are nevertheless in sympathy with the Communist movement and are prepared to follow us part of the way.

3. By means of the mass organizations we wish to extend the Communist sphere of influence in itself.

4. The organizational linking up of the elements in sympathy with the Soviet Union and with the Communists. * * *

5. We must build up our own organizations in order to counteract the increasing efforts of the bourgeois and social-democratic parties in this respect, and

6. Through these sympathetic and mass organizations we should train the cadres of militants and officials of the Communist Party possessing organizational experience.

(*Speech before the Sixth Congress of the Communist International in Moscow, July 20, 1928. International Press Correspondence, vol. 8, No. 42, Aug. 1, 1928, pp. 751, 752.*)

In his *Problems of Leninism*, a standard textbook and guide for Communists throughout the world, Joseph Stalin emphasized the need of these front or mass organizations which he called "transmission belts":

The proletariat needs these belts, these levers, and this guiding force [the Communist Party—Ed.]. * * * Lastly we come to the party of the proletariat, the proletarian vanguard. Its strength lies in the fact that it attracts to its ranks the best elements of all the mass organizations of the proletariat, without exception, and to guide their activities toward a single end, that of the liberation of the proletariat.

Stalin quoted Lenin in support of his argument:

The dictatorship [of the proletariat] cannot be effectively realized without "belts" to transmit power from the vanguard [the Communist Party—Ed.] to the mass of the advanced class, and from this to the mass of those who labor (pp. 29, 30).

We cite the instructions of Otto Kuusinen, secretary of the Communist International, in his report at the Sixth Plenum [plenary session] of the Executive Committee of the Communist International:

The first part of our task is to build up, not only Communist organizations, but other organizations as well, above all mass organizations, sympathizing with our aims, and able to aid us for special purposes. * * * We must create a whole solar system of organizations and smaller committees around the Communist Party, so to speak, smaller organizations working actually under the influence of our party. (*Quotations taken from the Communist, May 1931, pp. 409-423.*)

The rise of Adolf Hitler to power created a new threat to the Soviet Union and to the international Communist movement. Hence the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, in 1935, gave an added impetus to the creation of front organizations under Communist initiative and leadership, the chief purpose of which was to protect and serve the Communist Party and the Soviet Union. The ability of the Communists to ensnare large numbers and influential individuals, to serve as decoys in operating these fronts, reached its high point following the Seventh Congress in 1935.

The methods employed by the Communists in establishing and operating these front organizations, methods demonstrated by the various

organizations herein cited, have been well summarized by a former high official of the Communist Party of the United States:

A front organization is organized by the Communist Party in the following fashion: First, a number of sympathizers who are close to the party and whom the party knows can be depended upon to carry out party orders, are gotten together and formed into a nucleus which issues a call for the organization of a particular front organization which the party wants to establish. And generally after that is done a program is drawn up by the party, which this provisional committee adopts. Then, on the basis of this provisional program, all kinds of individuals are canvassed to become sponsors of the organization, which is to be launched in the very near future. A provisional secretary is appointed before the organization is launched and in every instance in our day the secretary who was appointed was a member of the Communist Party. * * * And as president of the organization we would put up some prominent public figure who was willing to accept the presidency of the organization, generally making sure that, if that public figure was one who would not go along with the Communists, he was of such a type that he would be too busy to pay attention to the affairs of the organization. * * *

On the committee that would be drawn together, a sufficient number of Communists and Communist Party sympathizers, who would carry out party orders, was included, and out of this number a small executive committee was organized * * * which carried on the affairs of the organization, so-called, and this small executive committee, with the secretary, really ran the organization. And this small committee and the secretary are the instruments of the Communist Party, with the result that when manifestos or decisions on campaigns are made, those campaigns are ordered by the Communist Party. (*Hearings of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities*, vol. 7, pp. 4716, 4717, 4718.)

In judging the individuals associated with Communist-front organizations, to determine the degree of their responsibility for its activities and their closeness to the Communist Party, one should be guided by consideration of the following categories of individuals included within them:

1. Members of the Communist Party who have openly avowed their affiliation.
2. Members of the Communist Party, not openly avowed, proven to be such on the basis of documentary or other proof.
3. Those accepting Communist Party discipline, either secret party members or outsiders who accept such discipline and instruction. This category may be recognized by the regularity with which it follows the line of the Communist Party, throughout all its variations, by the number of different front affiliations, by the posts they occupy in these front organizations, and by the fact that they retain their affiliation after the organization has been publicly exposed.
4. Those who have been attracted by the high-sounding aims of the front organization or organizations, by the prominence of its sponsors, or by a desire to be sociable. The judgment of such persons is certainly open to criticism just as much as if they aided in launching any other hoax.

THE TELL-TALE MARKS OF STALINISM

For the guidance of the American people in detecting Communist-front organizations, we present the following criteria from the committee's 1948 Fourth Report, pages 83-89:

The committee presents in its * * * report a comprehensive and definitive analysis of the various types and classifications of Communist-front groups.

This compilation describes and interprets Communist-front groups in two major divisions:

- (1) Organizations classified according to the proportion of Communist influence; and
- (2) Organizations classified according to the purpose or objective for which they are organized or infiltrated by Communists.

The average American will find that if he or she studies this orderly presentation of the degrees of Communist influence, and the purposes for which Communists seek to influence any organization, it will bring order out of chaos and will enable him or

her to evaluate and judge the nature and character of any organization from its methods, procedures, policies and public conduct.

The same criteria that may be used to evaluate and judge the Stalinist character of an organization, also may be used successfully to evaluate and determine the Stalinist character of an individual.

STALINISM IS A DISEASE

Many responsible agencies, legislative committees, police authorities, and expert students of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism have compiled lists of activities and policies that stamp individuals and organizations as Stalinist.

The symptoms of Stalinist activity are such that it is possible to interpret the Communist fever chart of an individual or organization, just as a physician, who has studied the stigma and symptoms of disease, can chart the condition of a patient. Communism is a disease of the individual and the political organism. The first step a doctor takes to plan a cure for a disease is to study the patient's symptoms. The same sensible practice should be followed in dealing with an individual or organization suspected of Stalinist troubles.

The committee has compiled, after extensive research, a complete listing of the outstanding symptoms and indications of Communism and Stalinism in an organization.

The points of identification have been assembled into a series of questions. The factual answer to these questions will provide a report on the Stalinist character of an organization. With slight modification they also can be used to check the Stalinist character of an individual.

Basic Test of a Communist-Stalinist Organization

There are nine basic tests that can be applied to any organization to determine its Communist or Stalinist character.

These nine points may be determined by the answers to the following questions:

- (1) Who are the organization's sponsors?
- (2) Who are the individuals and organizations who call for the group's formation?
- (3) Who does the printing and who directs and writes the organization's publicity?
- (4) What are the organization's policies?
- (5) What are the organization's tactics?
- (6) What is the organization's attitude on foreign affairs?
- (7) What is its attitude on domestic affairs?
- (8) What is its attitude on national security?
- (9) What is its attitude on Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism?

(1) *Sponsorship*

(a) Are the sponsors or signers of meetings, calls, conferences, conventions, etc., individuals who have records of public sponsorship, membership, public statements, donations, etc., in a series of Stalinist organizations and causes?

(b) Was the organization first announced and consistently publicized in the Communist and left-wing press?

(c) Do known Communist organizations and Communists have a prominent hand in promoting or initiating the organization?

(d) Is the organization endorsed by Communist dominated unions?

(e) Does the organization attract well-known patriotic anti-Communist liberals, or does it denounce and reject them?

(2) *Organization*

(a) Are key positions in the control of Communists? (Key positions include the chairman, secretary, secretary-treasurer, editor, publicist, attorney, and other paid or honorary staff positions, providing access to membership lists, financial records, emergency authority, and control of publications and public statements in the name of the organization.)

(b) Are the constitution and by-laws and rules of procedure so drawn as to permit a trained minority to control or disrupt the organization against the wishes of the majority if Communist tactics so decide?

(c) Does the organization's constitution or by-laws contain provisions for excluding from membership and participation, known Communists, Fascists, and other subversive individuals; or does it welcome Communists into membership and denounce any attempt to ban Communists as "red-baiting" and "splitting tactics"?

(d) Did the organization spring into existence overnight for some allegedly worthy purpose and immediately launch a fund-raising campaign, using the names of well-known Stalinists on its letterheads? (Does it make an accounting of its disposition of funds?)

(e) Does the organization represent itself to be nonpartisan, but actually engage in political activities, which follow the Communist Party line?

(f) Is the organization committed solely to its announced purpose, or is it set up so that it can join in Communist-inspired "coalitions" with other organizations?

(g) Can a few officials commit the organization to basic policies radically different from its announced purposes without securing the formal approval of the entire membership?

(h) Does a minority object to substantial wages and expenses for executive and staff work, and do "enthusiastic" Stalinists then volunteer to carry out the key duties of the organization without wages or for a small pittance?

(i) Are meetings arranged so that the agenda is elastic with no specific hour set for adjournment; and does a small minority consistently "talk the meeting to death"? (After many members have left the meeting at a late hour, do certain individuals then introduce and adopt a series of Stalinist resolutions?)

(3) Printing and Publicity

(a) Does the organization have most of its printing (letterheads, announcements, publications and informational material) printed at plants that specialize in Stalinist literature, are owned or influenced by the Communist Party? (The union label of every print shop with a union contract is numbered. A checkup on ownership and policy will reveal that certain print shops in each city receive most of the Stalinist business.)

(b) Is the organization's literature, tickets, publications and promotional material consistently sold and displayed prominently in Communist bookstores and in Communist dominated union and organization offices and meeting places?

(c) Are Communist literature, pamphlets, newspapers and publications consistently displayed, promoted, sold and recommended in the organization's offices and meeting places?

(d) Are the organization's activities, public statements and policies consistently publicized in news columns and favorably commended editorially by *The Daily Worker*, *The People's Daily World*, *Political Affairs*, *In Fact*, and other Communist newspapers, magazines and propaganda media?

(e) Do the organization's paid advertisement and meeting notices appear consistently in Communist publications described in (d), above?

(f) Does the organization issue frequent public statements and adopt resolutions that defend, honor and support known Communists and Communist organizations?

(g) Are the printing, editing and public relations activities of the organization in the control of individuals with Communist records and leanings? (Is the organization represented by public relations and advertising firms that specialize in handling Communist organizations and individuals?)

(4) Policies

(a) Does the organization consistently feature speakers and guests who are known Communists, fellow-travelers and sympathizers?

(b) Does the organization completely change its policies, even to the extent of virtually dissolving and emerging with a new name and program, if the Communist Party line makes a "sharp turn" or major reversal of policy?

(c) Does the organization collaborate with and support the policies of conspicuous Communist organizations?

(d) Does the organization collaborate with, endorse and support Communist schools, cultural groups and educational activities?

(e) Does the organization consistently muster its leaders and members to seek to control the policies of other organizations?

(f) Does the organization welcome and seek affiliation with international organizations, movements and causes sponsored by the Soviet Union and by the Third International?

(g) Does the organization endorse, subscribe to, advertise in, donate to and support Communist publications such as cited in (3-d) above?

(5) Tactics

(a) Does the organization or its leadership advocate study of Marxism and Leninism?

(b) Does the organization advise its members to read, endorse, support and contribute to the *Daily Worker*, *The People's Daily World*, *Political Affairs*, *In Fact*, and other Communist publications?

(c) Does the organization consistently support, endorse and publicize prominent Communists, Stalinists and pro-Russian trade union leaders, and at the same time consistently denounce and condemn prominent anti-Russian and anti-Communist liberals and trade union leaders?

(d) Does the organization consistently denounce members who disagree with Stalinist programs, policies and resolutions as "labor spies," "professional disrupters" and promoters of "splitting tactics"?

(e) Does the organization consistently proclaim that Communists must be tolerated "because they are the only people working 100 percent for the interests of labor and minority groups"?

(f) Does the organization consistently insinuate public affairs as a "class struggle" between "capitalist oppressors" and downtrodden "toiling masses"?

(g) Does the organization and its leadership seek to identify every problem, complaint, dispute, disagreement and conflict with the need for making a change in the American system by abolishing capitalism and parliamentary government, while at the same time paying lip-service to "Democracy" and "Constitutional rights"?

(6) Attitude on Foreign Affairs

(a) Does the organization support the cause of Americanism or the cause of Soviet Russia and Communism?

(b) Does the organization denounce American and British foreign policy; but always praise and support Soviet Russian foreign policy?

(c) Does the organization follow the Communist policy of describing Soviet-dominated countries as "new democracies"?

(d) Does the organization consistently denounce the United States and its foreign policy as imperialistic and dominated by monopoly capital and militarists?

(e) Does the organization denounce the United States as leading the World into World War III, while praising Soviet Russia as a "peace-loving nation"?

(f) Does the organization oppose the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, the Atlantic Pact, etc.?

(g) Does the organization attack anyone who criticizes Soviet Russia, as a "warmonger," and at a "betrayal of the Roosevelt policies"?

(h) Does the organization advocate appeasement of Soviet Russia and recognition and support of Communist regimes and revolutionary movements in other nations?

(i) Does the organization consistently denounce anti-Communist governments?

(7) Attitude on Domestic Affairs

(a) Does the organization condemn capitalism and a free economy as outmoded and doomed to early extinction?

(b) Does the organization advocate revolutionary, industrial unionism and the use of the general strike?

(c) Did the organization follow this pattern in connection with World War II:

I. Before Germany attacked Russia did it denounce preparedness; support defense plant strikes; and denounce President Roosevelt as an "imperialist warmonger"?

II. After Germany attacked Russia did it change radically to all-out support of the war effort, and condemn all labor disputes, even in nonwar industries?

III. After the U. S. Communist Party in 1945 formally resumed the "class war" did it make an abrupt change and oppose military preparedness and advocate all-out strikes and denounce United States policies?

(d) Does the organization oppose and condemn labor-management cooperation; and denounce labor union leaders who favor cooperation and understanding between employers and workers as "tools of the bosses" and "sellout artists"?

(e) Does the organization collaborate regularly with Communist fronts and publications in support of the Communist line on domestic issues?

(f) Does the organization enter into labor disputes, minority and racial problems and other conflicts to advocate confusion, hatred and disunity?

(g) Does the organization support, endorse and advocate basic policies of the Communist Party? (Does it criticize or condemn Communism or policies of the Communist Party?)

(h) Does the organization denounce investigation and exposure of Communist activity? Does the organization denounce the prosecution, indictment and arrest of Communists as "invasion of civil rights" and as an attempt to "impose thought control in America"?

(i) Does the organization exploit and magnify any incident in which Negroes and Jewish people are involved to the detriment of the United States and the Constitution?

(j) Does the organization support legislative measures intended to regiment the people?

(k) Does the organization support all measures intended to weaken and destroy business and capitalist institutions?

(l) Does the organization attack and condemn anti-Communist unions and leaders in the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O.; and support and praise Communist dominated unions and Communist labor leaders?

(m) Does the organization particularly attack and villify all anti-Communist progressive, liberal, trade-union, minority and even ultra-radical organizations because they oppose the Moscow brand of Communism-Stalinism?

(n) Does the organization advocate and support a Communist dominated third party political movement?

(8) Attitude on National Security

(a) Does the organization oppose a sound preparedness program and universal military training?

(b) Does the organization urge giving the atom bomb secret to Soviet Russia and oppose the official proposals of the United States in the United Nations for atomic controls?

(c) Does the organization oppose an Inter-American defense program and seek to smear supporters of such a program as attempting to push United States imperialism on South American nations?

(d) Does the organization support the policies and programs of the Communist Party in the United States toward military preparedness and assistance to peace-loving nations that are threatened by Russian aggression?

(e) Does the organization support and advocate "Win the Peace" movements and similar programs to weaken the military power of the United States?

(f) Does the organization support the United Nations in vague generalities but oppose United Nations action to investigate, condemn or stop Russian aggression?

(9) Attitude on Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism

(a) Does the organization or a substantial proportion of its leadership advocate and promote study of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism as a system of government to supplant that of the United States?

(b) Does the organization advocate or pursue any of the Marxists-Leninist-Stalinist theories, ideas, strategy and tactics outlined in detail in the classic texts of Communism? (See pages 149-156 of this 1949 Fifth Report for specific citations.)

The percentage of "yes" answers to the above questions will give the proportion of Communist domination, control or influence in any organization.

THE FOREIGN POLICY TWIST TEST

The line of the Communist Party on foreign policy is cited herewith. Its advocacy by an individual or organization, throughout all

its variations, is a sound test of the loyalty and subservience of such an individual or organization to the Communist Party:

Prior to August 1935.—No distinction was made between Fascist and democratic governments. They were all capitalistic and had to be destroyed by a revolution and replaced by a proletarian dictatorship.

August 1935 to September 1939.—Adolf Hitler became a threat to the Soviet Union. Opposition to the Fascist governments. Support of collective security or a united front of the democracies and the Soviet Union against the Fascist nations.

September 1939 to June 21, 1941.—The period of the Stalin-Hitler pact. Opposition to World War II as imperialist. Support of an isolationist position. Support of the peace policy of the Soviet Union. Demand that we pay attention to our own domestic problems first.

June 22, 1941, to 1944.—Hitler attacked the Soviet Union. Support of the * * * war against fascism. Demand for a second front to aid the struggle of the Soviet Union.

[1945 to 1948, end of World War II.—Communist International revived as the Cominform. According to the Communists, the world is divided into two camps—the Socialist or the progressive camp as represented by the Soviet Union and its satellite states as against the imperialistic camp represented by the United States, which must be fought.]

In his decision on the deportation of Harry Bridges, the Attorney General, Mr. Francis Biddle, included the following excellent description of Communist-front organizations:

Testimony on front organizations showed that they were represented to the public for some legitimate reform objective, but actually used by the Communist Party to carry on its activities pending the time when the Communists believe they can seize power through revolution.

Your committee also calls the attention of all interested legislators and citizens to our detailed and comprehensive qualitative and quantitative analysis of Communist-front creation and infiltration on Pages 23-89 of the Committee's 1948 Fourth Report.

COMMUNIST DEFENSE TECHNIQUE

The committee never fails to be impressed in instance after instance by the gullibility, indiscretion, irresponsibility and complaisance with which many important leaders will accept casually, as justified, the wild complaints and generalized protests of Communists and fellow-travelers against the factual exposure and citation of their dangerous activities, without these leaders making even the slightest attempt to ascertain the facts.

This casual attitude toward an international conspiracy is responsible for the amazing success by the Communists in consistently putting their expositors and accusers on trial to justify the simplest factual statement of plain truth.

We are amazed and disconcerted at the success enjoyed by the Communists in imposing upon gullible Americans the Stalinist defense fraud of smearing as "red-baiters" anyone who merely reports factually on what the Communists themselves boast of openly in their classical literature of the strategy and tactics of plotting the violent overthrow of governments and in their continuous spawn of open propaganda publications.

Your committee earnestly urges that the Legislature and responsible California leadership make application of the simple, clear, practical and infallible techniques presented herewith to determine the Stalinist character of the records of activities by individuals and organizations.

The logical presentation of facts in an orderly pattern has been the continuing objective of your committee. The consistent proof of the utility and effectiveness of this technique is the total failure of the Communists and their apologists to even attempt to refute the record, but instead their unvarying resort to vituperation and abuse, devoid of logic, documentation or sportsmanship.

HOW TO USE THE CITATIONS

This section of the committee's partial report deals with organizations found to be created, controlled or infiltrated to a lesser or greater degree, by the Communist Party of the United States.

With the exception of such out-and-out Communist organizations as the Communist Party itself, the Young Communist League, etc., the reader is cautioned to hold in mind that a Communist front organization is characterized by the fact that a large part of its members are non-Communists. If this were not true, it should be quite obvious that the organization would be actually a Communist organization, and not a front in any sense.

Please note carefully that because these citations are arranged in alphabetical order, the individual organizations cited, do not appear individually in an Index to this Fifth Report, but instead, are mentioned in the Contents, only under the one inclusive heading: "*Citations of Communist Fronts and Publications.*"

The Communist fronts are arranged in alphabetical order. The committee has selected the most important fronts for this listing. But the arrangement does not purport to be all-inclusive, either as to this report, or to the headings. Communist fronts are changing constantly. It is impossible to keep up with them in an annual report; therefore, the committee now is considering issuance of interim citations in the future as important new fronts arise.

For further and more detailed information about any particular front and its sponsors, officers and activities, the committee refers interested legislators and California leaders to the 1943, 1945, 1947, and particularly the 1948 Reports.

ORGANIZATIONS

ABOLISH PEONAGE COMMITTEE

1. Recently reconstituted by the Communist front, the Civil Rights Congress.
(*Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 1115, September 2, 1947, p. 10.*)
2. Cited as a Communist front.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 93.*)

ABRAHAM LINCOLN BRIGADE OR BATTALION

1. "The Communist Party was active in recruiting American boys for the so-called Abraham Lincoln Brigade in behalf of Loyalist Spain. Browder has boasted that 60 percent of the brigade was composed of Communist Party members."
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 146.*)
2. Cited as a Communist front.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp 93, 94, and 157.*)
3. "Aid to the Leftist armies in Spain has been one of the major activities of all Communist organizations, particularly in the recruiting for and support of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. In these forces some of the members of the Young Communist League are political commissars."
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 183.*)
4. Cited as a Communist front.
(*Pennsylvania Commonwealth Counsel before the reviewing board of the Philadelphia County Board of Assistance, January 1942.*)
5. Cited as subversive and Communist.
(*Attorney General Tom Clark, supplemental list, April 27, 1949.*)

ABRAHAM LINCOLN SCHOOL

1. Cited as an adjunct of the Communist Party.
(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letter to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947.*)
2. Successor of the Workers School as a "Communist educational medium" in Chicago.
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 82.*)
3. Cited as a "Communist institution."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 95 and 120.*)

ACADEMIC AND CIVIL RIGHTS COMMITTEE

1. A "completely Communist created and controlled organization."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 35.*)

ACADEMIC AND CIVIL RIGHTS COUNCIL OF CALIFORNIA

1. A "Communist transmission belt."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1947, p. 103.*)

ACTION COMMITTEE TO FREE SPAIN

1. Cited as a Communist front with offices at 55 West Forty-second Street in New York City and branches throughout the country.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 271.*)
2. Cited as subversive and Communist.
(*Attorney General Tom Clark, supplemental list, April 27, 1949.*)

ACTION COMMITTEE TO FREE SPAIN NOW (See above)**ACTION CONFERENCE ON INDONESIA**

1. A Communist activity, sponsored and supported by known Communists and fellow-travelers in the foreign affairs field, to agitate in support of Indonesian Communist activities.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1949.*)

ACTORS' LABORATORY

1. A "Communist venture."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1947, p. 74.*)

ACTORS' LABORATORY THEATRE

1. A "red front * * * also referred to as the Hollywood Actors' Laboratory School."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 95.*)

AFRICAN BLOOD BROTHERHOOD

1. Cited as a Communist front.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 333.*)

AKA PROGRESSIVE GERMAN-AMERICANS OF CHICAGO

1. Cited as subversive and Communist.
(*Attorney General Tom Clark, supplemental list, April 27, 1949.*)

ALL-AMERICAN ANTI-IMPERIALIST LEAGUE

1. Cited as a "Communist-front organization."
(*Attorney General Francis Biddle, in re Harry Bridges, May 28, 1942, p. 10.*)
2. Cited as a Communist enterprise.
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 76.*)

3. Cited as a Communist front.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 106 and 107.*)

4. Among the organizations "created or controlled by the Communist Party or * * * part of the United Front" with the Communist Party which supported the First United States Congress Against War in 1933. The Congress was openly led by the Communist Party.

(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, pp. 462 and 466.*)

ALL-CALIFORNIA CONFERENCE FOR DEFENSE OF CIVIL RIGHTS AND AID TO LABOR'S PRISONERS

1. Cited as a communist front and a subsidiary of the International Labor Defense.

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 166.*)

2. "This Communist conference was held in San Francisco, April 23, 1938. It was called into being by the Northern California District of the International Labor Defense, the 'legal arm of the Communist Party'."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 107.*)

ALL HARLEM YOUTH CONFERENCE

1. "Nothing more plainly reveals the fraud and dishonesty of the Communists than the sinister stirring of antagonisms of one racial group against another. * * * Among the more conspicuous Communist-front groups in the Racial * * * subclassification * * * [is] All Harlem Youth Conference."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 73 and 75.*)

ALL UNION SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL RELATIONS WITH FOREIGNERS (VOKS)

1. Cited as a Communist-front activity "called into being by the Northern California District of the International Labor Defense, the 'legal arm of the Communist Party'."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 107.*)

ALLIED LABOR NEWS SERVICE

1. "The Communist influence is established through such news services. * * *"

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 49.*)

ALLIED VOTERS AGAINST COUDERT

1. Cited as a Communist front.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 38 and 96.*)

ALMANAC SINGERS

1. "Communist entertainers."

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 97.)

AMERICAN BIROBJAN COMMITTEE (AMBIDJAN)

1. Communist front for the support of Soviet Birobidjan. Has offices at 103 Park Avenue, New York 17, N. Y. and 1058 No. Western Avenue, Los Angeles, Calif. This organization also joins in support of other Communist agitations, particularly in the racial and religious fields.

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1949.)

AMERICAN ARTISTS CONGRESS

1. "Typical of * * * Communist created and controlled organizations."

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 35.)

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR RECONSTRUCTION IN YUGOSLAVIA

1. Cited as subversive and Communist.

(Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released June 1, 1948, and September 21, 1948.)

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF SCIENTIFIC WORKERS

1. "Included among the Communist fronts represented" at the Win the Peace Conference in Washington, D. C., April 5-7, 1946.

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 318.)

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

1. Cited as heavily infiltrated with Communists and fellow-travelers and frequently following the Communist line and defending Communists, particularly in its Los Angeles unit.

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 108-112.)

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR A FREE INDONESIA (See American Committee for Indonesian Independence)**AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR A KOREAN PEOPLE'S PARTY**

1. "This is just one of many Communist fronts for the purpose of protesting American policy in Korea and creating pressure for the recall of American occupation forces from that country."

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 112.)

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR ANTI-NAZI LITERATURE

1. Cited as a Communist front.

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 334.)

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR DEMOCRACY AND INTELLECTUAL FREEDOM

1. Cited as a Communist front which defended Communist teachers.
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, June 25, 1942, p. 13, and March 29, 1944, p. 87.*)
2. "This Communist front was established on Lincoln's birthday in 1939. * * * The activities of this group were always in behalf of Communists. * * * [It] has followed the Communist Party line as it switched and squirmed in support of the foreign policy of Soviet Russia."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 112.*)
3. Cited as "subversive and un-American."
(*Special Subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations, Report, April 21, 1943, p. 3.*)

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR EUROPEAN WORKERS' RELIEF

1. Cited as subversive and Communist.
(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.*)

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR FREE YUGOSLAVIA (THE)

1. "There is no Communist-dominated country behind the 'Iron Curtain' for which there is not an American Communist front to agitate and propagandize in its behalf * * * Among the more conspicuous fronts in this subclassification are: The American Committee for Free Yugoslavia. * * *"
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 66.*)

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR FRIENDSHIP WITH THE SOVIET UNION

1. "Typical of the completely Communist created and controlled organizations in the * * * civic committee field."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 38.*)

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR INDONESIAN INDEPENDENCE

1. "This front was organized to create support for the Indonesian revolution. The national headquarters is at 23 West Twenty-sixth Street in New York City. * * * Stemming from this red front are several subsidiary committees, such as the American Committee for a Free Indonesia, Los Angeles, and the American Committee for a Free Indonesia, San Francisco."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 113.*)

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN

1. Cited as subversive and Communist.
(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released June 1, 1948, and September 21, 1948.*)
2. "One of the oldest auxiliaries of the Communist Party in the United States."
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 155; also cited in Report, June 25, 1942, p. 13.*)

3. "Among the Communist-front organizations for racial agitation" which also serve as "money-collecting media" and "as special political organizing centers for the racial minority they pretend to champion." "Works closely with the International Labor Defense, legal arm of the Communist Party, in defense of foreign-born Communists and sympathizers."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Reports, 1947, p. 45; 1948, p. 113.*)

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR RUSSIAN FAMINE RELIEF

1. Cited as a Communist front.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 114.*)

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR SPANISH FREEDOM

1. "Communist transmission belt." "The key position of this Communist front is held by a member of the Communist Party. * * * Allen Chase (secretary) was a candidate for Congress in New York on the Communist Party ticket." It "has made no attempt to conceal its objective in forcing a break in diplomatic relations between the United States and Spain."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 115.*)

2. Cited as subversive and Communist.

(*Attorney General Tom Clark, supplemental list, April 27, 1949.*)

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR STRUGGLE AGAINST WAR

1. Cited as a Communist front which was formed in response to directives from a World Congress Against War held in Amsterdam in August 1932 under the auspices of the Communist International. Avowed Communist Donald Henderson was executive director of the American Committee.

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, pp. 47 and 119.*)

2. "Among the more conspicuous Communist fronts that have defied brazenly the interests of the United States and other freedom-loving nations whenever they have been in conflict with the interests of Soviet Russia and world Communism."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 67.*)

3. Among organizations, created or controlled by the Communist Party or part of a united front with the party, which supported the First United States Congress Against War. The Congress was openly led by the Communists.

(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities. Report, 1938, pp. 462 and 466.*)

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR YUGOSLAV RELIEF

1. Cited as subversive and Communist.
(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released June 1, 1948, and September 21, 1948.*)
2. "This Communist-front group is organized to support the dictatorship of the Soviet puppet Tito."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 131.*)

AMERICAN COMMITTEE OF JEWISH WRITERS, ARTISTS, AND SCIENTISTS

1. "Among the Communist-front organizations for racial agitation" which also serve as "money collecting media" and "as special political organizing centers for the racial minority they pretend to champion."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1947, p. 45.*)

AMERICAN COMMITTEE OF LIBERALS FOR THE FREEDOM OF MOONEY AND BILLINGS

1. Cited as a Communist front.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 61.*)

AMERICAN COMMITTEE TO AID KOREAN FEDERATION OF TRADE-UNIONS

1. Cited as a Communist front "for the purpose of protesting American policy in Korea and creating pressure for the recall of American occupation forces from that country."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 112.*)

AMERICAN COMMITTEE TO AID SOVIET RUSSIA

1. "One of the many Communist-front organizations for propagandizing in behalf of the Soviet Union. * * * [It] appears to be active in Los Angeles County."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 141.*)

AMERICAN COMMITTEE TO SAVE REFUGEES

1. Cited as a Communist front.
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, pp. 49, 112, 129, 133, 138, 167, 180.*)
2. "A Communist front operating in the Communist-refugee field." It merged in March, 1942, into the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, which has only shown interest in Communist refugees.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 141 and 270.*)

AMERICAN CONGRESS FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY

1. Cited as a Communist front advocating collective security against the Fascist aggressors prior to the signing of the Stalin-Hitler pact. The American League for Peace and Democracy was formed at the above congress.
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 105.*)

2. Cited as "among the more conspicuous Communist fronts that have defied brazenly the interests of the United States and other freedom-loving nations whenever they have been in conflict with the interests of Soviet Russia and world communism."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 67.*)

AMERICAN CONGRESS TO FREE EARL BROWDER

1. Cited as an organization "noted" for "pro-Soviet and pro-Communist tendencies."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1947, p. 202.*)

AMERICAN COUNCIL FOR A DEMOCRATIC GREECE

1. Cited as a subversive and Communist organization formerly known as the Greek-American Council.
(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released June 1, 1948, and September 21, 1948.*)

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON SOVIET RELATIONS

1. Cited as the subversive and Communist successor to the Friends of the Soviet Union.
(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released June 1, 1948, and September 21, 1948.*)
2. Cited as a Communist front.
(*Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7688.*)
3. Cited as a Communist front.
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 174.*)
4. "The United States Communist Party has set up hundreds of fronts to honor and support Soviet Russia. * * * Among the more conspicuous fronts for this purpose are: American Council on Soviet Relations."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 65.*)

AMERICAN CROATIAN CONGRESS

1. Cited as subversive and Communist.
(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released June 1, 1948, and September 21, 1948.*)

AMERICAN FEDERATED RUSSIAN FAMINE RELIEF COMMITTEE

1. Cited as a Communist front.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 141 and 142.*)

AMERICAN FEDERATION FOR POLITICAL UNITY

1. Cited as a Communist front.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1943, p. 96.*)

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR TRADE UNION COMMITTEE FOR UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE AND RELIEF

1. "In 1936, the Communists were utilizing a front known as the A. F. of L. Trade Union Committee for Unemployment Insurance and Relief to back legislation drafted by the Communist Party. The American Federation of Labor officially repudiated this organization as a fraud. Action was brought before the Federal Trade Commission and the committee was ordered to cease and desist from using this name."
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 169.*)
2. Among organizations, created or controlled by the Communist Party or part of a united front with the party, which supported the First United States Congress Against War in 1933. The congress was openly led by Communists.
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, pp. 462 and 466.*)

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

1. "This front organization became active in June of 1944. Its headquarters is located at 8 West Fortieth Street in New York City, and the organization is under the leadership of William J. Schieffelin."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 145.*)

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF SPANISH DEMOCRACY

1. "In 1937-38, the Communist Party threw itself wholeheartedly into the campaign for the support of the Spanish Loyalist cause, recruiting men and organizing multifarious so-called relief organizations * * * such as * * * American Friends of Spanish Democracy."
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 82.*)
2. "Front groups continually raise huge sums of money in this country" in behalf of "Communist Parties and their front groups in nations not yet dominated by the Communist dictatorship." "Among the more conspicuous fronts in this subclassification are * * * American Friends of Spanish Democracy."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 66.*)
3. "This was another of the Spanish-aid organizations which received Communist support."
(*New York City Council Committee investigating the Municipal Civil Service Commission.*)

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE

1. Cited as a Communist front.
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, pp. 40 and 147.*)
2. Cited as a Communist front.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 141 and 142.*)

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF ASIA

1. Cited as a Communist front activity for agitation in foreign affairs, which was given office space by the notorious Communist front, Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1949.*)

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF THE MEXICAN PEOPLE

1. Cited as a Communist front.
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 153.*)
2. A "completely Communist created and controlled organization."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 35.*)

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF THE SPANISH PEOPLE

1. A "completely Communist created and controlled organization."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 35.*)

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF THE SOVIET UNION (See Friends of the Soviet Union)**AMERICAN FUND FOR PUBLIC SERVICE (GARLAND FUND)**

1. "Established in 1922 * * * it was a major source for the financing of Communist Party enterprises" such as the Daily Worker and New Masses, official Communist publications, Federated Press, Russian Reconstruction Farms, and International Labor Defense. William Z. Foster, present chairman, Communist Party, and Scott Nearing, a leading writer for the Party, served on the board of directors of the Fund.
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, pp. 75 and 76.*)
2. Cited as a Communist front.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 145 and 336.*)
3. "Contributed more than \$1,500,000, all to the furtherance and support of left-wing and Marxist projects. * * * Had as its trustees the leaders of the Communist Party in America."
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, pp. 113 and 204.*)

AMERICAN INVESTORS' UNION, INC.

1. Cited as a Communist front.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 334.*)
2. An organization "of Communist complexion."
(*New York City Council Committee investigating the Municipal Civil Service Commission.*)

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

1. Cited as Communist infiltrated in its Southern California Division, whose convention in 1948 "went on record against loyalty checks and called for the abolition of the Congressional Committee and the Tenney State Legislative Committee." (These partyline policies were continued and enlarged at its 1949 convention.)

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 145-149.*)

AMERICAN JEWISH LABOR COUNCIL

1. Cited as a Communist front, headed by the known Communist, Ben Gold, which has been repudiated as not "American, Jewish or labor" by the AFL, CIO and responsible Jewish organizations and has been exposed and discredited as a purely Communist activity by the American Jewish League Against Communism.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1949.*)

2. Cited as subversive and Communist.

(*Attorney General Tom Clark, supplemental list, April 27, 1949.*)

AMERICAN LABOR ALLIANCE

1. The Communist Party, when operating underground in 1921, established the American Labor Alliance as "its open, legal expression."

(*Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 209, April 1, 1947, p. 15.*)

AMERICAN LABOR COMMITTEE AGAINST WAR

1. An organization "noted" for "pro-Soviet and pro-Communist tendencies."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1947, p. 202.*)

AMERICAN LABOR PARTY

1. "For years, the Communists have put forth the greatest efforts to capture the entire American Labor Party throughout New York State. They succeeded in capturing the Manhattan and Brooklyn sections of the American Labor Party but outside of New York City they have been unable to win control."

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 78.*)

2. Among "organizations that are victims of Communist domination."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 40 and 41.*)

AMERICAN LEAGUE AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

1. Cited as subversive and Communist.

(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.*)

2. A "Communist-front organization."

(*Attorney General Francis Biddle, in re Harry Bridges, May 28, 1942, p. 10.*)

3. "Established in the United States in an effort to create public sentiment on behalf of a foreign policy adapted to the interests of the Soviet Union."
(*Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7683.*)
4. "The American League Against War and Fascism was organized at the First United States Congress Against War which was held in New York City, September 29 to October 1, 1933. Four years later at Pittsburgh, November 26-28, 1937, the name of the organization was changed to the American League for Peace and Democracy. * * * It remained as completely under the control of Communists when the name was changed as it had been before."
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 53; also cited in Reports, January 3, 1939, pp. 69 and 121; January 3, 1940, p. 10; June 25, 1942, p. 14.*)
5. Hollywood unit cited as a Communist front.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1943, p. 91.*)
6. "The Communist Party has, since the inception of the League, been a component and controlling part of it." William Z. Foster, chairman of the Communist Party, admitted his party was "a vital factor" in the League.
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, pp. 298 and 460.*)
7. Cooperated with the Communist Party in defense of Morris U. Schappes, Party member convicted of perjury.
(*Rapp-Coudert committee, Report, 1942, p. 293.*)
8. "The American League Against War and Fascism, predecessor of the American League for Peace and Democracy, both described by Earl Browder as Communist transmission belts."
(*New York City Council Committee investigating the Municipal Civil Service Commission.*)

AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY

1. Cited as subversive and Communist.
(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released June 1, 1948, and September 21, 1948.*)
2. Established in the United States in 1937 as successor to the American League Against War and Fascism "in an effort to create public sentiment on behalf of a foreign policy adapted to the interests of the Soviet Union." "The American League for Peace and Democracy * * * was designed to conceal Communist control, in accordance with the new tactics of the Communist International."
(*Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, pp. 7683 and 7684.*)
3. "The largest of the Communist 'front' movements in the United States is the American League for Peace and Democracy, formerly known as the American League Against War and Fascism, and, at the time of its inception, as the United States Congress Against War. * * * The league contends publicly that it is not a Communist-front movement, yet at the very beginning Communists

dominated it. Earl Browder was its vice president." "An examination of the program of the American League will show that the organization was nothing more nor less than a bold advocate of treason."

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Reports, January 3, 1939, pp. 69-71, and March 29, 1944, p. 37; also cited in Reports, January 3, 1940, p. 10; January 3, 1941, p. 21; June 25, 1942, pp. 14-16; and January 2, 1943, p. 8.*)

4. Cited as a Communist front.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1943, p. 91.*)
5. Cited as a Communist-created organization in which "Communists have controlling influence."
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, pp. 77 and 213.*)
6. A "choice instrument of Stalinist anti-Nazi propaganda."
(*Rapp-Coudert committee, Report, 1942, p. 220.*)
7. Cited as "subversive and un-American."
(*Special Subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations, Report, April 21, 1943, p. 3.*)
8. "The American League for Peace and Democracy was a Communist 'transmission belt' originally organized and controlled by the Communist Party, carrying out its instructions as an affiliate of the Communist International in Moscow."
(*New York City Council Committee investigating the Municipal Civil Service Commission.*)
9. Cited as a Communist front.
(*Pennsylvania Commonwealth Counsel before the reviewing board of the Philadelphia County Board of Assistance, January, 1942.*)

AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR EX-SERVICEMEN

1. Cited as a Communist front.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 384-386.*)

AMERICAN NEGRO LABOR CONGRESS

1. Cited as a "Communist front organization."
(*Attorney General Francis Biddle, in re Harry Bridges, May 28, 1942, p. 10.*)
2. Cited as a predecessor of the National Negro Congress.
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, January 3, 1939, p. 81.*)
3. Successor to the African Blood Brotherhood, first Communist front organization for express purpose of carrying on Communist agitation among Negroes. American Negro Labor Congress, which was headed by one of the first Negro Communist leaders in the United States, Cyril Briggs, was succeeded in 1930 by the League of Struggle for Negro Rights.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 333.*)

AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE

1. Cited as "a Communist front later merged into the American Peace Mobilization" and as the "California section of the American Peace Mobilization."
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, pp. 47 and 96.*)
2. "Organized by the Communists."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 160.*)

AMERICAN PEACE MOBILIZATION

1. Cited as subversive and Communist.
(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.*)
2. "Formed in the summer of 1940 under the auspices of the Communist Party and the Young Communist League as a 'front' organization designed to mold American opinion against participation in the war against Germany. * * * The most conspicuous activity of American Peace Mobilization was the picketing of the White House, which began in April 1941, in protest against lend-lease and the entire national defense program * * * on the afternoon of June 21, 1941, he (Frederick V. Field, national secretary) suddenly called off the picket line around the White House."
(*Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7684.*)
3. Cited as "one of the most seditious organizations which ever operated in the United States" and "instrument of the Communist Party line prior to Hitler's attack on Russia."
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 5; also cited in Reports, June 25, 1942, p. 13; and January 2, 1943, pp. 8 and 9.*)
4. Cited as a Communist front.
(*United States Secretary of Labor decision in the case of Helen Miller, August 1, 1941.*)
5. "One of the boldest and most flagrant of all Communist fronts * * * organized for the purpose of supporting Soviet Russia during the Stalin-Hitler pact."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 161.*)
6. Cited as a "Communist-controlled, pseudo-pacifist group."
(*Rapp-Coudert committee, Report, 1942, p. 221.*)

AMERICAN PEOPLE'S FUND

1. Organized and directed by Frederick Vanderbilt Field "as a repository for funds to be distributed to Communist enterprises." This "Communist financial organization has paid out large sums of money to * * * Communist and Communist-front organizations" such as National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Allied Labor News, American Russian Institute, American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 168.*)

AMERICAN PEOPLE'S MEETING

1. "The name chosen for its national convention by the seditious American Peace Mobilization." Held April 5-6, 1941, in New York City. (*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 106.*)

AMERICAN PEOPLE'S MOBILIZATION

1. "American Peace Mobilization was formed in the summer of 1940 under the auspices of the Communist Party and the Young Communist League as a 'front' organization designed to mold American opinion against participation in the war against Germany. Its existence terminated within a month after the German invasion of Russia when it became American People's Mobilization and adopted a program favoring complete assistance to Britain, Russia, and China."

(*Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7684.*)

2. "Immediately after Hitler's invasion of Russia, the American Peace Mobilization changed its name to the American People's Mobilization, and reversed all of its former positions in exact accordance with the changes which Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union occasioned in the line of the Communist Party."

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, January 2, 1943, p. 9.*)

AMERICAN POLISH LABOR COUNCIL

1. Cited as subversive and Communist.

(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.*)

AMERICAN PUSHKIN COMMITTEE

1. Cited as a Communist front.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 334 and 335.*)

AMERICAN RELIEF FOR GREEK DEMOCRACY

1. "The headquarters of this Communist front is located at 111 West Forty-second Street in New York City. * * * Eighteen of the sponsors of the American Relief for Greek Democracy are either directors or sponsors of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 168 and 169.*)

AMERICAN RELIEF SHIP FOR SPAIN

1. Cited as "one of the several Communist Party front enterprises which raised funds for Loyalist Spain (or rather raised funds for the Communist end of that civil war)."

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 102.*)

2. Cited as a Communist front.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1947, p. 210.*)

AMERICAN RESCUE SHIP MISSION

1. "An enterprise of the Communist United American Spanish Aid Committee. * * * [It] maintained headquarters at 200 Fifth Avenue in New York City."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 350.*)

AMERICAN ROUND TABLE ON INDIA

1. "A Communist front headed by Robert Norton, a well-known member of the Communist Party."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 353.*)

AMERICAN RUSSIAN INSTITUTE FOR CULTURAL RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION

1. "A direct agent of the Soviet Union, engaged in traitorous activities under the orders of Stalin's consular service in the United States."
"Founded in 1926 * * * the semiofficial status of the American Russian Institute is established. * * *"
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 169 and 327.*)
2. Cited as "a Communist organization supported by 'intellectuals.'"
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 279.*)

AMERICAN RUSSIAN INSTITUTE OF NEW YORK

1. Cited as subversive and Communist.
(*Attorney General Tom Clark, supplemental list, April 27, 1949.*)

AMERICAN RUSSIAN INSTITUTE OF PHILADELPHIA

1. Cited as subversive and Communist.
(*Attorney General Tom Clark, supplemental list, April 27, 1949.*)

AMERICAN RUSSIAN INSTITUTE OF SAN FRANCISCO

1. Cited as a Communist organization.
(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letter to Loyalty Review Board, released September 21, 1948.*)

AMERICAN RUSSIAN INSTITUTE OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES

1. Cited as subversive and Communist.
(*Attorney General Tom Clark, supplemental list, April 27, 1949.*)

AMERICAN-RUSSIAN MUSIC CORPORATION

1. Cited as a Communist front.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 392.*)

AMERICAN SLAV CONGRESS

1. Cited as subversive and Communist.
(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released June 1, 1948, and September 21, 1948.*)

2. A "permanent, completely Communist created and controlled organization."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 35.*)

AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA

1. Cited as a Communist front.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 334.*)

AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR TECHNICAL AID TO SPANISH DEMOCRACY

1. Cited as a Communist front.

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 116.*)

AMERICAN-SOVIET MUSIC SOCIETY

1. An affiliate of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 323.*)

AMERICAN SOVIET SCIENCE SOCIETY

1. An affiliate of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 323.*)

AMERICAN STUDENT UNION

1. Cited as a Communist front which was "the result of a united front gathering of young Socialists and Communists" in 1937. The Young Communist League took credit for creation of the above, and the Union offered free trips to Russia. The above claims to have led as many as 500,000 students out in annual April 22 strikes in the United States.

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, January 3, 1939, p. 80; also cited in Reports, January 3, 1940, p. 9; June 25, 1942, p. 16; and March 29, 1944, p. 159.*)

2. "A Communist Party front organization for the indoctrination of American students in colleges and universities in the United States."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1943, p. 115.*)

3. Cited as an organization in which "Communists have controlling influence" and which followed the same program of "peace" as the Communist Party.

(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, pp. 77 and 539.*)

4. Cited as a "subversive" organization "for transmitting the aims and programs of which the Young Communist League is the initiating and projecting element."

(*Rapp-Coudert Committee, Interim Report, December 1, 1941, pp. 14 and 107.*)

5. Cited as "subversive and un-American."

(*Special Subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations, Report, April 21, 1943, p. 3.*)

AMERICAN TECHNICAL AID SOCIETY

1. Cited as an affiliate of the Friends of the Soviet Union.
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, January 3, 1939, p. 79.*)

AMERICAN WRITERS CONGRESS

1. Earl Browder, general secretary of the Communist Party, was a speaker at the second biennial American Writers Congress in 1937; the Congress was sponsored by the League of American Writers, cited as subversive by the Attorney General.
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 82.*)
2. "Communists regard the infiltration, manipulation, and control of artistic and cultural media as one of the indispensable phases of their program of revolution. * * * Such intellectual sabotage provides a fundamental weapon in talent and material for the Red propaganda attack on American institutions; and it provides celebrities and funds to be used for the promotion of Communist causes and programs. * * * Typical of Communist-front organizations in this classification * * * [is] American Writers Congress."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 52.*)
3. Held in 1935 for "revolutionary writers"; "planned and arranged by the Communist Party"; prepared papers presented at the Congress were by writers whose works are circulated chiefly from the presses of the Communist Party.
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, pp. 287, 288, and 515.*)

AMERICAN YOUTH CONGRESS

1. Cited as subversive and Communist.
(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.*)
2. "It originated in 1934 and * * * has been controlled by Communists and manipulated by them to influence the thought of American youth."
(*Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7685; also cited in re Harry Bridges, May 28, 1942, p. 10.*)
3. "One of the principal fronts of the Communist Party" and "prominently identified with the White House picket line * * * under the immediate auspices of the American Peace Mobilization."
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, June 25, 1942, p. 16; also cited in Reports of January 3, 1939, p. 82; January 3, 1941, p. 21; June 25, 1942, p. 16; and March 29, 1944, p. 102.*)
4. "Launched during August of 1934 and for about seven years * * * one of the most influential front organizations ever established by the American Communist Party."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 179.*)

5. "The purpose of the Young Communist League in controlling and building this American Youth Congress is the same as in its other youth groups, namely, to build up a united front, to push the objectives of and produce cadres for the Communist Party among persons to whom they would be unable to make a direct approach."
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 525.*)
6. Cited as "subversive and un-American."
(*Special Subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations, Report, April 21, 1943, p. 3.*)
7. Cited as a Communist front.
(*Pennsylvania Commonwealth Counsel before the reviewing board of the Philadelphia County Board of Assistance, January, 1942.*)

AMERICAN YOUTH FOR A FREE WORLD

1. "Heavily infiltrated and effectively dominated by the Communist Party * * * a successor to the Communist-influenced American Youth Congress. American Youth for a Free World was linked directly to the international Communist dominated youth organization, World Youth Council, with headquarters in London, England."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 54.*)

AMERICAN YOUTH FOR DEMOCRACY

1. Cited as subversive and Communist.
(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.*)
2. Cited as the new name under which the Young Communist League operates and which also largely absorbed the American Youth Congress.
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 102.*)
3. Cited as a front formed in October, 1943, to succeed the Young Communist League and for the purpose of exploiting to the advantage of a foreign power the idealism, inexperience, and craving to join which is characteristic of American college youth. Its "high-sounding slogans" cover "a determined effort to disaffect our youth and to turn them against religion, the American home, against the college authorities, and against the American Government itself."
(*Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 271, April 17, 1947.*)
4. Cited as a Communist transmission belt and successor to the Young Communist League.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1947, pp. 103 and 369.*)

APPEAL FOR LAWRENCE SIMPSON

1. Cited as a Communist front.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 335.*)

ARMENIAN PROGRESSIVE LEAGUE OF AMERICA

1. Cited as subversive and Communist.

(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.*)

ARTEF

1. Cited as a Communist theatrical front.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 188.*)

ARTISTS AND WRITERS GUILD

1. "Among the ERA and WPA workers Communists organized" the above.

(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 310.*)

ARTISTS' FRONT TO WIN THE WAR

1. Cited as a Communist front.

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 96.*)

2. A "Communist organization" which "grew out of a mass meeting at Carnegie Hall in New York City on October 16, 1942."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 188.*)

ASSOCIATED FILM AUDIENCES

1. Cited as a Communist front which merged in 1939 with Films for Democracy to become known as Film Audiences for Democracy.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 193.*)

2. "The organization was disbanded in December 1939 and was succeeded by Film Audiences for Democracy * * * an organization with such Communist-dominated affiliates as American League Against War and Fascism, Fur Workers Joint Council, Workers Alliance * * *"

(*New York City Council Committee investigating the Municipal Civil Service Commission.*)

ASSOCIATED MAGAZINE CONTRIBUTORS

1. "The Communist influence is established through such news services."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 49.*)

ASSOCIATED NATIONAL BOOKSHOPS

1. Advertised by Communists as outlets in various cities for Communist books, pamphlets, and magazines.

(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 278.*)

ASSOCIATION OF LITHUANIAN WORKERS

1. Cited as a "foreign-language Marxist organization" serving as a "satellite" to the Communist Party of Massachusetts.
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 154.*)

AUSTRO-AMERICAN CITIZENS COMMITTEE

1. Cited as a Communist agitation front group.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1949.*)

AUSTRO-AMERICAN COUNCIL

1. Cited as a Communist front group activity.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1949.*)

BEN LEIDER MEMORIAL FUND

1. "The Communist Party periodically stages rallies, banquets, fund drives, and other celebrations in honor of important anniversaries of leading Communists, front organizations, party publications, and Soviet anniversaries. * * * Amongst typical examples of such Communist activities are: Ben Leider Memorial Fund * * *"
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 56.*)

BOOK FIND CLUB

1. Cited as a Communist front.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 392.*)

BOOK UNION

1. "Distributors of Communist literature."
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 96.*)
2. A "Communist 'Book-of-the-month' club."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 194.*)

BOSTON SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

1. "Lectures, study classes, schools, and 'progressive' organizations were promoted with Soviet Russia the subject of glorification and Marxian economics the subject of teaching. Among these activities were the following: The Boston School of Social Science grew, financially supported by the Garland Fund, which had as its trustees the leaders of the Communist Party in America. * * *"
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 113.*)

BRONX VICTORY LABOR COMMITTEE

1. Cited as a Communist front.
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 156.*)

CALIFORNIA COMMITTEE FOR POLITICAL UNITY

1. Cited as a Communist front.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1943, p. 91.*)

CALIFORNIA CONFERENCE FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION

1. Cited as a Communist front.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1947, p. 170.*)

CALIFORNIA LABOR SCHOOL

1. Cited as a subversive and Communist organization at 216 Market Street, San Francisco, Calif.

(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released June 1, 1948, and September 21, 1948.*)

2. An "expanded Communist Party institution for the purpose of disseminating Communist propaganda." Opened in San Francisco in the summer of 1944 to replace the Tom Mooney Labor School. Denounced as Communist controlled by the California State Federation of Labor.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1947, pp. 79, 80, and 369.*)

CALIFORNIA LEGISLATIVE CONFERENCE

1. "This Communist front is variably called by the number of its meetings." It is a Communist front "in the fields of politics and legislation" It is one of the "basic" fronts in a "coalition" of organizations under the banner of the third party movement to elect Henry Wallace as President.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 62, 63, and 195.*)

CALIFORNIA YOUTH LEGISLATURE

1. Cited as a Communist-front organization which took part in a mass meeting in Los Angeles on June 8, 1940, under the sponsorship of the American Peace Crusade, a Communist creation for the purpose of putting the terms of the Stalin-Hitler pact into effect in the United States.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 160.*)

CAMP ARCADIA

1. Cited as an American Youth for Democracy camp.

(*Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 271, April 17, 1947, p. 9.*)

CELEBRATION OF 15 YEARS OF BIROBIDJAN

1. Cited as a Communist front activity that "came into being to celebrate 15 years of * * * Birobidjan, a Jewish Communist colony in the Soviet Union."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 196.*)

CENTRAL COUNCIL OF AMERICAN CROATIAN WOMEN (See Central Council of American Women of Croatian Descent)

CENTRAL COUNCIL OF AMERICAN WOMEN OF CROATIAN DESCENT

1. Cited as subversive and Communist. It is also known as Central Council of American Croatian Women or National Council of Croatian Women.

(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released June 1, 1948, and September 21, 1948.*)

CHELSEA JEWISH CHILDREN'S SCHOOL (MASS.)

1. "A place where Marxism is combined with instruction in the racial tongue."

(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 398.*)

CHICAGO ACTION COUNCIL

1. Cited as a Communist front for business and professional men, which sponsored Stalinist radio programs in Chicago area.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1949.*)

CHINA AID COUNCIL

1. A "subsidiary" of the American League for Peace and Democracy.
2. Cited as a Communist front and a subsidiary organization of the American League for Peace and Democracy.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 151, 319, and 336.*)

CHURCH LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

1. Cited as one "of the Communist fronts represented" at the Win the Peace Conference in Washington, D. C., April 5-7, 1946, of which Evans Carlson and Paul Robeson were co-chairmen.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 318.*)

CITIZENS' COMMITTEE FOR BETTER EDUCATION

1. Cited as a Communist front in Los Angeles whose "chief activity" has been "the support of extreme leftists for election to the Los Angeles Board of Education." It uses "the Communist Party's mailing list for Los Angeles County."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 198 and 199.*)

CITIZENS' COMMITTEE FOR HARRY BRIDGES

1. Cited as a Communist front, located at 1265 Broadway, New York City, which was formed to oppose deportation of Harry Bridges, Communist Party member and leader of the disastrous San Francisco general strike of 1934 which was planned by the Communist Party.

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, pp. 90 and 94.*)

2. There are "scores of 'defense committees' created to raise funds for Communists, fellow travelers and Marxist apologists who become involved in arrests, prosecutions, and investigations. * * * Typical examples of the Communist created and controlled front organization of this type" are the Citizens' Committee for Harry Bridges Defense Committee, and Bridges Victory Committee.

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report 1948, p. 34.)

3. Cited as subversive and Communist.

(Attorney General Tom Clark, supplemental list, April 27, 1949.)

CITIZENS' COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENSE OF MEXICAN-AMERICAN YOUTH

1. Cited as a Communist front for racial agitation that functioned in Los Angeles in 1943 during the so-called "zoot suit" disturbances in that city.

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report 1947, p. 97; also cited in 1945 Report, p. 210.)

CITIZENS' COMMITTEE FOR THE MOTION PICTURE STRIKERS

1. "This Communist front was organized for the purpose of creating sympathy for Herbert K. Sorrell's Communist-inspired strike against the motion-picture industry. It was particularly active in attempting to influence public opinion in favor of Sorrell and his strikers and in agitating and fomenting antagonisms between law enforcement officers and the strikers."

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report 1948, p. 201.)

CITIZENS' COMMITTEE FOR THE RECALL OF COUNCILMAN McCLANAHAN (THIRTEENTH LOS ANGELES DISTRICT)

1. Cited as a Communist front.

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report 1947, p. 55.)

CITIZENS' COMMITTEE FOR THE UPPER WEST SIDE

1. Cited as a subversive organization in New York City which is among the affiliates and committees of the Communist Party, U. S. A.

(Attorney General Tom Clark, letter to Loyalty Review Board released December 4, 1947.)

CITIZENS' COMMITTEE ON ACADEMIC FREEDOM (THE)

1. "An important adult adjunct to American Youth for Democracy," which in turn is "the key mass organization for Communist infiltration and corruption of American youth." The Citizens Committee on Academic Freedom was "formed to defend AYD from attempts to bar and ban it from participating in campus activities in schools, colleges, and universities."

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report 1948, p. 54.)

CITIZENS' COMMITTEE TO AID LOCKED-OUT HEARST EMPLOYEES

1. Cited as "a Communist inspired and dominated group."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1947, p. 180.*)

CITIZENS' COMMITTEE TO FREE EARL BROWDER

1. Cited as a Communist organization.
(*Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7687.*)
2. "When Earl Browder (then general secretary, Communist Party) was in Atlanta Penitentiary serving a sentence involving his fraudulent passports, the Communist Party's front which agitated for his release was known as the Citizens' Committee to Free Earl Browder * * * Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, one of the few outstanding women leaders of the Communist Party in this country, headed it."
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, pp. 6 and 55.*)
3. Cited as a Communist front.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1947, p. 210.*)
4. Cited as a Communist front.
(*Pennsylvania Commonwealth Counsel before the reviewing board of the Philadelphia County Board of Assistance, January, 1942.*)
5. Cited as subversive and Communist.
(*Attorney General Tom Clark, supplemental list, April 27, 1949.*)

CITIZENS' COMMITTEE TO SUPPORT LABOR'S RIGHT

1. A "newly formed Communist-front organization, * * * which is sponsored by the Civil Rights Congress, a Communist-dominated organization."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1947, p. 187.*)

CITY ACTION COMMITTEE AGAINST THE HIGH COST OF LIVING

1. A "Communist-front 'transmission belt' in Los Angeles."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1943, p. 103.*)

CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS

1. Cited as subversive and Communist.
(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.*)
2. Cited as an organization formed in April, 1946, as a merger of two other Communist-front organizations (International Labor Defense and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties); "dedicated not to the broader issues of civil liberties, but specifically to the defense of individual Communists and the Communist Party" and "controlled by individuals who are either members of the Communist Party or openly loyal to it."
(*Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 1115, September 2, 1947, pp. 2 and 19.*)

3. A "Communist-dominated organization of, comparatively recent origin."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1947, p. 187.*)

CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS FOR TEXAS

1. Cited as subversive.

(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letter to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947.*)

CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS, MILWAUKEE CHAPTER

1. Cited as subversive.

(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letter to Loyalty Review Board, released June 1, 1948.*)

CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS OF MICHIGAN

1. Cited as subversive.

(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letter to Loyalty Review Board, released June 1, 1948.*)

CIVIL RIGHTS COUNCIL OF NORTHERN CALIFORNIA

1. Cited as a Communist organization which was a branch of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Reports, 1943, p. 97, and 1948, p. 163.*)

CIVIL RIGHTS DIVISION OF MOBILIZATION FOR DEMOCRACY (See also Mobilization for Democracy)

1. "Affiliated with the Civil Rights Congress."

(*Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 1115, September 2, 1947, p. 11.*)

CIVIL RIGHTS FEDERATION

1. Cited as a Communist front.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 61.*)

COLUMBUS PEACE ASSOCIATION

1. Cited as one of numberless local organizations set up by the Communists just prior to the formation of the American Peace Mobilization "for the purpose of obstructing America's military preparedness."

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 155.*)

COMITE CO-ORDINATOR PRO REPUBLICA ESPANOLA

1. Cited as subversive and Communist.

(*Attorney General Tom Clark, supplemental list, April 27, 1949.*)

COMMITTEE AGAINST WAR PROPAGANDA

1. A Communist front, with headquarters in New York offices of National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, organized to support Henry Wallace anti-U. S. propaganda line and to oppose motion pictures like "The Iron Curtain." Los Angeles offices were

located at 307 S. Hill St., Room 707, in a building which houses a number of Communist fronts and publications.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1949.*)

COMMITTEE FOR A BOYCOTT AGAINST JAPANESE AGGRESSION

1. Cited as a Communist front.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 147, 319, and 335.*)

2. Cited as subversive and Communist.

(*Attorney General Tom Clark, supplemental list, April 27, 1949.*)

COMMITTEE FOR CITIZENSHIP RIGHTS

1. Defended the "interests of the Communist Party."

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 95.*)

2. Among a "maze of organizations" which were "spawned for the alleged purpose of defending civil liberties in general but actually intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law."

(*Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 1115, September 2, 1947, p. 3.*)

3. "A subsidiary Communist front for the defense of William Schneiderman" who "is still the head of the Communist Party in California."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 358.*)

COMMITTEE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS FOR COMMUNISTS

1. Among a "maze of organizations" which were "spawned for the alleged purpose of defending civil liberties in general but actually intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law."

(*Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 1115, September 2, 1947, p. 3.*)

2. Typical of "Communist created and controlled front organizations" in the category of defense committees which are "created to raise funds for Communists, fellow travelers, and Marxist apologists who become involved in arrests, prosecutions, and investigations."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 34.*)

COMMITTEE FOR CONCERTED PEACE EFFORTS

1. Cited as an organization with the same aims as the American Congress for Peace and Democracy, a Communist front advocating collective security prior to the signing of the Stalin-Hitler pact.

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 105.*)

COMMITTEE OF CULTURAL ORGANIZATIONS TO DEFEAT THE MUNDT-NIXON BILL

1. A coalition of Communist fronts that combined in 1948 to oppose Federal Communist control legislation.

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1949.)

COMMITTEE FOR A DEMOCRATIC EASTERN POLICY

1. Cited as a Communist front, with headquarters at 111 West 42nd St. in New York, which "opposes the American policy toward Greece and Turkey."

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 208.)

COMMITTEE FOR A DEMOCRATIC FAR EASTERN POLICY

1. The Communist Party line shifted after VJ-day and Communist fronts started pressure on the administration in reference to its foreign policy in China in order to clear the way for Soviet expansion. A "new front" in this field is the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy.

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 198.)

COMMITTEE FOR DEFENSE OF JOINT ANTI-FASCIST REFUGEE COMMITTEE

1. A Communist-front organization typical of "committees * * * drummed up by the Communist Party and its fellow travelers to defend known Communists from charges of perjury, contempt of Congress and the courts, immigration and passport fraud, illegal registration, and other violations of law."

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 55.)

COMMITTEE FOR DEFENSE OF PUBLIC EDUCATION

1. Cited as a Communist Party agency "whose aim was to prevent the Rapp-Coudert committee of the New York State Legislature from exposing the Communists who had infiltrated the public school system of that State."

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 154.)

COMMITTEE FOR PEACE THROUGH WORLD COOPERATION

1. An organization with the same aims as the American League for Peace and Democracy, a Communist front which beat the drums for collective security against Fascist aggressors in accordance with current Communist Party line.

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 105.)

2. "Among the more conspicuous Communist fronts that have defied brazenly the interests of the United States and other freedom-loving nations whenever they have been in conflict with the interests of Soviet Russia and world Communism."

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 67.)

COMMITTEE FOR THE CARE OF YOUNG CHILDREN IN WARTIME

1. Cited as a Communist-front organization which received financial aid from the American People's Fund, a "Communist financial organization" organized and directed by Frederick Vanderbilt Field.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 168.*)

COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENSE OF MEXICAN-AMERICAN YOUTH

(See Citizens Committee for the Defense of Mexican-American Youth)

COMMITTEE FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

1. Cited as one of the Communist fronts that in 1948 joined in opposition to Federal antisubversive legislation. It later merged into the key Communist defense front, Civil Rights Congress.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1949.*)

COMMITTEE FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION

1. An Illinois Communist front that joined in the 1948 agitation against subversive control legislation.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1949.*)

COMMITTEE FOR THE FIRST AMENDMENT

1. "A recently created Communist front in the defense of Communists and Communist fellow travelers. Its immediate purpose is to create favorable public opinion for the Communists who refused to testify before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in Washington, D. C."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 210.*)

COMMITTEE FOR THE SUPPORT OF S. W. GERSON

1. Cited as a Communist front.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1947, p. 202.*)

COMMITTEE OF ONE THOUSAND

1. A "Communist created and controlled front organization" which was "created to raise funds for the defense of the 19 unfriendly witnesses before the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities' investigation of Communist activity in Hollywood, 10 of whom were indicted for contempt of Congress."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 34 and 35.*)

COMMITTEE OF PROFESSIONAL GROUPS FOR BROWDER AND FORD

1. Cited as a Communist front, which operated when those two candidates were running for President and Vice President, respectively, on the Communist Party ticket.

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 19, 1944, pp. 48 and 181.*)

COMMITTEE ON ELECTION RIGHTS

1. Cited as a Communist front "whose function was to agitate for placing the Communist Party on the ballot throughout the United States."

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, pp. 47 and 48.*)

COMMITTEE PROTESTING ATTACKS AGAINST THE ABRAHAM LINCOLN BATTALION

1. Cited as a Communist front.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1947, p. 202.*)

COMMITTEE TO AID CHINESE TRADE UNIONS

1. Subsidiary to and located in the same building at 96 Fifth Avenue, New York City, as the Trade Union Unity League, which had been launched by the Communist Party early in its history in an attempt to create "blatantly Communist sponsored and controlled trade-unions."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 36 and 143.*)

COMMITTEE TO AID THE FIGHTING SOUTH

1. Cited as subversive and among the affiliates and committees of the Communist Party, U. S. A.

(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letter to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947.*)

COMMITTEE TO DEFEND AMERICA BY KEEPING OUT OF WAR

1. "After Stalin signed his pact with Hitler, the Communist-led Committee to Defend America by Keeping Out of War * * * came forth to oppose the national-defense program, lend-lease, conscription, and other 'war-mongering' efforts." It initiated the American Peace Mobilization.

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, pp. 99 and 105.*)

2. Cited as "inspired and dominated by the Communist Party" and "created for the purpose of assisting Hitler during his pact with Stalin." It "cooperated with the German-American Bund to keep the United States from assisting Great Britain, France, and China" and it "preceded immediately the launching of the American Peace Mobilization."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 149 and 351.*)

COMMITTEE TO DEFEND ANGELO HERNDON

1. Cited as a Communist front.

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, January 3, 1939, p. 82.*)

2. A "Communist created and controlled front organization" which is in the category of defense committees "to raise funds for Communists, fellow travelers, and Marxist apologists who become involved in arrests, prosecutions, and investigations."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 34.*)

COMMITTEE TO SAVE FOREIGN LANGUAGE BROADCASTS

1. An Eastern Communist-front activity.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1949.*)

COMMITTEE TO SAVE SPAIN AND CHINA

1. Cited as a Communist front.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 147 and 335.*)

COMMONWEALTH COLLEGE

1. A "Communist enterprise" cited as subversive by an investigating Committee of the Arkansas Legislature. It received money from the Garland Fund. (It is located at Mena, Arkansas.)
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, pp. 76 and 167.*)
2. An Arkansas institution which "received extensive donations from the Communist-supporting Garland Fund" and whose "teachers have included prominent Communists and even a member of the Central Committee, Communist Party, U. S. A." During an Arkansas legislative committee investigation of the college in 1935, then Director Lucien Koch admitted rejecting capitalism and believing the Soviet Government superior to that in the United States.

(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 320.*)

3. Cited as subversive and Communist.

(*Attorney General Tom Clark, supplemental list, April 27, 1949.*)

COMMUNIST INFORMATION BUREAU (COMINFORM)

1. "Open above-ground activity by the Communist International was resumed in September 1947 as a result of a meeting of European Communist leaders in Poland. It comes as no surprise that this new version of the Comintern, which is called the Communist Information Bureau or Cominform, has openly enrolled the Communist Parties of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Poland, and Hungary where the old Comintern officials are in command. Also avowed members of the Cominform are the Communist Parties of the Soviet satellite, Yugoslavia, and of France and Italy. Master of the international alliance, however, is the Soviet Union. * * *

(*Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 1920, May 11, 1948, p. 83.*)

COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL (COMINTERN)

1. "The Third or Communist International was organized by Lenin at Moscow in March, 1919 to carry out the revolutionary purposes of the Communist Party and the Soviet Union. * * * [It] has ever since been the medium of instigating class warfare and social revolution in all countries, in order to establish a world Soviet Union, with the capital at Moscow. * * * The Communist International is dominated by the Russian Communist Party and Soviet officials."

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, January 3, 1939, p. 15.*)

2. Cited as the centralized, world-wide organization of the Communists, controlled by Moscow. "On May 30, 1943, the Communist International (Comintern) was formally dissolved, to be succeeded by the Information Bureau of the Communist Parties (Cominform) established in September, 1947, with headquarters in Belgrade. There is every reason to believe that the Communist Party, USA, is as completely subordinated to the discipline of this Moscow-dominated world party, as it ever was."

(Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 209, April 1, 1947; and Report No. 1920, May 11, 1948, p. 43.)

3. "It is a controlling central organization to which Communist parties throughout the world affiliate. It is actually a high board of strategy for universal revolution."

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1945, p. 85.)

4. "Supreme head and governing power of all Communist parties of the world is the Communist International (Comintern), sometimes called the Third International, as opposed to the Second International to which some members of the Socialist Party adhere * * * the highest officials of the Communist International are also high officials of the Soviet Union, and thus the rulers of Russia govern all other Communist parties of the world."

(Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 59.)

COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY

1. "A large group of English-speaking delegates headed by Benjamin Gitlow and John Reed, resented the predominance of Russian-speaking elements at the convention (of the Communist Party of America, September 1919) and decided to split away. They held their own convention, almost simultaneously, in Chicago and formed the Communist Labor Party." Both groups merged into the United Communist Party of America in May 1921 upon orders of the Communist International.

(Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 209, April 1, 1947, pp. 14 and 15.)

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

1. Cited as a "subversive" organization which seeks "to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means."
(Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.)
2. "* * * the Communist Party of the United States of America, from the time of its inception in 1919 to the present time, is an organization that believes in, advises, advocates, and teaches the overthrow by force and violence of the Government of the United States."

(Attorney General Francis Biddle, opinion in the case of Harry Bridges, May 28, 1942, p. 31.)

3. " * * * a foreign conspiracy masked as a political party * * * in practice, the Communist Party is actually functioning as a 'border patrol' on American shores for a foreign power—The Soviet Union."

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, January 3, 1940, p. 4.)

4. "An organization operating under centralized discipline subordinated to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union * * * whose basic aim, whether open or concealed, is the abolition of our present economic system and democratic form of government and the establishment of a Soviet dictatorship in its place. * * * An organization resorting to deception, evasion, illegal methods, violence, and civil war, methods implicit in its revolutionary purpose."

(Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 209, April 1, 1947, p. 1; and Report No. 1920, May 11, 1948.)

5. "The Communist Party is a small, compact group of professional revolutionists. * * * The over-all strategy of the Communist Party is designed to bring about the destruction of all democratic governments."

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1947, pp. 367 and 368.)

COMMUNIST POLITICAL ASSOCIATION

1. Cited as a "subversive," "Communist" organization which sought "to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means."

(Attorney General Tom Clark, letter to Loyalty Review Board, released September 21, 1948.)

2. " * * * after assuming the name of the Communist Political Association on May 20-23, 1944, for strategic reasons, the party resumed the name of the Communist Party of the United States on July 26-28, 1945."

(Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 209, April 1, 1947, p. 29.)

CONFERENCE FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION

1. Cited as a successor of the American League for Peace and Democracy.

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1943, p. 91.)

CONFERENCE FOR SOCIAL LEGISLATION

1. The "set-up is strikingly similar to that laid down by the Central Committee of the Communist Party." Some of the endorsers were "well known as being active in organizations which fringe the Communist Party, and are wholly sympathetic to it. We believe some of the remainder were unwittingly enlisted." It convened in Boston on January 16, 1938, and on March 27, 1938; on the latter date, plans were laid to build Labor's Non-Partisan League into a State-wide organization.

(Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, pp. 353-355.)

CONFERENCE ON CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTIES IN AMERICA

1. A conference as a result of which was established the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, "part of what Lenin called the solar system of organizations, ostensibly having no connection with the Communist Party, by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters of their program."
(*Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7687.*)
2. "An important part of the solar system of the Communist Party's front organizations," which founded the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties in 1940.
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 102.*)
3. A "Communist-inspired conference" which launched the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties during the Stalin-Hitler pact. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, a high-ranking member of the national committee of the Communist Party, was one of the featured speakers at this conference.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 226.*)
4. Held on June 7, 8, 9, in the National Press Club Auditorium, Washington, D. C. "Out of this conference grew the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties * * * which defended the right of Communists and Nazis to remain and to be admitted to public service in the United States Government."
(*New York City Council Committee investigating the Municipal Civil Service Commission.*)

CONFERENCE ON PAN-AMERICAN DEMOCRACY (known also as COUNCIL FOR PAN-AMERICAN DEMOCRACY)

1. Cited as subversive and Communist.
(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released June 1, 1948, and September 21, 1948.*)
2. Cited as a Communist front which defended Carlos Luiz Prestes, a Brazilian Communist leader and former member of the executive committee of the Communist International.
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, pp. 161 and 164; also cited in Report, June 25, 1942, p. 18.*)
3. Cited as a Communist front.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1947, p. 210.*)
4. Cited as "subversive and un-American."
(*Special Subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations, Report, April 21, 1943, p. 3.*)

CONGRESS OF AMERICAN REVOLUTIONARY WRITERS

1. Cited as subversive and Communist.
(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.*)

CONGRESS OF AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP

1. Cited as a Communist front.
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 94.*)
2. Among the "more conspicuous fronts" set up "to honor and support Soviet Russia"
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 65.*)

CONGRESS OF AMERICAN WOMEN

1. Cited as subversive and Communist.
(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released June 1, 1948, and September 21, 1948.*)
2. Cited as "one of the most potentially dangerous of the many active Communist fronts." Incorporated in January, 1947, with national headquarters in New York City, it is the American branch of the International Democratic Women's Federation, which was formed at a Paris convention in November, 1945, "at the call of International Communist forces."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp 228-231.*)

CONGRESS (FIRST) OF THE MEXICAN AND SPANISH-AMERICAN PEOPLES OF THE UNITED STATES

1. Cited as a Communist front, held March 24-26, 1939, in Albuquerque, N. Mex.
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 120.*)
2. "Among the Communist front organizations for racial agitation" which also serve as "money collecting media" and "as special political organizing centers for the racial minority they pretend to champion."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1947, p. 45.*)

CONNECTICUT STATE YOUTH CONFERENCE

1. Cited as subversive and Communist.
(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.*)

CONSUMERS' NATIONAL FEDERATION

- 1 Cited as a Communist front.
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 155.*)
2. "Created by the Communist Party and used for the purpose of spreading propaganda in schools and through women's clubs. It was first known as the Emergency Council and was established as the Consumers' National Federation, 1937."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1943, p. 102.*)
3. Cited as an organization "of Communist complexion."
(*New York City Council Committee investigating the Municipal Civil Service Commission.*)

CONSUMERS UNION

1. Cited as a Communist front "headed by the Communist Arthur Kallet (whose party name is Edward Adams.) Ben Gold and Louis Weinstock, both well-known Communists, were also members of the labor advisory committee of Consumers Union."
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 153.*)
2. Cited as a Communist front set up by Susan Jenkins, former employee of the Daily Worker; Walter Trumbull, who had been court-martialed in 1925 and sentenced to a 26-year term as a Communist attempting to bore from within the United States Army; and Arthur Kallet.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1943, p. 102.*)
3. Cited as "subversive and un-American."
(*Special Subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations, Report, April 21, 1943, p. 3.*)
4. "On its labor advisory board were Ben Gold, an avowed Communist and leader of the joint board, Furriers Union, * * * Louis Weinstock. * * *"
(*New York City Council Committee investigating the Municipal Civil Service Commission.*)
5. Cited as a Communist front.
(*Pennsylvania Commonwealth Counsel before the reviewing board of the Philadelphia County Board of Assistance, January, 1942.*)

CONSUMERS NATIONAL FEDERATION

1. Cited as a Communist front, formerly known as Consumers Emergency Council.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1947, p. 210; 1948, pp. 77, 342.*)

CONTEMPORARY THEATRE

1. Cited as a Communist front.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 392.*)

CONTEMPORARY WRITERS

1. Cited as a Communist front, active in Hollywood, and in New York with known Communists in leadership.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1949.*)

COORDINATING COMMITTEE TO LIFT THE (SPANISH) EMBARGO

1. Cited as one of a number of front organizations, set up during the Spanish Civil War by the Communist Party in the United States and through which the party carried on a great deal of agitation.
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, pp. 137-138.*)
2. Cited as a Communist front.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1947, p. 210.*)

COUNCIL FOR PAN-AMERICAN DEMOCRACY (See Conference on Pan-American Democracy)**COUNCIL FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE AMERICAS**

1. Cited as a Communist front.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1949.*)

COUNCIL OF UNITED STATES VETERANS

1. Cited as a Communist front.

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 83.*)

2. Cited as a Communist front with headquarters at 20 West Forty-third Street, New York City.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 342 and 336.*)

COUNCIL OF YOUNG SOUTHERNERS (also known as League of Young Southerners)

1. "Described on its letterhead as having 'its origin at the Youth Commission of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.' "

(*Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 592, June 12, 1947, p. 5.*)

2. Cited as a Communist front.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 334-336.*)

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS

1. Cited as subversive and Communist.

(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.*)

2. A Communist-front organization "formerly known as the International Committee on African Affairs. Its official publication, a monthly bulletin, is called New Africa." It has received funds from the American People's Fund, a "Communist financial organization."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 168 and 320.*)

COUNCILS OF THE UNEMPLOYED

1. "Among the ERA and WPA workers Communists organized" the above.

(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 310.*)

CROATIAN EDUCATIONAL CLUB

1. A branch of Communist language organizations.

(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 493.*)

DAILY WORKER PUBLISHING CO.

1. "Publishing agency of the Communist Party."

(*Brief for the United States in the case of William Schneiderman, p. 143.*)

DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN DEPRESSION

1. "Among the more conspicuous fronts for Communist activity in the field of relief, assistance, and welfare work, and dealing with problems of the unemployed and underprivileged."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 73.*)

DEFENSE COMMITTEE FOR ALEXANDER BITTELMAN

1. A "series of committees, resolutions, rallies, protests, and publicity statements [have been] drummed up by the Communist Party and its fellow travelers to defend known Communists from charges of perjury, contempt of Congress and the courts, immigration and passport fraud, illegal registration and other violations of law." The above is "among typical Communist-front organizations in this activity."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 55.*)

DEFENSE COMMITTEE FOR CLAUDIA JONES

1. A "series of committees, resolutions, rallies, protests, and publicity statements [have been] drummed up by the Communist Party and its fellow travelers to defend known Communists from charges of perjury, contempt of Congress and the courts, immigration and passport fraud, illegal registration and other violations of law." The above is "among typical Communist-front organizations in this activity."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 55.*)

DEFENSE COMMITTEE FOR EUGENE DENNIS (See also Dennis Defense Committee)

1. Cited as subversive and among the affiliates and committees of the Communist Party, U. S. A.

(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letter to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947.*)

2. A "series of committees, resolutions, rallies, protests, and publicity statements [have been] drummed up by the Communist Party and its fellow travelers to defend known Communists from charges of perjury, contempt of Congress and the courts, immigration and passport fraud, illegal registration and other violations of law." The above is "among typical Communist-front organizations in this activity."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 55.*)

DEFENSE COMMITTEE FOR GERHARDT EISLER (See also Eisler Defense Committee)

1. A "series of committees, resolutions, rallies, protests, and publicity statements [have been] drummed up by the Communist Party and its fellow travelers to defend known Communists from charges of perjury, contempt of Congress and the courts, immigration and passport fraud, illegal registration and other violations of law."

The above is "among typical Communist-front organizations in this activity."

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 55.)

DEFENSE COMMITTEE FOR HANNS EISLER

1. A "series of committees, resolutions, rallies, protests, and publicity statements [have been] drummed up by the Communist Party and its fellow travelers to defend known Communists from charges of perjury, contempt of Congress and the courts, immigration and passport fraud, illegal registration and other violations of law." The above is "among typical Communist-front organizations in this activity."

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 55.)

DEFENSE COMMITTEE FOR JOHN WILLIAMSON

1. A "series of committees, resolutions, rallies, protests, and publicity statements [have been] drummed up by the Communist Party and its fellow travelers to defend known Communists from charges of perjury, contempt of Congress and the courts, immigration and passport fraud, illegal registration and other violations of law." The above is "among typical Communist-front organizations in this activity."

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 55.)

DENNIS DEFENSE COMMITTEE (See also Defense Committee for Eugene Dennis)

1. Cited as subversive and among the affiliates and committees of the Communist Party, U. S. A.

(Attorney General Tom Clark, letter to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947.)

DESCENDANTS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

1. "A Communist-front organization set up as a radical imitation of the Daughters of the American Revolution. The Descendants have uniformly adhered to the line of the Communist Party. * * * The educational director * * * is one Howard Selsam, an instructor at the Communist Party's Workers School in New York."

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, June 25, 1942, pp. 18 and 19.)

2. Cited as a Communist front.

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 336.)

3. Cited as "subversive and un-American."

(Special Subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations, Report, April 21, 1943, p. 3.)

DETROIT BILL OF RIGHTS DEFENSE COMMITTEE

1. Among a "maze of organizations" which were "spawned for the alleged purpose of defending civil liberties in general but actually intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law."

(*Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 1115, September 2, 1947, p. 3.*)

DETROIT YOUTH ASSEMBLY

1. Cited as subversive and Communist.

(*Attorney General Tom Clark, supplemental list, April 27, 1949.*)

DOWN TOWN FORUM

1. Cited as a Communist enterprise.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 147 and 148.*)

DRAMATIC WORKSHOP

1. Cited as a Communist front.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 392.*)

EISLER (GERHARDT) DEFENSE COMMITTEE (See also Defense Committee for Gerhardt Eisler)

1. "An offshoot of the Civil Rights Congress."

(*Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 1115, September 2, 1947, p. 13.*)

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN CLUB

1. Cited as "the Hollywood section of the Communist Party."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1947, p. 35.*)

ELIZALDE ANTI-DISCRIMINATION COMMITTEE

1. Cited as a Communist front.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1947, p. 55.*)

EMERGENCY COMMITTEE ON KFI

1. Cited as an organization formed to protest the discharge by Los Angeles Radio Station KFI of six news analysts and commentators who were the media of "pro-Soviet, Red-slanted propaganda."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1947, p. 180.*)

EMERGENCY COMMITTEE TO AID SPAIN

1. Cited as an organization "noted" for "pro-Soviet and pro-Communist tendencies."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1947, p. 202.*)

EMERGENCY CONFERENCE TO AID THE SPANISH REPUBLIC

1. Cited as a Communist organization.

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 87.*)

EMERGENCY CONFERENCE TO HALT THE BLACK-OUT OF CIVIL LIBERTIES IN CALIFORNIA

1. A "Communist-inspired conference * * * held * * * April 5, 1941, at the south hall of the Embassy auditorium * * * in the city of Los Angeles * * * to generate pressure against Assembly Bill No. 271, a measure which ultimately became the law and is known as the Subversive Registration Act of 1941."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 233.*)

EMERGENCY PEACE MOBILIZATION

1. "The American Peace Mobilization * * * was formally founded at a meeting in Chicago at the end of August, 1940, known as the Emergency Peace Mobilization."
(*Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7684.*)
2. Cited as a Communist front which came forth, after Stalin signed his pact with Hitler, to oppose the national defense program, lend-lease, conscription, and other American "war-mongering" efforts. It immediately preceded the American Peace Mobilization in 1940.
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, pp. 105, 156, and 169.*)
3. "Among the more conspicuous Communist fronts that have defied brazenly the interests of the United States and other freedom-loving nations whenever they have been in conflict with the interests of Soviet Russia and world Communism." At its Labor Day week-end meeting held in Chicago in 1940, it gave the name of American Peace Mobilization to the front, American League for Peace and Democracy.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 67 and 150.*)

EMERGENCY TRADE UNION CONFERENCE TO AID SPANISH DEMOCRACY

1. Cited as a Communist front.
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 180.*)
2. Cited as an organization "noted" for "pro-Soviet and pro-Communist tendencies."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1947, p. 202.*)

ESTHONIAN WOMEN'S CLUB (OF MASSACHUSETTS)

1. "Active in promoting Communist objectives."
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 157.*)

ESTHONIAN WORKERS' CLUBS

1. Cited as a "foreign-language Marxist organization" which serves as a "satellite" to the Communist Party of Massachusetts.
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 154.*)

EXILED WRITERS COMMITTEE

1. "Established by the Communist League of American Writers to bolster the Communist front, American Committee To Save Refugees. The Exiled Writers Committee worked with other Communist fronts in the Spanish Communist refugee agitation." It merged into the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee in 1942.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 234 and 270.*)

FARM RESEARCH

1. Cited as a Communist-front organization financed from the Robert Marshall Foundation, "one of the principal sources for the money with which to finance the Communist Party's fronts generally in recent years."
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, pp. 50 and 147.*)
2. Among "Communist and Communist-front organizations" which have received money from the American People's Fund, a "Communist financial organization."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 168.*)

FEDERATED PRESS

1. Cited as a Communist-controlled organization financed by the American Fund for Public Service and the Robert Marshall Foundation, both principal sources of funds for Communist enterprise.
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, pp. 76, 143, and 147.*)
2. "The Communist influence is established through such news services as Federated Press."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 49.*)

FEDERATION FOR POLITICAL UNITY

1. Cited as a Communist front.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1943, p. 68.*)

FESTUS COLEMAN COMMITTEE

1. Cited as a Communist front.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 172.*)

FILM AND PHOTO LEAGUE

1. "A Communist front for revolutionary films" which eventually merged into a new organization, the New Film Alliance. "The Los Angeles Film and Photo League was particularly urged 'to wedge its way more sharply into the film industry'."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 238 and 247.*)
2. Boston unit cooperates with the New England Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners.
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 141.*)

FILM AUDIENCES FOR DEMOCRACY

1. Cited as a Communist front.

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 150.*)

2. "The Cinema Bureau in Moscow had laid down its directives concerning the building up of audiences for the purpose of agitating against certain films opposed to the current Communist Party line and for supporting those which favor the line. * * * The Communist fronts, Film Audiences and Films for Democracy, merged in 1939 to form a new front, Film Audiences for Democracy."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 193 and 238.*)

3. Cited as an organization of "Communist complexion."

(*New York City Council Committee investigating the Municipal Civil Service Commission.*)

FILMS FOR DEMOCRACY

1. Cited as a Communist-front organization.

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, pp. 49 and 150.*)

2. Cited as a Communist-front organization which merged with another front, Film Audiences, to become Film Audiences for Democracy in 1939.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 238.*)

FINNISH FEDERATION

1. Cited as a "Marxist foreign-language group" having large and active groups of members in Massachusetts. Besides publications in its own language, it has printed the Communist Pioneer Song Book in English for the use of children.

(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 159.*)

FINNISH WOMEN'S CLUBS (OF MASSACHUSETTS)

1. "Active in promoting Communist objectives."

(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 157.*)

FINNISH WORKERS' CLUBS

1. Cited as a "foreign-language Marxist organization" serving as a "satellite" to the Communist Party of Massachusetts.

(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 154.*)

FIRST STATE-WIDE EMERGENCY LEGISLATIVE CONFERENCE

1. Cited as a Communist-front activity, headed by Robert W. Kenny and Bartley Crum, which convened at Sacramento, January 5-6, 1946.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 239.*)

FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORPORATION

1. Cited as a Communist publishing house located at 253 Fifth Avenue, New York City.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 214.*)

FREEDOM FROM FEAR COMMITTEE

1. "One of the Communist Party's latest fronts" which came into being in Hollywood and New York and was created "to raise funds for the defense of the 19 unfriendly witnesses before the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities' investigation of Communist activity in Hollywood, 10 of whom were indicted for contempt of Congress."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 35 and 239.*)

FREE ITALY SOCIETY

1. Cited as a national Communist-front organization. A meeting of the Los Angeles branch in December, 1946, attacked American-British diplomacy as imperialistic and demanded that Tito and Togliatti, Yugoslav and Italian Communist leaders, be allowed to settle the future of Trieste.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 241.*)

FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

1. "The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the United States (then known as the Workers Party) created Friends of Soviet Russia in 1921, in direct response to directives issued by the Communist International. * * * In 1929 the Friends of Soviet Russia was reorganized and revitalized under the name of the Friends of the Soviet Union."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 242 and 243.*)

FRIENDS OF THE ABRAHAM LINCOLN BRIGADE

1. "In 1937-38, the Communist Party threw itself wholeheartedly into the campaign for the support of the Spanish Loyalist cause, recruiting men and organizing multifarious so-called relief organizations." Among these was the above Communist-front organization.
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, pp. 82 and 125; also cited Report, January 3, 1940, p. 9.*)
2. It was "organized and controlled by the Communist Party from the beginning" and served "the objectives of the Communist Parties in the United States and Spain."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 93, 94, and 244.*)
3. The Communists' Progressive Bookshop of Boston was represented at a meeting of the above to sell literature; funds through above for leftist Spain were contributed by the International Workers Order.
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, pp. 282 and 395.*)

4. Cited as a Communist front.

(Pennsylvania Commonwealth Counsel before the reviewing board of the Philadelphia County Board of Assistance, January, 1942.)

FRIENDS OF THE CAMPUS

1. A "Communist-controlled" organization "initiated in 1945 in order to mobilize 'moral and financial support' behind the AYD (American Youth for Democracy)." It "is headed by a group of individuals closely identified with Communist causes." Honorary president is avowed Communist Donald Henderson.

(Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, No. 271, April 17, 1947, pp. 9 and 12.)

2. Among "subsidiary Communist fronts created by American Youth for Democracy."

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 186.)

FRIENDS OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE

1. Cited as a Communist front to support the Chinese Communist thrust against the National Chinese Government.

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 142 and 143.)

FRIENDS OF THE SOVIET UNION

1. Cited as a Communist front.

(Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released June 1, 1948, and September 21, 1948.)

2. "One of the most open Communist fronts in the United States," whose purpose "is to propagandize for and defend Russia and its system of government." It "is a section of an international movement directed from Moscow." The Friends admit "they penetrate our industrial sections."

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, January 3, 1939, p. 78; also cited in Reports, January 3, 1940, p. 9; June 25, 1942, p. 19; and March 29, 1944, pp. 49 and 94.)

3. Cited as among the more conspicuous Communist fronts set up by the Communist Party to honor and support Soviet Russia. It was created in 1929 as a successor to the Friends of Soviet Russia; it arranged delegations of American workers to the Soviet Union for anniversary celebrations. It was succeeded by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship during the military alliance between the U. S. and Russia during World War II.

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 65, 244, and 321.)

4. Cited as an organization in which "Communists have controlling influence" and whose purpose was "the spreading of propaganda favorable to Russia."

(Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, pp. 77 and 129.)

FRONTIER FILMS

1. Cited as a Communist front.
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, pp. 49, 83, and 147.*)
2. Cited as a Communist front which "has faithfully followed the Communist Party line in its productions" and whose personnel is "closely interlocked" with the Film and Photo League, a "Communist front for revolutionary films."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 247.*)

GALENA DEFENSE COMMITTEE

1. Cited as a Communist-front organization which was a subsidiary of the International Labor Defense, legal arm of the Communist Party.
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 166.*)
2. Cited as "typical" of Communist created and controlled front organizations "created to raise funds for Communists, fellow travelers, and Marxist apologists who become involved in arrests, prosecutions, and investigations."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 34.*)

GARLAND FUND (See American Fund for Public Service)**GARRISON FILMS DISTRIBUTORS, INC.**

1. "This Communist front acts for films produced in the Soviet Union as well as for Communist propaganda films produced in the United States. It has followed the Communist Party line and the expediency of Soviet foreign policy in the type of films distributed during a given period."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 247.*)

GEORGE WASHINGTON CARVER SCHOOL

1. Cited as an adjunct in New York City of the Communist Party.
(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, December 4, 1947.*)

GERMAN-AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL

1. Cited as a Communist infiltrated organization, advocating subversive policies.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1949.*)

GERSON (SIMON W.) SUPPORTERS

1. A "typical" example of Communist created and controlled organizations "to raise funds for legal defense and aid to Communist members of unions, minority groups, and teachers, political figures, and others who may be arrested, attacked, expelled, or otherwise involved in controversies."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 34.*)

GOLDEN BOOK OF AMERICAN FRIENDSHIP WITH THE SOVIET UNION

1. Cited as a "Communist enterprise" signed by "hundreds" of "well-known Communists and fellow travelers."
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 102.*)
2. Cited as a Communist front. "The signers of the Golden Book of American Friendship with the Soviet Union may be said to have met the acid test for admiration of a totalitarian dictatorship." The names appeared in *Soviet Russia Today* for November 1937 in commemoration of the twentieth anniversary of the establishment of the Soviet Republic.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 248.*)
3. "During 1937, and particularly at outings and picnics held by the (Communist) Party, the Young Communist League, the International Workers Order, and the various organizations of the United Front allies, there were circulated pages for signatures to be included in 'The Golden Book of American Friendship.'"
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 521.*)

GREATER NEW YORK COMMITTEE FOR EMPLOYMENT

1. Cited as a Communist front.
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 152.*)

GREATER NEW YORK EMERGENCY CONFERENCE ON INALIENABLE RIGHTS

1. Cited as a Communist front which was succeeded by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties.
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, pp. 96 and 129.*)
2. Among a "maze of organizations" which were "spawned for the alleged purpose of defending civil liberties in general but actually intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law."
(*Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 1115, September 2, 1947, p. 3.*)
3. Cited as a Communist front.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 61.*)

GREEK-AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR NATIONAL UNITY

1. Cited as subversive.
(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letter to Loyalty Review Board, released June 1, 1948.*)

GREEK-AMERICAN COUNCIL

1. Cited as an earlier name for the subversive and Communist American Council for a Democratic Greece.
(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letter to Loyalty Review Board, released June 1, 1948.*)

GROUP THEATRE

1. Cited as "typical" of Communist-front organizations in the field of arts and culture. Communist infiltration and control of artistic and cultural media "provides a fundamental weapon in talent and material for the Red propaganda attack on American institutions; and it provides celebrities and funds to be used for the promotion of Communist causes and programs."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 52.*)

HARRY BRIDGES DEFENSE COMMITTEE

1. Cited as one of the Communist fronts formed to oppose deportation of Harry Bridges, Communist Party member and leader of the disastrous San Francisco general strike of 1934 which was planned by the Communist Party.

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 90.*)

2. Cited as typical of Communist-front organizations which defend, honor, or support known Communists and Communist organizations.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 55.*)

HARRY BRIDGES VICTORY COMMITTEE

1. Cited as a Communist-front organization operating in San Francisco after the Communist Party became prowar. Harry Bridges, a Communist Party member and leader of the Communist-planned general strike in San Francisco in 1934, was threatened with deportation, the defense against which was almost entirely in the hands of the Communists.

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, pp. 90 and 94.*)

2. A Communist-front organization typical of activities "drummed up by the Communist Party and its fellow travelers to defend known Communists from charges of perjury, contempt of Congress and the courts, immigration and passport fraud, illegal registration, and other violations of law."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 55.*)

HAWAII CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE

1. Cited as subversive and Communist.

(*Attorney General Tom Clark, supplemental list, April 27, 1949.*)

HERNDON DEFENSE COMMITTEE

1. Cited as a "united front" under the guidance of the Communist Party, with headquarters at 11 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass. "This office and address served as headquarters of various other Communist supporting groups."

(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, pp. 213 and 214.*)

H. O. G. (ARMENIAN GROUP)

1. Cited as a "foreign-language Marxist organization."
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 154.*)

HOLD THE PRICE LINE COMMITTEE

1. Cited as a Communist front.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1947, p. 55.*)

HOLLYWOOD ACTORS' LABORATORY SCHOOL (See Actors' Laboratory Theatre)**HOLLYWOOD ANTI-NAZI LEAGUE**

1. Incorporated on June 8, 1936, as the Hollywood League Against Naziism, it became the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League on September 28, 1936. "The Stalin-Hitler pact brought this front to an abrupt termination of activities in August of 1939. * * * The Hollywood Motion Picture Democratic Committee was the successor."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 249, 250, and 256.*)

HOLLYWOOD COMMUNITY RADIO GROUP, INC.

1. Cited as a "Communist inspired and directed" organization whose "immediate objective is the establishment of a radio station in Los Angeles County."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1947, p. 370.*)

HOLLYWOOD DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE

1. "This Communist front grew out of a series of fronts designed to entrap Hollywood's innocents in the motion-picture industry." Organized in 1942 for the announced purpose of reelecting Governor Olson of California, it had no connection with the Democratic Party. When it "faced exposure" as a Communist front, it changed its name in June, 1945, to Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 250, 251, and 253.*)

HOLLYWOOD INDEPENDENT CITIZENS COMMITTEE OF THE ARTS, SCIENCES AND PROFESSIONS (HICCASP)

1. The Hollywood unit of the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions. Cited as a Communist front which was successor to a number of Communist fronts, including Motion Picture Democratic Committee, and Hollywood Democratic Committee. When ICCASP "joined hands" with National Citizens Political Action Committee to "form the new political Communist front, Progressive Citizens of America, HICCASP became the Hollywood unit. (PCA later merged into the Independent Progressive Party, just before the 1948 presidential campaign, in the

Henry Wallace third party, but the nucleus of HICCASP regrouped late in 1948 as the Arts, Sciences & Professions Council.)
(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 252-255.)

HOLLYWOOD LEAGUE AGAINST NAZIISM (See Hollywood Anti-Nazi League)

HOLLYWOOD LEAGUE FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION

1. Cited as a Communist-front organization in which Communist individuals were "pulling the strings and setting the policy." It "was a continuation of the Motion Picture Democratic Committee after the invasion of Russia by Germany precipitated an abrupt change in Soviet foreign policy. It lasted until 1942 when it reorganized as the Hollywood Democratic Committee."
(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Reports, 1943, p. 91, and 1948, p. 255.)

HOLLYWOOD MOTION PICTURE DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE

1. Cited as the Communist-front successor to the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League after the latter organization went out of business following the Stalin-Hitler pact of 1939. After German invasion of Russia in 1941 precipitated an abrupt change in Soviet foreign policy, the above was continued on under the new name, Hollywood League for Democratic Action.
(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 255 and 256.)

HOLLYWOOD PEACE FORUM

1. Cited as a Communist front.
(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 160.)

HOLLYWOOD THEATRE ALLIANCE

1. Cited as a Communist front.
(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1943, p. 91.)

HOLLYWOOD WRITERS MOBILIZATION

1. Cited as subversive and Communist.
(Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.)
2. Cited as a Communist-front organization whose "true purpose" was "the creation of a clearing house for Communist propaganda."
(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1945, p. 130.)

HOLYOKE BOOK SHOP

1. "Strategically" located at 19 Dunster Street, Cambridge, Mass., "to supply students with Marxist publications. It is also a central controlling point for Communist activity in and around Cambridge, and is a recruiting center for the Young Communist League, both in the college and in the secondary public schools of Cambridge."
(Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 279.)

HONORARY CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE FOR THE ELECTION OF CLIFFORD T. McAVOY

1. Cited as an organization "of Communist complexion,"
(*New York City Council Committee investigating the Municipal Civil Service Commission.*)

HUNGARIAN-AMERICAN COUNCIL FOR DEMOCRACY

1. Cited as subversive and Communist.
(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.*)

ICOR

1. "This Communist organization is devoted to 'defense of the Soviet Union,' although it purports to be organized in interest of the Jewish people and, particularly, in Biro-Bidjan, a Jewish colonization in the Soviet Union."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 261.*)
2. Icor, with headquarters in New York City, "has as its purpose the colonization and support of Biro-Bidjan, one of the Soviet Socialist Republics within Soviet Russia." It has Communist support and "in turn, supports the Communist Party." It is listed in the cash-receipt record of the Communist Party of Boston for 1937.
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, pp. 228, 229, and 568.*)

ILLINOIS PEOPLE'S CONFERENCE FOR LEGISLATIVE ACTION

1. "A few years ago the Communist Party operated throughout the country under the guise of a series of States conferences for legislative action. The Illinois People's Conference for Legislative Action took care of the Chicago area. It was entirely under the control of the Communist Party."
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 122.*)

INDEPENDENT CITIZENS COMMITTEE OF THE ARTS, SCIENCES, AND PROFESSIONS

1. "This Communist front grew out of the Independent Voters' Committee of the Arts and Sciences."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 262.*)

INDEPENDENT PROGRESSIVE PARTY

1. "Among typical mass organizations that are victims of Communist domination." One of the basic Communist fronts in a coalition under the banner of the third party movement to elect Henry Wallace President of the United States.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 41 and 62.*)

INDEPENDENT VOTERS COMMITTEE OF THE ARTS AND SCIENCES

1. The Communist front, Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, grew out of the above.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 262.*)

INTERCHURCH COMMITTEE OF AMERICAN-RUSSIAN INSTITUTE

1. Cited as a Communist front off-spring for propaganda in church circles, stemming from a notorious and important Communist front.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1949.*)

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF DEMOCRATIC LAWYERS

1. Cited as a key Communist front as a modern guise for many of the standard Communist activities of the old International Labor Defense and Red Aid. The U. S. Communist front, National Lawyers Guild, is affiliated with this international Communist organization.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1949.*)

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF WAR VETERANS (INTERNATIONALE DES ANCIENS COMBATTANTS)

1. The "first Communist front for veterans" organized by the Communist International in Geneva on May 1, 1920. Henri Barbusse, avowed French Communist, was chairman, and Hugo Graef, German Communist, was secretary. It initiated the call for the World Congress Against War, in Amsterdam in August, 1932.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 384.*)

INTERNATIONAL BOOK SHOP OF BOSTON

1. Cited as the predecessor of the Communists' present book store in Boston, the Progressive Bookshop.
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report 1938, p. 276.*)

INTERNATIONAL BOOK STORE, SAN FRANCISCO

1. "The Communist Party book center in the bay area for the distribution of its literature."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1947, p. 100.*)

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS

1. Cited as a Communist front which was a predecessor of a front organization known as Council on African Affairs.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 75 and 320.*)

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF WOMEN

1. Convened in Paris November 26 to December 1, 1945, "at the call of international Communist forces" and with Communist members of the French House of Deputies, Mme. Eugenie Cotton and Mme. Marie-Claude Vaillant-Couturier, serving as cochairmen. A continuing committee of the above was set up in the United States and eventually became known as the Congress of American Women. The international movement was called the International Democratic

Women's Federation, with which the Congress of American Women is affiliated.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 228 and 229.*)

INTERNATIONAL DEMOCRATIC WOMEN'S FEDERATION

1. Cited as a "Red international" organization, formed in 1945 in Paris at an International Congress of Women "at the call of international Communist forces." Mme. Eugenie Cotton and Mme. Marie-Claude Vaillant-Couturier, Communist members of the French House of Deputies, were cochairmen of the Paris congress. The American affiliate is known as the Congress of American Women.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 228-232.*)

INTERNATIONAL JURIDICAL ASSOCIATION

1. Cited as "a Communist front and an offshoot of the International Labor Defense."

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 149.*)

2. Cited as a "Communist created and controlled" organization closely associated with the International Labor Defense and specializing "in the defense of individual Communists or of the Communist Party itself." It has followed the Communist Party line "without deviation."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 35 and 265.*)

3. "The bulletins of the International Juridical Association from its very inception show that it is devoted to the defense of the Communist Party, Communists, and radical agitators and that it is not limited merely to legal research but to sharp criticism of existing governmental agencies and defense of subversive groups."

(*New York City Council Committee investigating the Municipal Civil Service Commission.*)

INTERNATIONAL LABOR DEFENSE

1. Cited as subversive and Communist.

(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released June 1, 1948, and September 21, 1948.*)

2. "Legal arm of the Communist Party."

(*Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7686.*)

3. "It is, essentially, the legal defense arm of the Communist Party of the United States." It is the American section of M. O. P. R., or Red International of Labor Defense, often referred to as the Red International Aid. Its international congresses meet in Moscow.

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, January 3, 1939, pp. 75-78; also cited in Reports, January 3, 1940, p. 9; June 25, 1942, p. 19; March 29, 1944, p. 69.*)

4. "The International Labor Defense * * * was part of an international network of organizations for the defense of Communist lawbreakers." At a conference held in Detroit, Mich., April 27-28,

1946, the International Labor Defense and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties merged to form the new front, Civil Rights Congress.

(*Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 1115, September 2, 1947, pp. 1 and 2.*)

5. "One of the more potent and obvious Communist-front organizations."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1947, p. 214.*)

6. "The Communist Party established the International Labor Defense in this Country during the summer of 1925, as the United States section of the International Red Aid * * * with headquarters in Moscow."

(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, pp. 198 and 342.*)

7. "An organization whose Communist character and international affiliation are a matter of public record."

(*New York City Council Committee investigating the Municipal Civil Service Commission.*)

INTERNATIONAL PROGRAMS

1. Cited as a Communist front.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 392.*)

INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS

1. "The [Communist] Party's publishing house," headed by Alexander Trachtenberg.

(*Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7686.*)

2. "Publishing agency of the Communist Party."

(*Brief for the United States in the case of William Schneiderman, p. 145.*)

3. An "official publishing house of the Communist Party in the United States," and a medium through which "extensive Soviet propaganda is subsidized in the United States."

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Reports, January 3, 1940, p. 8, and June 25, 1942, p. 18; also cited in Report, March 29, 1944, p. 76.*)

4. "Official American Communist Party publishing house."

(*Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 1920, May 11, 1948, p. 80.*)

5. An "important publishing organization of the Communist Party" located at 381 Fourth Avenue, New York City and headed by Alexander Trachtenberg. "These organizations * * * are among the most important institutions in the Red Fascist network. None but tested Communist and fellow travelers are permitted to participate in the management and direction of such enterprises."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 35 and 214.*)

6. One of the two chief publishers of the Communist Party and controlled by the Communists.

(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 289.*)

INTERNATIONAL RED AID

1. Cited as a key international Communist legal defense organization, of which International Labor Defense was a unit, operating in many countries, including the U. S. MOPR is the Russian section of this world-wide conspiratorial defense activity.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Reports, 1947, p. 214; 1948, p. 265.*)

INTERNATIONAL THEATRE INSTITUTE

1. A key world-wide Communist front to bring together playwrights, actors and other theatrical artists and figures for propaganda and agitation activities in the interests of Communism and of Soviet Russia.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1949.*)

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF STUDENTS

1. "The World Federation of Democratic Youth brought into being the International Union of Studetnts, which held a meeting in Prague on August 17-31, 1946. The administration and direction of this project was entrusted to a 17-man executive committee, of whom 12 were known Communists."

(*Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 271, April 17, 1947, p. 13.*)

2. The above, which held a meeting in Prague on August 17-31, 1946, sprang out of the World Federation of Democratic Youth, which is "part of the Communist International solar system."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 187.*)

INTERNATIONAL WORKERS ORDER

1. Cited as subversive and Communist.

(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.*)

2. "One of the strongest Communist organizations."

(*Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7688.*)

3. "One of the most effective and closely knitted organizations among the Communist-'front' movements. It claims a membership of 150,000, bound together through an insurance and social plan. * * * It has contributed large sums of money to Communist Party campaigns, and * * * regularly sponsors Communist Party endorsed candidates for public office." In 1944, its president and general secretary respectively were William Weiner, former Communist Party treasurer, and Max Bedacht, former party secretary.

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, January 3, 1939, p. 79; March 29, 1944, p. 181; also cited in Reports of January 3, 1940, p. 9; and June 25, 1942, p. 19.*)

4. Cited as a Communist front which "purports to be a fraternal organization" but "through its segregated language lodges, mobilizes for the revolution in the United States." It "has followed the Communist Party line without deviation and has supported all Communist causes in the United States." It "has openly supported Communist candidates for public office." "Much of the financing of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee is undertaken by" the above.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 267, 268, and 271.*)

5. "Controlled by Communists" and listed in the cash-receipt record of the Communist Party of Boston in 1937; there was an "affiliation" between the Young Communist League and the IWO youth section.

(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, pp. 308, 398, and 570.*)

6. Cooperated with the Communist Party in defense of Morris U. Schappes, Communist convicted of perjury.

(*Rapp-Coudert Committee, Report, 1942, p. 293.*)

7. Cited as "subversive and un-American."

(*Special Subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations, Report, April 21, 1943, p. 3.*)

8. Cited as a Communist front.

(*Pennsylvania Commonwealth Counsel before the reviewing board of the Philadelphia County Board of Assistance, January, 1942.*)

INTERNATIONAL YOUTH DAY

1. "Organized and promoted by the Communists, and on which demonstrations take place in various Massachusetts communities * * * [It] occurs in early September."

(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 172.*)

INTER-PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATION

1. Cited as a Communist enterprise.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 6 and 172.*)

2. One of the sponsoring organizations of the Boston Scottsboro Defense Committee, whose campaign was directed by the International Labor Defense.

(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 209.*)

INTERPROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR SOCIAL INSURANCE

1. "Among the more conspicuous fronts for Communist activity in the field of relief, assistance, and welfare work, and dealing with problems of the unemployed and underprivileged."

(Prior to 1936, the Interprofessional Association for Social Insurance was known simply as the Inter-Professional Association.)

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 73.*)

ITALIAN ANTI-FASCIST COMMITTEE

1. Cited as a Communist front.

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 83.*)

JAPANESE-AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR DEMOCRACY

1. Cited as a typical Communist front in the nationality group field.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1949.*)

JEFFERSON CHORUS

1. Cited as a Communist front.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 392.*)

JEFFERSON SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

1. Cited as an "adjunct of the Communist Party."

(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letter to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947.*)

2. "At the beginning of the present year, the old Communist Party Workers School and the School for Democracy were merged into the Jefferson School of Social Science."

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 150.*)

3. "This Communist school * * * opened its first term in February of 1944 at 575 Sixth Avenue (New York City) * * * the result of * * * a merger of the Workers School and the School for Democracy."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 269 and 270.*)

JEWISH BLACKBOOK COMMITTEE OF LOS ANGELES

1. Cited as a Communist front.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1947, p. 56.*)

JEWISH PEOPLE'S COMMITTEE

1. Cited as subversive and Communist.

(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released June 1, 1948 and September 21, 1948.*)

2. "An organization which has been nothing more nor less than an adjunct of the Communist Party."

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 153.*)

3. "Among the Communist-front organizations for racial agitation" which also serve as "money-collecting media" and "as special political organizing centers for the racial minority they pretend to champion."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1947, p. 45.*)

JEWISH PEOPLE'S FRATERNAL ORDER

1. Cited as a Communist front as "an affiliate of the International Workers Order, a Communist-front organization previously referred to * * *"
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 130.*)

JOHN REED CLUBS OF THE UNITED STATES

1. "Named after the founder of the American Communist Party."
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 175.*)
2. "Communist organizations named in honor of John Reed who was one of the earliest Communist leaders in the United States."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 270.*)
3. Among organizations created or controlled by the Communist Party or part of a united front with the Party, which supported the First United States Congress Against War. The congress was openly led by the Communists.
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, pp. 462 and 466.*)

JOINT ANTI-FASCIST REFUGEE COMMITTEE

1. Cited as subversive and Communist.
(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948.*)
2. A "Communist-front organization headed by Edward K. Barsky."
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 174.*)
3. Cited as a Communist front "Formed in March of 1942 through the merger of the American Committee to Save Refugees, the Exiled Writers Committee of the League of American Writers, and the United American Spanish Aid Committee. * * * The sponsors and officers * * * with few exceptions are admitted Communists and fellow travelers." The policy "is in concert with the foreign policy of the Soviet Union." Much of the financing is undertaken by the International Workers Order.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 270 and 271.*)

JOINT COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE BRAZILIAN PEOPLE

1. Cited as a Communist front.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 335.*)

JOINT COMMITTEE, NATIONAL NEGRO CONGRESS AND UNITED PUBLIC WORKERS

1. Cited as a Communist front, active in the Los Angeles Board of Education election campaign in 1947.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 271.*)

JOINT COMMITTEE FOR TRADE UNION RIGHTS

1. Cited as a Communist front which, jointly with the International Labor Defense, supported and defended Communist Party leaders of the International Fur and Leather Workers Union when they were serving prison terms.
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, pp. 125 and 166.*)
2. A "Communist created and controlled front organization."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 34.*)

JOINT COMMITTEE OF TRADE UNIONS ON SOCIAL WORK

1. "Among the more conspicuous fronts for Communist activity in the field of relief, assistance, and welfare work, and dealing with problems of the unemployed and underprivileged."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 73.*)

KARL MARX SOCIETY OF BROOKLYN COLLEGE

1. "Branch of the Young Communist League operating under an alias."
(*Rapp-Coudert Committee, Interim Report, December 1, 1941, p. 101.*)

KEYNOTE RECORDINGS, INC.

1. Cited as a Communist front.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 392.*)

KING-RAMSEY-CONNOR DEFENSE COMMITTEE

1. Cited as a Communist front.
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 94.*)
2. A "Communist created and controlled front organization."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 34.*)

KOREAN CULTURE SOCIETY

1. Cited as a Communist front "for the purpose of protesting American policy in Korea and creating pressure for the recall of American occupation forces from that country."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 112.*)

KOREAN INDEPENDENT NEWS COMPANY

1. Cited as a Communist front "for the purpose of protesting American policy in Korea and creating pressure for the recall of American occupation forces from that country."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 112.*)

LABOR LYCEUM

1. "When Frankfeld, Secretary of the Communist Party in Massachusetts, testified before the Commission, he stated the Communist headquarters in Chelsea was at the Labor Lyceum." At the Lyceum

were an active Communist group and school, and an extensive Marxian library.

(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 158.*)

LABOR'S NON-PARTISAN LEAGUE

1. Cited as a Communist front for political activity in California, of particular significance because it "supported President Roosevelt * * * until the Hitler-Stalin Pact when, in accordance with Communist party policy, it became an isolationist group, opposing U. S. participation in the war (against Hitler) and aid to the allies. It was one of the first Communist fronts to adopt the Communist-inspired slogan * * * 'The Yanks Are Not Coming' * * *."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 272.*)

LABOR RESEARCH ASSOCIATION

1. Cited as subversive and as an "affiliate" of the Communist Party.
(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letter to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947.*)
2. "A direct auxiliary of the Communist Party."
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 47.*)
3. Cited as a "completely Communist-controlled organization."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 47.*)
4. "One of the creations of the Communist Party and * * * founded by Robert W. Dunn, a prominent Communist."
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 380.*)

LABOR SPORTS UNION

1. The Youth Section of the International Workers Order has as one of its particular tasks the building of sports federations allied to the Red Sports League and bearing the name Labor Sports Union.
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 401.*)

LAWYERS COMMITTEE OF THE MEDICAL BUREAU AND NORTH AMERICAN COMMITTEE TO AID SPANISH DEMOCRACY

1. The Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy was one of the many Loyalist-aid organizations carrying out the line established by the Communist Party and received the support of that party in its activities.
(*New York City Council Committee investigating the Municipal Civil Service Commission.*)

LAWYERS COMMITTEE ON AMERICAN RELATIONS WITH SPAIN

1. "When it was the policy of the Communist Party to organize much of its main propaganda around the civil war in Spain," the above "Communist lawyers' front organization" supported this movement.
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, pp. 168 and 169.*)

2. Cited as a Communist front.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 335.*)

3. Headquarters for the above, whose chairman was Paul J. Kern, were located at 20 Vesey Street, New York City, in the offices of a German-language Communist paper. It consisted of a group of lawyers who were also members of the International Juridical Association and National Lawyers Guild and it carried out the policy and program which had the support, the approval, and endorsement of the Communist Party, evidenced by the wide publicity and approval given it in the Daily Worker, official organ of the Communist Party.

(*New York City Council Committee investigating the Municipal Civil Service Commission.*)

LAWYERS COMMITTEE TO KEEP THE UNITED STATES OUT OF WAR

1. Cited as one of the fronts set up by the Communist Party after the Stalin-Hitler Pact in order to agitate to keep America out of the "imperialist war."

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 169.*)

2. Cited as a Communist front with headquarters at 20 Vesey Street, New York City, and organized "for the purpose of supporting the Stalin-Hitler Pact."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March, 1948, p. 272.*)

LEAGUE AGAINST YELLOW JOURNALISM

1. Cited as a Communist enterprise in New England.

(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 146.*)

LEAGUE FOR DEMOCRATIC CONTROL

1. "Lectures, study classes, schools, and 'progressive' organizations were promoted, with Soviet Russia the subject of glorification and Marxian economics the subject of teaching. Among these activities were. * * * The League for Democratic Control [which] held forth at 16 Carver Street (Boston). William Z. Foster, present-day (1937) titular leader of the Communist Party in the United States, was a frequent speaker at various gatherings."

(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 113.*)

LEAGUE FOR PROTECTION OF MINORITY RIGHTS

1. Cited as a Communist front.

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 152.*)

LEAGUE OF AMERICAN WRITERS

1. Cited as subversive and Communist.

(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released June 1, 1948 and September 21, 1948.*)

2. "The League of American Writers, founded under Communist auspices in 1935 * * * in 1939 * * * began openly to follow the Communist Party line as dictated by the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. * * * The overt activities of the League of American Writers in the last 2 years leave little doubt of its Communist control."
(*Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, pp. 7685 and 7686.*)
3. "The League of American Writers is generally regarded as a Communist subsidiary. Its policies, of course, always parallel those of the Communist Party."
(*State Department, quoted in a letter from Harold L. Ickes, then Secretary of the Interior, to Robert Morss Lovett, dated April 25, 1941.*)
4. Cited as a Communist front.
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Reports January 3, 1940, p. 9; June 25, 1942, p. 19; and March 29, 1944, p. 48.*)
5. "The most naive spectator and quarter-witted participant of this first Writers' Congress [at which the League of American Writers was formed] could not have been deceived as to its Communist revolutionary character. * * * The League of American Writers carried on the work of the Congress, calling new Congresses as often as Communist Party strategy demanded."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1945, pp. 121, 122, and 126.*)
6. "In the Daily Worker of April 30, 1935, it is stated that another organization was set up to be known as the League of American Writers, membership limited to revolutionary writers."
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 288.*)
7. Cooperated with the Communist Party in the defense of Morris U. Schappes, Communist teacher convicted of perjury.
(*Rapp-Coudert Committee, Report, 1942, p. 293.*)
8. Cited as "subversive and un-American."
(*Special Subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations, Report, April 21, 1943, p. 3.*)

LEAGUE OF AMERICAN WRITERS HOLLYWOOD SCHOOL

1. Cited as a Communist Party institution.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 275.*)

LEAGUE OF PROFESSIONAL GROUPS FOR FOSTER AND FORD

1. Cited as a Communist front activity.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 196-246.*)

LEAGUE OF STRUGGLE FOR NEGRO RIGHTS

1. "The Communist-front movement in the United States among Negroes is known as the National Negro Congress. Practically the same group of leaders directing this directed the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, which was, until 2 years ago, the name of the

Communist front for Negroes. The name was later changed * * * in 1936 to the National Negro Congress."

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, January 3, 1939, p. 81; also cited in Report, March 29, 1944, p. 116.*)

2. "Among the Communist-front organizations for racial agitation" which also serve as "money-collecting media" and "as special political organizing centers for the racial minority they pretend to champion."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1947, p. 45.*)

3. Among the organizations "which were created or controlled by the Communist Party or were a part of the United Front" with the Communist Party, and which supported the First United States Congress Against War in 1932. The Communist Party's slogan, Defend the Soviet Union, was "the first objective" of the Congress.

(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, pp. 462 and 465.*)

LEAGUE OF WOMEN SHOPPERS

1. "An organization which this committee found to be a Communist-controlled front by indisputable documentary evidence obtained from the files of the Communist Party in Philadelphia." The original executive secretary of the League was Helen Kay, a Communist Party member.

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, pp. 121 and 181.*)

2. Cited as one of "Communist-inspired and therefore Communist-dominated and controlled" consumer organizations whose "chief purpose was to create mass feminine support in labor disputes."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1943, p. 100.*)

LEAGUE OF WORKERS THEATRES

1. "This organization is strictly a Communist project and was openly a section of the International Union of Revolutionary Theatres."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 278.*)

LEAGUE OF YOUNG SOUTHERNERS (Also known as Council of Young Southerners)

1. Cited as a Communist front.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 334 and 336.*)

LEO GALLAGHER TESTIMONIAL DINNER

1. "The Communist Party periodically stages rallies, banquets, fund drives, and other celebrations in honor of important anniversaries of leading Communists. * * * Among the most significant of such unquestionably Communist activities are the testimonial banquets for such well-known Communists as Mother Ella Reeve Bloor

and Leo Gallagher." A "typical" example is the Leo Gallagher testimonial dinner.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 56.*)

LINCOLN BOOK STORE, HOLLYWOOD

1. Cited as "the Hollywood Center for the dissemination of Communist Party literature."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1947, p. 35.*)

LITHUANIAN WOMEN'S CLUB (MASSACHUSETTS)

1. "Active in promoting Communist objectives."

(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 157.*)

LOS ANGELES EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION, INC. (See People's Educational Center)

LOS ANGELES EMERGENCY COMMITTEE TO AID THE STRIKERS

1. Cited as a Communist front.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1947, p. 55.*)

LOS ANGELES YOUTH COMMITTEE AGAINST UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING

1. Cited as a Communist front, organized at a meeting on March 9, 1948, in Los Angeles.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 279 and 280.*)

MACEDONIAN-AMERICAN PEOPLE'S LEAGUE

1. Cited as subversive and Communist.

(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.*)

MANHATTAN CITIZENS COMMITTEE

1. Cited as a Communist front.

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 152.*)

MARITIME BOOK SHOP

1. One of the principal book stores of the Communist Party in California; located at 15 Embarcadero, San Francisco.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 224.*)

MARSHALL FOUNDATION (See Robert Marshall Foundation)

MARXIST STUDY CLUB OF THE CITY COLLEGE OF NEW YORK

1. "Branch of the Young Communist League operating under an alias."

(*Rapp-Coudert Committee, Interim Report, December 1, 1941, p. 101.*)

MAY DAY PARADE

1. "The May Day Parade in New York City is an annual mobilization of Communist strength."

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 179.*)

MEDICAL BUREAU AND NORTH AMERICAN COMMITTEE TO AID SPANISH DEMOCRACY

1. "In 1937-38, the Communist Party threw itself wholeheartedly into the campaign for the support of the Spanish Loyalist cause, recruiting men and organizing multifarious so-called relief organizations." Among these was the above.

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 82.*)

2. Cited as a Communist front.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 319, 335, and 336.*)

3. The International Workers Order, in its energetic aid to Leftist Spanish armies, contributed money through the above.

(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, pp. 394 and 395.*)

4. Cited as "Subversive and un-American."

(*Special Subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations, Report, April 21, 1943, p. 3.*)

MEMORIAL DAY YOUTH PEACE PARADE (1938)

1. Cited as a Communist front.

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 83.*)

METHODIST FEDERATION FOR SOCIAL ACTION (See Methodist Federation for Social Service)**METHODIST FEDERATION FOR SOCIAL SERVICE**

1. Among the more conspicuous fronts for Communist activity in the field of relief, assistance, and welfare work, and dealing with problems of the unemployed and underprivileged. * * * A statement in the Methodist Federation for Social Service Bulletin No. 8, 1932 * * * admits cooperation with * * * the Communists."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 73 and 246.*)

2. Cited as not an official church unit but "it is trying to use the prestige of the Methodist Church to promote the line of the Communist Party."

(*Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, "100 Things You Should Know About Communism and Religion," 1948, p. 15.*)

METROPOLITAN INTERFAITH AND INTERRACIAL COORDINATING COUNCIL

1. The International Labor Defense and National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, both Communist fronts devoted to defending the Communist Party and its members, "recently combined with" the above "and now operates under the name of the Civil Rights Congress" which continues to defend Communists. (*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 201.*)

MEXICAN AND SPANISH-AMERICAN PEOPLES CONGRESS

1. Cited as a Communist front. (*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 102.*)

MICHIGAN CIVIL RIGHTS FEDERATION

1. Cited as a subversive and Communist organization which has been succeeded by and now operates as the Michigan Chapter of the Civil Rights Congress. (*Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, June 1, 1948, and September 21, 1948.*)
2. Cited as an affiliate of the Communist front, the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. (*Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7687.*)
3. Cited as a Communist front. (*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 83.*)
4. Among a "maze of organizations" which were "spawned for the alleged purpose of defending civil liberties in general but actually intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law." (*Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 1115, September 2, 1947, p. 3.*)
5. Cited as a Communist front. (*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 335.*)

MICHIGAN SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

1. Cited as subversive and Communist. (*Attorney General Tom Clark, supplemental list, April 27, 1949.*)

MILK CONSUMERS PROTECTIVE COMMITTEE

1. Cited as an organization "of Communist complexion." (*New York City Council Committee investigating the Municipal Civil Service Commission.*)

MINNEAPOLIS CIVIL RIGHTS COMMITTEE

1. Among a "maze of organizations" which were "spawned for the alleged purpose of defending civil liberties in general but actually

intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law."

(*Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 1115, September 2, 1947, p. 3.*)

MOBILIZATION FOR DEMOCRACY

1. "One of the largest, and certainly one of the most potentially potent front organizations created by California Communists" since 1945. "As an excuse for" its creation, the Communist Party seized upon the appearance of Gerald L. K. Smith in Los Angeles. It is "a Communist-inspired and dominated organization, carefully window-dressed and directed" and "engaged in inciting riots, racial hatred, and disrespect for law and order." It is one of the "key Communist fronts in California."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1947, pp. 48, 62, and 369.*)

MODEL YOUTH LEGISLATURE OF NORTHERN CALIFORNIA (1939)

1. A "Communist transmission belt."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1947, p. 103.*)

MODERN BOOK SHOP

1. Cited as one of the principal book stores of the Communist Party in California; located at 405 West De La Guerra Street, Santa Barbara.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 224.*)

MODERN CULTURE CLUB

1. Cited as a Communist front.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 392.*)

MODESTO DEFENSE COMMITTEE

1. Cited as a Communist organization.

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 94.*)

MOONEY DEFENSE COMMITTEE

1. Hollywood unit cited as a Communist front.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1943, p. 91.*)

MOTION PICTURE ARTISTS' COMMITTEE

1. Cited as a Communist front whose personnel "clearly indicates its character."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 310.*)

MOTION PICTURE DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE (See Hollywood Motion Picture Democratic Committee)

MURRAY DEFENSE COMMITTEE

1. Cited as a Communist front.
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 102.*)
2. A "Communist created and controlled front organization."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 34.*)

MUSICIANS' COMMITTEE TO AID SPANISH DEMOCRACY

1. Cited as a Communist front "organized for musicians" and "in behalf of Spanish Communists."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 311 and 391.*)

MUSICIANS' CONGRESS COMMITTEE

1. Cited as a Communist front organized early in 1944 "for the purpose of 'involving' non-Communist musicians in Communist activities." The headquarters was located at 1655 Cherokee Street in Los Angeles; the Musicians' Congress was subsequently held at the Roosevelt Hotel in Hollywood on February 1, 1944.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 310, 316, and 317.*)

MUSICIANS' DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE

1. "In 1939 the Communist faction in the Los Angeles Musicians' Union, Local 47, organized a Communist front which became known as the Musicians' Democratic Committee. It was designated the 'Hollywood Chapter' with headquarters at 1558 North Vine Street in Hollywood. * * * The letterhead of the organization stated that the group was 'affiliated with the Motion Picture Democratic Committee.'"
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 311.*)

MUSICIANS' OPEN FORUM

1. A "Communist-inspired front for musicians in Los Angeles * * * active in 1943 and 1944."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 318.*)

NATIONAL EMERGENCY CONFERENCE FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

1. Cited as a Communist front "filled from top to bottom with veteran Communist Party liners" formed during the period of the Hitler-Stalin Pact "after the dissolution of the American League for Peace and Democracy."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 327.*)

NATIONAL ANTIWAR WEEK

1. Designated from March 31 to April 6, 1932, by the Central Committee of the Communist Party "for the defense of the Soviet Union."
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 126.*)

NATIONAL CIVIL RIGHTS FEDERATION

1. Cited as a Communist front.

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 48.*)

NATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST CENSORSHIP OF THE THEATRE ARTS

1. "Communists regard the infiltration, manipulation, and control of artistic and cultural media as one of the indispensable phases of their program of revolution." The above is "typical" of Communist-front organizations in this classification.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 52.*)

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR PEOPLE'S RIGHTS

1. The National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners, "substantially equivalent to International Labor Defense, legal arm of the Communist Party," changed its name "in January 1938 to National Committee for People's Rights * * * no substantial change was made in its set-up or functions."

(*Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7686.*)

2. Cited as a Communist front which succeeded the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners. "The organization under its new name remained entirely under the control of the Communist Party."

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Reports, June 25, 1942, p. 20; and March 29, 1944, pp. 48 and 182.*)

3. Among a "maze of organizations" which were "spawned for the alleged purpose of defending civil liberties in general but actually intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law."

(*Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 1115, September 2, 1947, p. 3.*)

4. Cited as a Communist front.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 61.*)

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENSE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS

1. Cited as subversive and Communist.

(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.*)

2. "Substantially equivalent to International Labor Defense, legal arm of the Communist Party * * * [It] caters to financially and socially prominent liberals * * * the cases selected for defense, so far as known, have without exception, been those of Communists or cases publicized by the Communist Party. * * * In January 1938 it's name was changed to the National Committee for People's Rights."

(*Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7686.*)

3. Cited as a Communist front, together with its successor organization, National Committee for People's Rights. The executive secretary of the above was Joseph Gelders, well-known Communist.
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Reports, June 25, 1942, p. 20; and March 29, 1944, pp. 48 and 182.*)
4. Cited as a Communist-front organization defending Communists.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 112.*)

NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO ABOLISH THE POLL TAX

1. "Among the Communist-front organizations for racial agitation" which also serve as "money-collecting media" and "as special political organizing centers for the racial minority they pretend to champion."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1947, p. 45.*)

NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO AID VICTIMS OF GERMAN FASCISM

1. Cited as a Communist front.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 124.*)
2. Among organizations, created or controlled by the Communist Party or part of a united front with the party, which supported the First United States Congress Against War. The congress was openly led by the Communists.
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, pp. 462 and 466.*)

NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO WIN THE PEACE

1. Cited as subversive and Communist.
(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.*)
2. "One of a group of Communist fronts designed to soften the foreign policy of the United States in order to give Soviet Russia a free hand in China and in Central Europe. * * * It was born in Washington, D. C., at the Win the Peace Conference held there April 5, 6, and 7, 1946. * * * National headquarters are located at 23 West Twenty-sixth Street, New York City. * * *
"The Southern California Committee to Win the Peace became inactive on June 17, 1947. In its final appeal, this branch requested that its units go over as a body into the Progressive Citizens of America."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 318 and 319.*)

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CIVIL LIBERTIES

1. Cited as a Communist front.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 61 and 335.*)

NATIONAL CONGRESS FOR UNEMPLOYMENT AND SOCIAL INSURANCE

1. Cited as a Communist front, held January 5, 6, 7, 1935, in Washington, D. C., and headed by Herbert Benjamin, leading Communist. (*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, pp. 94 and 116.*)
2. "Among the more conspicuous fronts for Communist activity in the field of relief, assistance, and welfare work, and dealing with problems of the unemployed and underprivileged." (*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 73.*)

NATIONAL COUNCIL AGAINST CONSCRIPTION

1. Cited as a Communist front "organized for the purpose of attracting many good citizens * * * who are against war." (*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 319.*)

NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN-BORN WORKERS

1. "Communist-inspired." (*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 160.*)

NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE FOREIGN-BORN

1. Cited as a Communist front, later known as the American Committee for Protection of Foreign-Born. "It devotes much of its efforts to protecting foreign-born Communists. There is no evidence or record where this organization, its successors, or similar fronts ever attempted to protect a foreign-born anti-Communist." (*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 321.*)

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICANS OF CROATIAN DESCENT

1. Cited as subversive and Communist. (*Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released June 1, 1948, and September 21, 1948.*)

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP

1. Cited as subversive and Communist. (*Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.*)
 2. "In recent months, the Communist Party's principal front for all things Russian has been known as the National Council for American-Soviet Friendship." (*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 156.*)
 3. "The military alliance of the United States with Soviet Russia during World War II made it necessary for American Communists to discard its old vehicle, the Friends of the Soviet Union, and to replace it with the new, streamlined National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. * * *
- "The Senate committee finds that the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship * * * is a direct agent of the Soviet

Union, engaged in traitorous activities under the orders of Stalin's consular service in the United States."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 321, 322, and 327.*)

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF ARTS, SCIENCES AND PROFESSIONS

1. Cited as "one of the most important Communist-front organizations in the country" and "a basic Communist front, with a long record of succession from other Communist fronts" and "formed in 1948 as a split-off from Progressive Citizens of America, which at that time dissolved and merged into the Communist created and controlled Independent Progressive Party." * * *

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Partial Report, California Senate Journal, p. 698, March 23, 1949.*)

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CROATIAN WOMEN (See Central Council of American Women of Croatian Descent)

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO YOUTH

1. Among Communist and Communist-front organizations which have received funds from the American People's Fund, a "Communist financial enterprise."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 168.*)

NATIONAL EMERGENCY COMMITTEE TO STOP LYNCHING

1. Cited as a Negro Communist-front organization, whose secretary was Ferdinand C. Smith, high in the circles of the Communist Party.

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 180.*)

NATIONAL EMERGENCY CONFERENCE

1. Cited as a Communist front.

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 49.*)

2. "It will be remembered that during the days of the infamous Soviet-Nazi pact, the Communists built protective organizations known as the National Emergency Conference, the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights, which culminated in the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties."

(*Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 1115, September 2, 1947, p. 12.*)

3. Cited as a Communist front.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 115.*)

NATIONAL EMERGENCY CONFERENCE AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT WAGE PROGRAM

1. The name of a conference held in Washington, D. C., in 1935, by the Communist Party, and all of the leaders of which were well-known members of the Communist Party.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 263.*)

NATIONAL EMERGENCY CONFERENCE FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

1. Cited as a Communist front.
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, pp. 48 and 102.*)
2. "It will be remembered that during the days of the infamous Soviet-Nazi pact, the Communists built protective organizations known as the National Emergency Conference, the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights, which culminated in the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties."
(*Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 1115, September 2, 1947, p. 12.*)
3. Cited as a Communist-front organization defending Communists.
"After the dissolution of the American League for Peace and Democracy in February 1940, the Communist Party frantically organized a new series of front organizations. The National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights was one of the new fronts and it was filled from top to bottom with veteran Communist Party liners."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 112 and 327.*)
4. Cited as "subversive and un-American."
(*Special Subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations, Report, April 21, 1943, p. 3.*)

NATIONAL FEDERATION FOR CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTIES

1. Cited as subversive and Communist.
(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.*)
2. "Part of what Lenin called the solar system of organizations, ostensibly having no connection with the Communist Party, by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters of their program. * * * [It] was established as a result of a conference on constitutional liberties held in Washington, D. C., June 7-9, 1940. * * * The defense of Communist leaders such as Sam Darcy and Robert Wood, party secretaries for Pennsylvania and Oklahoma, have been major efforts of the federation."
(*Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7687.*)
3. "There can be no reasonable doubt about the fact that the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties—regardless of its high-sounding name—is one of the viciously subversive organizations of the Communist Party."
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 50; also cited in Reports, June 25, 1942, p. 20; and January 2, 1943, pp. 9 and 12.*)
4. Among a "maze of organizations" which were "spawned for the alleged purpose of defending civil liberties in general but actually intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law."
(*Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 1115, September 2, 1947, p. 3.*)

5. "One of the most important Communist-front organizations in the United States. While following the Communist Party line meticulously the organization has been helpful to Communists who wish to evade and defy government agencies investigating subversive activities." It "recently" combined with International Labor Defense and the Metropolitan Interfaith and Interracial Coordinating Council of New York to form the Civil Rights Congress.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 201 and 327.*)

NATIONAL FREE BROWDER CONGRESS

1. Cited as a Communist front which arranged to meet March 28-29, 1942. Earl Browder was general secretary of the Communist Party, U.S.A., who had been convicted and sentenced to Atlanta Federal Penitentiary for passport fraud.
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, pp. 69, 87, and 132.*)
2. Cited as typical of "Communist created and controlled front organizations" in the category of "defense committees created to raise funds for Communists, fellow travelers, and Marxist apologists who become involved in arrests, prosecutions, and investigations."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 34.*)

NATIONAL HUNGER MARCH TO WASHINGTON

1. Cited as a Communist created and controlled front.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 34.*)
2. "In 1931 the (Communist) Party organized the first national hunger march * * * with elaborate planning and schedules worthy of and resembling military mobilization * * * it is evident that the Communists were more interested in overturning existing labor union leadership, in creating mass class hatred, in 'exposing' all but their own leadership, than they were in genuine economic improvement for the unemployed."
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 121.*)

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND LETTERS

1. A "Communist front for writers, artists, and musicians."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 330.*)

NATIONAL JOINT ACTION COMMITTEE FOR GENUINE SOCIAL INSURANCE

1. "Among the most conspicuous fronts for Communist activity in the field of relief, assistance, and welfare work, and dealing with problems of the unemployed and underprivileged."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 73.*)

NATIONAL LABOR COMMITTEE AGAINST WAR

1. Cited as a Communist front.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 342.*)

NATIONAL LAWYERS' GUILD

1. Cited as a Communist front.

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 149.*)

2. It "came into being early in 1937" and "on June 5, 1940, A. A. Berle, Jr., Assistant Secretary of State, resigned from the National Lawyers' Guild, charging that the leadership of the organization is not prepared 'to take any stand which conflicts with the Communist Party Line.'" Cited by the committee as a "Communist front for attorneys."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Reports, 1943, p. 98; 1947, p. 48; 1948, pp. 331-332.*)

3. "The late Frank P. Walsh, Comptroller Joseph D. McGoldrick, Judge Ferdinand Pecora, Hon. Adolph Berle, Assistant Secretary of State; Nathan Margold, Solicitor to the Department of the Interior, and others have resigned from the organization on the ground that it is Communist-dominated."

(*New York City Council Committee investigating the Municipal Civil Service Commission.*)

NATIONAL NEGRO CONGRESS

1. Cited as subversive and Communist.

(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.*)

2. A. Phillip Randolph, president of the Congress since its inception in 1936, refused to run again in April, 1940 "on the ground that it was 'deliberately packed with Communists and Congress of Industrial Organizations members who were either Communists or sympathizers with Communists.'

"Commencing with its formation in 1936, Communist Party functionaries and 'fellow travelers' have figured prominently in the leadership and affairs of the Congress * * * according to A. Phillip Randolph, John P. Davis, secretary of the congress, has admitted that the Communist Party contributed \$100 a month to its support.

"From the record of its activities and the composition of its governing bodies, there can be little doubt that it has served as what James W. Ford, Communist Vice Presidential candidate elected to the executive committee in 1937, predicted: 'An important sector of the democratic front,' sponsored and supported by the Communist Party."

(*Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, pp. 7687 and 7688.*)

3. "The Communist-front movement in the United States among Negroes is known as the National Negro Congress. * * * The officers of the National Negro Congress are outspoken Communist

sympathizers, and a majority of those on the executive board are outright Communists."

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, January 3, 1939, p. 81; also cited, Reports, January 3, 1940, p. 9; June 25, 1942, p. 20; and March 29, 1944, p. 180.*)

4. A "Communist-dominated mass organization."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1947, p. 230.*)

5. William Z. Foster, chairman of the Communist Party, U. S. A., stated that the role of his party was "one of central importance in the organization of the great united front National Negro Congress in Chicago, February, 1936."

(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 298.*)

NATIONAL NEGRO WOMEN'S COUNCIL

1. "Among the Communist-front organizations for racial agitation" which also serve as "money collecting media" and "as special political organizing centers for the racial minority they pretend to champion."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1947, p. 45.*)

NATIONAL PEOPLE'S COMMITTEE AGAINST HEARST

1. A "subsidiary" organization of the American League for Peace and Democracy.

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, June 25, 1942, p. 16.*)

2. Cited as a Communist front.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 157 and 333.*)

NATIONAL RECEPTION COMMITTEE TO THE RUSSIAN DELEGATION

1. Cited as a Communist front.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 147.*)

NATIONAL RIGHT-TO-WORK CONGRESS

1. "Among the Communist-front organizations in the fields of politics and legislation."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 63.*)

NATIONAL STUDENT LEAGUE

1. A "front organization of the Communist Party."

(*Attorney General Francis Biddle, in re Harry Bridges, May 28, 1942, p. 10.*)

2. The Communists' front organization for students, about which Earl Browder, former general secretary of the Communist Party, said, "From the beginning it has been clearly revolutionary in its program and activities."

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 119; also cited in Report, January 3, 1939, p. 80.*)

3. A "well-known Communist front."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1943, p. 99.*)
4. "The Communist Party has sought to win masses of student youth to the party's objectives. Particular efforts have been made * * * to organize college students into a revolutionary organization. For this purpose the National Students League was created. * * * The main office of the National Students League (since merged with the American Student Union) was shared with the Red Sports Union in New York, an avowed Communist organization, and upon the walls appeared the Soviet emblem of hammer and sickle."
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, pp. 135 and 527.*)
5. "A mass revolutionary student organization."
(*Report filed with Wisconsin Committee on the Investigation of Charges of Communistic Teachings and Other Subversive Activities, Wisconsin State Senate Journal, September 21, 1935, p. 2415.*)
6. A "Communist student front."
(*Rapp-Coudert Committee, Interim Report, December 1, 1941, p. 14.*)

NATIONAL UNEMPLOYMENT COUNCILS (See also Unemployed Councils)

1. Merged with the National Unemployed League and Workers Alliance to form the Workers Alliance of America, a Communist-front organization.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 383.*)

NATIONAL YOUTH ASSEMBLY AGAINST UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING

1. "This is not a sincere pacifist group opposed to war. It is a Stalinist front to keep the United States militarily weak so that Russia will be free for its conquest of Europe and Asia, and eventually, for the conquest of the Western Hemisphere. It functions precisely, and for the same purpose, as did the American Peace Mobilization during the Stalin-Hitler pact."

The assembly was called for Washington, D. C., February 15-16, 1948. "Harold Orr, left-wing president of the Communist-dominated Los Angeles Teachers Union of A. F. of L., carried the floor fight to gag John Broy, organizer for the Textile Workers, C. I. O., from proposing his measure to ban Communists and fellow travelers from the organization. Arnold Schimberg of the Communist American Youth for Democracy publicly defended the organization's position including Communists in the new organization."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 338-340.*)

NATIONAL WALLACE FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE

1. Cited as a Communist political action front, allied with the Communist controlled Progressive Party.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1949.*)

NATIONAL WARTIME CONFERENCE OF THE PROFESSIONS

1. Cited as a subversive group.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1949.*)

NATURE FRIENDS OF AMERICA

1. Cited as subversive and Communist.

(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.*)

2. A "creation of the Communist Party" and "another method of recruiting Communist support by means of outdoor activities."

(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 494.*)

NEGRO CULTURAL COMMITTEE

1. "Among the Communist-front organizations for racial agitation" which also serve as "money-collecting media" and "as special political organizing centers for the racial minority they pretend to champion."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1947, p. 45.*)

NEGRO LABOR VICTORY COMMITTEE

1. Cited as subversive and Communist.

(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released June 1, 1948, and September 21, 1948.*)

2. Cited as a Communist-front organization whose chairman is Ferdinand C. Smith, "high in the circles of * * * the Communist Party."

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, pp. 179 and 180.*)

3. "Among the more conspicuous Communist-front groups in the racial * * * subclassification."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 75.*)

NEGRO PEOPLE'S COMMITTEE TO AID SPANISH DEMOCRACY

1. Cited as a Communist front.

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 180.*)

2. Cited as a Communist front.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 335.*)

NEWARK PEACE ACTION COMMITTEE

1. Cited as a Communist front.

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 156.*)

NEW CENTURY PUBLISHERS

1. "An official Communist Party publishing house, which has published the works of William Z. Foster and Eugene Dennis, Communist Party chairman and executive secretary, respectively, as well as

the theoretical magazine of the party known as Political Affairs and the Constitution of the Communist Party, U. S. A."

(*Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 1920, May 11, 1948, pp. 7 and 35.*)

2. "The largest of the Communist publishing firms. It is located at 832 Broadway, New York City. It was incorporated December 8, 1944, with a capital stock of \$20,000."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 214.*)

NEW COMMITTEE FOR PUBLICATIONS

1. Cited as subversive and Communist.

(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.*)

NEW DANCE LEAGUE

1. "Communists regard the infiltration, manipulation, and control of artistic and cultural media as one of the indispensable phases of their program of revolution. * * * Typical of Communist-front organizations in this classification" is the above.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 52.*)

NEW ENGLAND COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENSE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS

1. A unit of the national committee of like name, operated from 11 Beacon Street, Boston. The national group "is operated by Communists, Communist supporters, Socialists, and a sprinkling of 'liberals'."

(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 140.*)

NEW ENGLAND COUNCIL FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN

1. Cited as among leagues, committees, and councils set up by the Communist Party for protection of the foreign-born.

(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 124.*)

NEW ENGLAND LABOR COLLEGE

1. Cited as among "active Communist groups and schools" conducted at the Labor Lyceum, 453 Broadway, Chelsea, Mass.

(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 158.*)

NEW ENGLAND LABOR RESEARCH ASSOCIATION

1. "In New York the Communist Party prints labor notes, economic notes, etc., under the imprint of Labor Research Association. There was set up in Massachusetts the New England Labor Research Association patterned after that in New York."

(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 283.*)

NEW THEATRE GROUP, BOSTON

1. Cited as an activity of the Communist Party.
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 274.*)

NEW THEATRE LEAGUE

1. Cited as a Communist front.
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, pp. 120, 171, and 177.*)
2. Cited as a Communist front.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 52.*)

NEW THEATRE PLAYERS

1. Sponsored by the American League Against War and Fascism in Clifford Odets' play, *Waiting for Lefty*, at Brattle Hall in Cambridge, Mass.
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 477.*)

NEW UNION PRESS

1. Cited as a Communist front.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 336.*)

NEW YORK CONFERENCE FOR INALIENABLE RIGHTS

1. Cited as a Communist front. It called a conference on February 14, 1941, at Mecca Temple, New York City, "to attack anti-sabotage legislation and the Rapp-Coudert Committee investigating subversive activities in the New York public-school system."
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 149.*)

NEW YORK CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

1. Former name for the Civil Rights Congress of New York.
(*Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 1115, September 2, 1947, p. 9.*)

NEW YORK PEACE ASSOCIATION

1. Cited as a Communist front.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 336 and 342.*)

NEW YORK STATE CONFERENCE ON LEGISLATION FOR DEMOCRACY

1. Title of a conference held February 14, 1941, at Mecca Temple, New York City, under the auspices of the New York Conference for Inalienable Rights in order to "attack antisabotage legislation and the Rapp-Coudert Committee investigating subversive activities in the New York public school system."
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 149.*)
2. "An organization which was engaged in attacking the defense program of the Government of the United States, under the guise of

protecting civil liberties, the rights of labor, and the health and welfare of the people."

(New York City Council Committee investigating the Municipal Civil Service Commission.)

NEW YORK STATE CONFERENCE ON NATIONAL UNITY

1. Cited as a Communist front.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 133.)
2. Cited as a Communist front.
(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 334.)

NEW YORK TOM MOONEY COMMITTEE

1. Cited as a Communist front. "For many years, the Communist Party organized widespread agitation around the Mooney case, and drew its members and followers into the agitation."
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 154.)
2. Cited as a Communist front.
(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 147.)

NEW YORK TRADE UNION COMMITTEE TO FREE EARL BROWDER

1. Cited as among the projects and campaigns of the Communist Party. Browder was general secretary of the Communist Party, U. S. A.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 126.)

NON-PARTISAN COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF VITO MARCANTONIO

1. Cited as a Communist front.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 122.)
2. A "Communist created and controlled front organization."
(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 34.)
3. Cited as an organization "of Communist complexion."
(New York City Council Committee investigating the Municipal Civil Service Commission.)

NON-PARTISAN LABOR DEFENSE

1. A "Communist created and controlled front organization."
(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 34.)

NON-SECTARIAN COMMITTEE FOR POLITICAL REFUGEES

1. Cited as a Communist front.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 152.)
2. "Among the more conspicuous Communist front groups in the Racial, Refugee, and Alien subclassification."
(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 75.)

NORTH AMERICAN COMMITTEE TO AID SPANISH DEMOCRACY

1. Cited as a Communist front.
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Reports, January 3, 1940, p. 9; and March 29, 1944, p. 146.*)
2. Cited as a Communist front.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 310.*)
3. Received funds raised by the Communist Party of Massachusetts and the International Workers Order. Printed material from the above was sold over the counters of the Communist bookshops in Massachusetts.
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, pp. 395, 562, and 563.*)
4. Cited as subversive and Communist.
(*Attorney General Tom Clark, supplemental list, April 27, 1949.*)

NORTH AMERICAN SPANISH AID COMMITTEE

1. Cited as subversive and Communist.
(*Attorney General Tom Clark, supplemental list, April 27, 1949.*)

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA CIVIL RIGHTS COUNCIL (See Civil Rights Council of Northern California)

OHIO SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

1. Cited as an adjunct of the Communist Party.
(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letter to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947.*)

OKLAHOMA COMMITTEE TO DEFEND POLITICAL PRISONERS

1. "The NCDPP (National Committee to Defend Political Prisoners) * * * organized the Oklahoma Committee To Defend Political Prisoners; and solicited funds and sought to obtain as much Nation-wide publicity as possible on behalf of Robert Wood, Oklahoma State secretary of the Communist Party, and his Communist codefendants in the recent syndicalism trials in that State."
(*Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7686.*)
2. Cited as subversive and Communist.
(*Attorney General Tom Clark, supplemental list, April 27, 1949.*)

OKLAHOMA FEDERATION FOR CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS

1. Affiliate of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties.
(*Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7687.*)

OPEN LETTER FOR CLOSER COOPERATION WITH THE SOVIET UNION

1. "In September, 1939, one month after the signing of the Nazi-Soviet Pact, a group of Communist Party stooges issued an open letter bearing the title given above. It should be emphasized that the

United States and the Soviet Union were not at that time collaborating for the crushing of the Axis military might. On the contrary, the Soviet Union was collaborating with the Nazis."

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, June 25, 1942, p. 21.*)

2. Cited as a Communist front.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 65.*)

OPEN LETTER IN DEFENSE OF HARRY BRIDGES

1. Cited as a Communist front.

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, pp. 87, 112, 129, 166.*)

2. Cited as a Communist front.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 381.*)

OPEN LETTER TO AMERICAN LIBERALS

1. "In March, 1937, a group of well-known Communists and Communist collaborators published an open letter bearing the title given above. The letter was a defense of the Moscow purge trials."

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, June 25, 1942, p. 21.*)

2. Cited as a Communist letter.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 324.*)

OPEN ROAD

1. Cited as a Communist front.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 341.*)

PACIFIC NORTHWEST LABOR SCHOOL (See Seattle Labor School)

PACIFIC PUBLISHING FOUNDATION, INC.

1. Publishers in San Francisco of the People's Daily World, "the west coast mouthpiece of the Communist Party."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 342.*)

PAX PRODUCTIONS

1. "This Communist organization poses as the 'producers of progressive radio transcriptions for use by unions and liberal organizations.'"

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 341.*)

PEN AND HAMMER CLUB

1. Cited as a Communist front.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 91.*)

PEOPLE'S ARTISTS, INC.

1. Cited as a Communist front.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 392.*)

PEOPLE'S CHORUS

1. Cited as a Communist front.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 392.*)

PEOPLE'S COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

1. Cited as a Communist front.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 342.*)

PEOPLE'S CONGRESS FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY

1. The above, "meeting in Pittsburgh in November, 1937, spawned the American League for Peace and Democracy."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 150.*)

PEOPLE'S EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION (See People's Educational Center)**PEOPLE'S EDUCATIONAL CENTER**

1. Cited as a subversive and Communist organization incorporated under the name Los Angeles Educational Association, Inc., and also known as People's Educational Association, People's University, or People's School.

(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released June 1, 1948 and September 21, 1948.*)

2. "An expanded Communist Party institution for the purpose of disseminating Communist propaganda. * * * Out of the mouth of the Communist director of the Communist Los Angeles Workers' School is a positive statement to the effect that the Communist Workers' School helped organize the People's Educational Center as the organization which would carry on its activities. * * * The People's Educational Center was presented with the Communist Library of the Workers' School.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1947, pp. 67, 70, and 369.*)

PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE OF APPLIED RELIGION

1. Cited as subversive and Communist.

(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released June 1, 1948, and September 21, 1948.*)

PEOPLE'S ORCHESTRA

1. Cited as a Communist front.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 392.*)

PEOPLE'S PEACE

1. Cited as a Communist front which came into being early in 1947 and which "follows the Communist line as laid down in the People's Daily World and other Communist publications" and "opposes the Truman doctrine for aid to Greece and Turkey and propagandizes for appeasement of Russia."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 350.*)

PEOPLE'S RADIO FOUNDATION, INC.

1. Cited as subversive and Communist.
(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.*)
2. Cited as a Communist front.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 392.*)

PEOPLE'S SCHOOL (See People's Educational Center)**PEOPLE'S SONGS**

1. Cited as a Communist front which was incorporated January 31, 1946, in New York City. "All of the productions of People's Songs, Inc., follow the Communist Party line as assiduously as do the people behind the organization."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 392.*)

PEOPLE'S UNIVERSITY (See People's Educational Center)**PETITIONS TO GRANT PARDONS TO McNAMARA AND SMITH**

1. Cited as a Communist created and controlled front.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 34.*)

PHILADELPHIA SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE AND ART

1. Cited as an adjunct of the Communist Party.
(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letter to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947.*)

PHOTO LEAGUE

1. Cited as a subversive, Communist organization in New York City.
(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.*)

PHYSICIANS FORUM

1. Cited as Communist-infiltrated organization, operating in the field of organized medicine.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1949.*)

NATIONAL CITIZENS POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE

1. Cited as "typical of the completely Communist created and controlled organizations in the * * * political association and civic committee field."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 38.*)

POLSKA PARTJA KOMUNISTYZNA

1. Polska Partja Komunistyczna (Polish Communistic Party) is among "foreign-language Marxist groups" serving as satellites to the Communist Party of Massachusetts.
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 154.*)

PRESTES DEFENSE COMMITTEE

1. A "Communist organization * * * defending Luiz Carlos Prestes, leading Brazilian Communist and former member of the executive committee of the Communist International." *(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 112.)*

PROGRESSIVE BOOK SHOP, BOSTON

1. Cited as a Communist book shop located at 8 Beach Street, Boston, Massachusetts. *(Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 43.)*

PROGRESSIVE BOOK SHOP, LOS ANGELES AND SACRAMENTO

1. Among the "principal book stores of the Communist Party in California." Located at 722 West Sixth Street, Los Angeles, and 1002 Seventh Street, Sacramento. *(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 224.)*

PROGRESSIVE CITIZENS OF AMERICA

1. Cited as a "new and broader Communist front for the entire United States" formed in September 1946 at the direction of "Communist steering committees" from the "Communist-dominated National Citizens Political Action Committee" and the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions. *(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1947, p. 369, and 1948, p. 354.)*

PROGRESSIVE COMMITTEE TO REBUILD AMERICAN LABOR PARTY

1. "The Communist wing of the American Labor Party." *(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, pp. 102 and 127.)*
2. Cited as a Communist front. *(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1947, p. 210.)*
3. "Communist faction" of the American Labor Party of New York. "Leaders denounced as Communists by members of the State executive committee of their own party." *(New York City Council Committee investigating the Municipal Civil Service Commission.)*

PROGRESSIVE GERMAN-AMERICANS

1. Cited as subversive and Communist. *(Attorney General Tom Clark, supplemental list, April 27, 1949.)*

PROGRESSIVE LABOR SCHOOL, BOSTON

1. Cited as an organization "allied to" and "subordinate" to the Communist Party of Massachusetts. It was formerly known as the Workers School. *(Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, pp. 54 and 274.)*

PROGRESSIVE PARTY (See Independent Progressive Party)

PROGRESSIVE TRADE UNION SCHOOL

1. "In the spring of 1937 the Communists announced special classes in Worcester (Mass.) under the guise of a trade-union school."
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 232.*)

PROGRESSIVE WOMEN'S COUNCIL

1. "An outright affiliate of the Communist Party."
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 153.*)
2. A "well known Communist Party 'transmission belt.'"
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1943, p. 103.*)

PROLETARIAN PARTY OF AMERICA

1. Cited as subversive and Communist.
(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.*)
2. A "pseudonym for the Communist Party."
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 130.*)

PROMPT PRESS

1. "Prints the bulk of the literature issued by the Communist Party and its affiliates and is reliably known to be owned by the Communist Party."
(*Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7685.*)
2. "Communist printing organization."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 196.*)

PROTESTANT ASSOCIATES

1. Cited as a Communist front to support and promote circulations of the Communist line publication, *The Protestant*, which has been condemned by responsible Protestant church leaders of all faiths as "subversive and disruptive."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1949.*)

PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE FOR DEMOCRACY IN RADIO

1. Cited as a Communist front.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 392.*)

PROVISIONAL INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION COMMITTEE OF NEGRO WORKERS

1. "The international Communist movement among Negroes throughout the world is known as the Provisional International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers. This is a section of the Red International of Labor Unions, which is a part of the Third (Communist) International which directs the activities of Communist movements in labor unions."
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, January 3, 1939, p. 81.*)

PUBLIC USE OF ARTS COMMITTEE

1. Cited as a Communist front which was organized by the Communist-controlled Artists Union.
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 112.*)
2. Cited as a Communist created and controlled front organization.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 34 and 381.*)

RECEPTION FOR TSOLA DRAGOICHEVA

1. Cited as a Communist activity to honor Tsola Dragoicheva, a Bulgarian Communist mass murderer.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1949.*)

REFUGEE SCHOLARSHIP AND PEACE CAMPAIGN

1. Cited as a Communist front.
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 87.*)
2. A subsidiary group organized by the American League for Peace and Democracy.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 151.*)

REICHSTAG FIRE TRIAL ANNIVERSARY COMMITTEE

1. Cited as a Communist front which was formed in December, 1943, by prominent Communists and Communist sympathizers to honor Georgi Dimitrov, former head of the Communist International.
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, pp. 112 and 156.*)
2. Cited as a Communist created and controlled front organization.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 34.*)

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS LEAGUE

1. Cited as subversive and Communist.
(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.*)

REVOLUTIONARY WRITERS FEDERATION

1. "American section of the Soviet International Union of Revolutionary Writers, or the International Bureau of Revolutionary Literature."
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 444.*)

ROBERT MARSHALL FOUNDATION

1. "This fund of more than a million dollars, which originated with the rich man's son whose name it bears, has been one of the principal sources for the money with which to finance the Communist Party's fronts generally in recent years."
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 50.*)

ROBOTNIK POLSKI (Polish Labor)

1. Cited as a foreign-language Marxist group serving as a satellite of the Communist Party of Massachusetts.
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 154.*)

RUSSIAN AMERICAN INDUSTRIAL CORP.

1. An organization active in 1922 whose purpose was the operation of the textile and clothing industry in Russia. It "had a political as well as a business interest in the Bolshevik revolution." It "was eventually a complete flop."
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, pp. 74 and 76.*)
2. Cited as a Communist front.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 65.*)

RUSSIAN RECONSTRUCTION FARMS, INC.

1. Cited as a Communist enterprise which was directed by Harold Ware, son of the well-known Communist Ella Reeve Bloor. It received funds from the Garland Fund.
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 76.*)
2. Cited as a Communist front.
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 357.*)

SAMUEL ADAMS SCHOOL

1. Cited as an adjunct, in Boston, Mass., of the Communist Party.
(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letter to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947.*)

SCHAPPES DEFENSE COMMITTEE

1. "A front organization with a strictly Communist objective, namely, the defense of a self-admitted Communist who was convicted of perjury in the courts of New York." Morris U. Schappes "was on the teaching staff of the College of the City of New York for a period of 13 years. In 1936 his superior on the college faculty refused to recommend him for reappointment. This action led to prolonged agitation by the Communist Party."
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 71.*)
2. Among typical front organizations for the defense, honor, or support of known Communists.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 55.*)
3. Cited as subversive and Communist.
(*Attorney General Tom Clark, supplemental list, April 27, 1949.*)

SCHNEIDERMAN-DARCY DEFENSE COMMITTEE

1. Defended Schneiderman and Darcy, both Communist organizers.
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 95.*)

2. Cited as a Communist front "created early in 1940 for the defense of William Schneiderman, California State secretary of the Communist Party, and Sam Darcy, the former organizer of the Communist Party in California."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Reports, 1943, p. 97; 1948, p. 358.*)
3. Cited as subversive and Communist.
(*Attorney General Tom Clark, supplemental list, April 27, 1949.*)

SCHOOL FOR DEMOCRACY

1. "In 1941, the Communists established a school in New York City which was known as the School for Democracy (now merged with the Workers School into the Jefferson School of Social Science)." The above "was established by Communist teachers ousted from the public school system of New York City."
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, pp. 89 and 168.*)
2. Cited as an educational institution controlled by the Communist Party.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 269.*)

SCHOOL OF JEWISH STUDIES

1. Cited as an adjunct in New York City of the Communist Party.
(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letter to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947.*)

SCOTTSBORO DEFENSE COMMITTEE

1. Cited as a Communist front.
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Reports, January 3, 1939, p. 82; and March 29, 1944, p. 177.*)
2. Cited as a Communist created and controlled front organization.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 34.*)
3. A "United front under the guidance of the Communist Party."
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 213.*)

SEATTLE LABOR SCHOOL

1. Cited as an "adjunct of the Communist Party."
(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letter to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947.*)
2. "In the network of Communist schools is another Pacific coast institution, the Seattle Labor School."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 54.*)

SECOND ANNUAL CALIFORNIA MODEL LEGISLATURE

1. "A Communist-inspired youth movement" held in Sacramento.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1943, p. 91.*)

SECOND STATEWIDE EMERGENCY LEGISLATIVE CONFERENCE

1. Cited as a Communist front political activity.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1947, p. 240-242.*)

SERBIAN VIDOVDAN COUNCIL

1. Cited as subversive and Communist.

(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released June 1, 1948, and September 21, 1948.*)

SIMON J. LUBIN SOCIETY

1. A Communist front for California agrarian penetration, organized in the fall of 1936 by Unit 104 of the Professional Section of the Communist Party. "It became the channel through which the Communist Party conducts its fight against the farming industry."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1943, p. 86.*)

SLAVIC COUNCIL OF LOS ANGELES

1. "This Communist front follows the current Communist Party line in propagandizing to keep America weak and to build the prestige of the Soviet Union and its Slavic satellites."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 374.*)

SLEEPY LAGOON DEFENSE COMMITTEE

1. Cited as "among the Communist-front organizations for racial agitation" which also serve as "money collecting media" and "as special political organizing centers for the racial minority they pretend to champion." When 17 Mexican youths were convicted for murder or criminal assault after a disturbance at Sleepy Lagoon near Los Angeles in August 1942, the Communist Party "had a new cause celebre" which "was used by Communist Party steering committees to feed the racial agitation and antagonism created by the 'zoot-suit' riots."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1947, p. 45; 1945, pp. 174 and 195.*)

SLOVENE NATIONAL CONGRESS

1. Cited as among the Communist fronts set up for the support and praise of Communist-dominated nations and Communist Parties in other lands.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 66.*)

SLOVENIAN-AMERICAN NATIONAL COUNCIL

1. Cited as subversive and Communist.

(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released June 1, 1948, and September 21, 1948.*)

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

1. Cited as a subversive and Communist organization which seeks "to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means."

(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.*)

2. "A dissident Communist group not affiliated with the Communist International nor officially recognized by either the Communist hierarchy in Moscow or the Communist Party, U.S.A. Essentially, however, both the official and unofficial groups base themselves upon the teachings of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. The Socialist Workers Party are followers of Leon Trotsky, who was expelled from the Russian Communist Party. The official Communists are followers of Joseph Stalin."

(*Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 1920, May 11, 1948, p. 141.*)

SOCIALIST YOUTH LEAGUE

1. Cited as subversive and Communist.

(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.*)

SOCIAL WORKERS COMMITTEE TO AID SPANISH DEMOCRACY

1. Cited as a Communist front.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 334.*)

SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL RELATIONS WITH SOVIET RUSSIA

1. Cited as a Communist front.

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 129.*)

SOCIETY FOR TECHNICAL AID TO SOVIET RUSSIA

1. Cited as an organization "directly controlled by the Soviet Government."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 376.*)

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE

1. Cited as a Communist front which received money from the Robert Marshall Foundation, one of the principal sources of funds by which many Communist fronts operate.

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 147.*)

2. Cited as a Communist-front organization "which seeks to attract southern liberals on the basis of its seeming interest in the problems of the South" although its "professed interest in southern welfare is simply an expedient for larger aims serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party in the United States."

(*Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 592, June 12, 1947.*)

3. Cited as typical of completely Communist created and controlled organizations in the civic committee field. It received money from the American People's Fund, a "Communist financial organization."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 38 and 168.*)

SOUTHERN NEGRO YOUTH CONGRESS

1. Cited as subversive and among the affiliates and committees of the Communist Party, U.S.A.
(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letter to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947.*)
2. Cited as a Communist front.
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, January 3, 1940, p. 9.*)
3. Cited as "surreptitiously controlled" by the Young Communist League.
(*Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 271, April 17, 1947, p. 14.*)
4. Cited as a Communist front.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 335.*)

SPANISH REFUGEE RELIEF CAMPAIGN

1. Cited as a Communist front.
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, January 3, 1940, p. 9.*)
2. "This organization suffered a split because of the charge of Communist domination. * * * This organization likewise received Communist approval and support and was part of the network of organizations fostered by the Communist Party in its Spanish campaign."
(*New York City Council Committee investigating the Municipal Civil Service Commission.*)
3. Cited as a Communist front.
(*Pennsylvania Commonwealth Counsel before the reviewing board of the Philadelphia County Board of Assistance, January, 1942.*)

SPANISH REFUGEE APPEAL

1. A Communist-front activity, with addresses at 111 Ellis St., San Francisco, and 808 So. Vermont Ave., Los Angeles, which carried on fund-raising and agitation in California in collaboration with Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, a Communist front, from 1947 to 1949.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1949.*)

SPANISH SPEAKING PEOPLES CONGRESS

1. Cited as a Communist-front organization, with offices in the Wilcox Building in Los Angeles.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 309.*)

SPRINGFIELD CITIZENS' PROTECTIVE LEAGUE

1. Among "the Communists' fringe organizations."

(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 148.*)

SPRINGFIELD COMMITTEE TO AID SPANISH DEMOCRACY

1. Among "the Communists' fringe organizations."

(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 148.*)

STAGE FOR ACTION

1. Cited as a Communist front.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 392.*)

STATEMENT DEFENDING THE COMMUNIST PARTY

1. Cited as a full page statement, published in *The Daily Worker* "in defense of the Communist Party, March 5, 1941, * * * during the period of the Hitler-Stalin Pact" and listing the signers.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 377.*)

STATE-WIDE CIVIL RIGHTS CONFERENCE (CALIFORNIA)

1. Cited as a Communist front.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 172.*)

STATE-WIDE LEGISLATIVE CONFERENCE (CALIFORNIA)

1. Cited as a Communist front. "In an effort to influence the current session of the legislature and to attract innocents to the Communist Party program for the organization of its third party, Progressive Citizens of America, a second State-wide legislative conference was called for February 15, 16, 1947, at the California Junior High School Auditorium in Sacramento."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Reports, 1947, p. 240; 1948, p. 376.*)

STUDENT CONGRESS AGAINST WAR

1. "During the Christmas holidays of 1932, the Student Congress Against War was convened at the University of Chicago. This gathering was held at the direct instigation of the (Amsterdam) World Congress Against War. The Chicago Congress was completely controlled by the Communists of the National Student League. * * * The gathering ended its sessions by adopting the program of the (Amsterdam) World Congress Against War which, as has been pointed out, called for 'the turning of imperialist war into civil war.' For many years, the latter slogan represented one of the chief objectives of the Communist movement throughout the world."

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 119.*)

2. "Among the more conspicuous Communist fronts that have defied brazenly the interests of the United States and other freedom-loving nations whenever they have been in conflict with the interests of Soviet Russia and world Communism."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 67.*)

STUDENT RIGHTS ASSOCIATION

1. Cited as a Communist front.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1943, p. 99.*)

STUDENTS FOR WALLACE

1. This Communist-front activity was organized originally by the Communist front, Progressive Citizens of America. It was active on California campuses in racial agitation, support and defense of known Communists, agitation against legislative investigating committees and political campaigning for the Communist controlled third party. It also featured the Communist party line against universal military training. After the 1948 elections it merged with Young Progressives, the youth section of the third party movement, and the combination took over the functions and activities of American Youth for Democracy, which had been direct successor to the Young Communist League.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1949.*)

SWEETHEARTS OF SERVICEMEN

1. "A division of the AYD born during the last war is the organization known as the Sweethearts of Servicemen. Its maiden effort was a delegation of 75 young women who arrived in Washington to petition Congress 'to give their soldier boy friends and husbands the chance to vote in the 1944 Presidential elections'."
(*Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 271, April 17, 1947, p. 12.*)
2. Cited as a subsidiary Communist front created by American Youth for Democracy.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 186.*)

TEEN-AGE ART CLUB

1. Cited as "a Los Angeles branch of American Youth for Democracy. This group held an art exhibit in June 1947 at the Los Angeles Museum. Marty Lupner, chairman of American Youth for Democracy in Los Angeles, was in charge of the exhibits."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 188.*)

TESTIMONIAL DINNER TO VITO MARCANTONIO

1. A Communist affair, similar to the Leo Gallagher and Mother Bloor testimonial celebrations.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1949.*)

THEATRE ARTS COMMITTEE (TAC)

1. Cited as a Communist front which was formerly known as the Theatre Committee To Aid Spanish Democracy, and which was affiliated with the American League for Peace and Democracy, Medical Bureau, and North American Committee To Aid Spanish Democracy.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 377.*)

THEODORE DREISER WORK SHOP

1. Cited as a Communist front.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 392.*)

TOM MOONEY LABOR SCHOOL

1. "The San Francisco Workers' School * * * frankly and openly a school for instruction in Communism * * * by 1943 * * * had been rechristened the Tom Mooney Labor School. * * * A glance at the curriculum reveals that changing the name of the San Francisco Workers' School to the Tom Mooney Labor School did not result in any deviation from the Marxist character of the institution * * * the Tom Mooney Labor School functioned for years with Communist Party functionaries as instructors."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1947, pp. 63, 77, 78, and 79.*)

TOM PAINE SCHOOL

1. Cited as an adjunct in Westchester, N. Y., of the Communist Party.

(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letter to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947.*)

TOM PAINE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

1. Cited as an adjunct in Philadelphia, Pa., of the Communist Party.

(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letter to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947.*)

TOUMAYIAN CLUB

1. "A Communist headquarters, including a class for children," located at 405 Broadway, Chelsea, Mass.

(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 157.*)

TOWN MEETING OF YOUTH

1. Cited as a Communist front in Washington, D. C.

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 167.*)

TRADE UNION ADVISORY COMMITTEE

1. Set up in 1937 by the International Labor Defense, legal arm of the Communist Party.

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 89.*)

TRADE-UNION COMMITTEE FOR FREE SPAIN

1. Cited as a Communist front.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 217.*)

TRADE-UNION COMMITTEE ON INDUSTRIAL ESPIONAGE

1. Cited as a Communist front.

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 154.*)

TRADE-UNION COMMITTEE TO PUT AMERICA BACK TO WORK

1. Cited as a Communist front.

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 140.*)

TRADE-UNION EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE

1. "Affiliate of the Red International of Labor Unions, which was the trade-union bureau of the Comintern * * *. In 1929 the Trade-Union Educational League became the Trade-Union Unity League."

(*Attorney General Francis Biddle, in re Harry Bridges, May 28, 1942, p. 10.*)

2. "Zinoviev, Losowsky, and Lenin proceeded during the next 12 months to organize the Trade-Union Educational League. This project was put under the control of and made amenable, as far as its work was concerned, to the central executive committee of the Communist Party of America, and it remains so today. William Z. Foster was selected to lead this movement. In the spring of 1921 he went to Russia, and the understanding was that he went there to get his instructions for the organization of the Trade-Union Educational League, gather facts about the Communist work in Soviet Russia, the functioning of Communist ideas and theories, and learn how the officials of the Communist International wanted these ideas and theories applied in America through the Trade-Union Educational League."

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, January 3, 1939, pp. 47 and 48.*)

3. Cited as a Communist organization.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

TRADE UNION NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR RUSSIAN RELIEF

1. Cited as a Communist front.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 169.*)

TRADE UNION SERVICE, INC.

1. "The Communist influence is established through such news services as" the above.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 49.*)

TRADE UNION THEATRE

1. Cited as a Communist front.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 392.*)

TRADE-UNION UNITY LEAGUE

1. "In 1929 the Trade-Union Educational League became the Trade-Union Unity League * * * The TUUL, as it was called, openly supported and was dominated by the Communist Party."

(*Attorney General Francis Biddle, in re Harry Bridges, May 28, 1942, p. 10.*)

2. Cited as a Communist front directly controlled by the Communist Party. It was headed by William Z. Foster, national chairman of the Communist Party, U. S. A.; was composed of some 20 Communist unions and was affiliated with the Red International of Labor Unions of Moscow.

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Reports, March 29, 1944, pp. 94 and 124; also cited in Report, January 3, 1939, p. 63, and January 3, 1940, pp. 8 and 9.*)

3. "When the Communist Party was organized formally in 1919, it denounced the A. F. of L. as 'reactionary' and proclaimed that U. S. Communists would lead the way to 'revolutionary industrial unionism.' The Trade-Union Unity League was launched and attempted to create blatantly Communist-sponsored and controlled trade unions; * * * After a long record of failure, the Communist Party abandoned the Trade-Union Unity League and returned to the pre-Communist Party program of the radical organizations. Every attempt was made to infiltrate and dominate the A. F. of L."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 36.*)

4. "The federation of the Communist Party's own labor unions. * * * The Comintern ordered American Communists to create their own unions, particularly amongst basic industries. Thus arose the Trade-Union Unity League Unions (TUUL). * * * In 1935 the Communists were ordered to disband the TUUL unions and actively to penetrate the corresponding unions of the American Federation of Labor."

(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, pp. 121 and 306.*)

TRADE UNION WOMEN'S COMMITTEE FOR PEACE

1. "Another Communist front which was integrated with the American Peace Mobilization in the Communist Party's drive against America's military preparedness."

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, pp. 155 and 156.*)

TWENTIETH CENTURY BOOK SHOP

1. Among the "principal book stores of the Communist Party in California" and located at 1721 Webster Street, Oakland.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 224.*)

TWENTIETH CENTURY BOOK STORE

1. A "Communist Party book store on Bancroft Avenue in Berkeley (Calif.)."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1947, p. 272.*)

UKRANIAIN RELIEF COMMITTEE

1. A Communist-front activity in the nationality group field.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1949.*)

UNEMPLOYED COUNCILS (See also National Unemployment Councils)

1. "Prior to the organizational convention of the Workers' Alliance, called by Herbert Benjamin, who makes no secret of his membership in the Communist Party and of his allegiance to the Soviet Union and the Third (Communist) International of Russia; and David Lasser, a Socialist, pro-Communist and pro-Soviet, a number of unemployed movements had been set up in the United States. The two largest of these were the 'unemployed leagues' and the 'unemployed councils,' organized and directed by the above-mentioned individuals." The unemployed councils later became the Workers Alliance.
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, January 3, 1939, pp. 72 and 74.*)
2. Cited as among groups which are "creations of and controlled by the Communist Party. * * * In April of 1932 the Communist Party gave its orders to its Unemployed Councils, operating from 751 Washington Street and from 145 Harrison Avenue, Boston, to organize another hunger march on the State House, with instructions to link its agitation with the war in China and defense of the Soviet Union."
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, pp. 78 and 130.*)

UNEMPLOYED COUNCILS COMMITTEE

1. Cited as "a branch of the Trade-Union Unity League (TUUL) which, in turn, was the federation of the Communist Party's own labor unions."
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 121.*)

UNION OF CONCERTED PEACE EFFORTS

1. Cited as a Communist front, a leader of which was Clarence Hathaway, then editor of the Daily Worker.
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 154.*)

UNITED ACTION COMMITTEE (See United Committee of Action)**UNITED AID FOR PEOPLES OF AFRICAN DESCENT**

1. Cited as among the more conspicuous Communist fronts for racial, refugee, and alien groups.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 75.*)

UNITED AMERICAN ARTISTS

1. Cited as a Communist front.

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 129.*)

2. "Communists regard the infiltration, manipulation, and control of artistic and cultural media as one of the indispensable phases of their program of revolution. * * * Typical of Communist fronts in this classification" is the above.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 52.*)

UNITED AMERICAN SPANISH AID COMMITTEE

1. "In 1937-38, the Communist Party threw itself wholeheartedly into the campaign for the support of the Spanish Loyalist cause, recruiting men and organizing multifarious so-called relief organizations." Among these was the above Communist front.

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, pp. 82 and 138.*)

2. Cited as a Communist front "organized by the Communist Party of the United States to assist Spanish Communists in finding a haven in Mexico." It merged with the American Committee to Save Refugees and the Exiled Writers Committee of the League of American Writers to become in March 1942 the Joint Anti-Facists Refugee Committee.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 270 and 353.*)

UNITED COMMITTEE TO SAVE THE JEWISH STATE AND THE UNITED NATIONS

1. This Communist front for agitation in the racial field was created early in 1948. It publicly aligned the Communist Party with such other notorious front groups as Progressive Citizens of America, American Youth for Democracy and the major Communist nationality agitation fraternal order, International Workers Order.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1949.*)

UNITED COMMITTEE OF ACTION

1. Cited as a "Communist front for veterans"; also known as United Action Committee.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 386.*)

UNITED COMMITTEE OF SOUTH SLAVIC AMERICANS

1. Cited as subversive and Communist.

(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released June 1, 1948, and September 21, 1948.*)

2. Among the "more conspicuous" Communist fronts for the support and praise of Communist-dominated nations and Communist parties in other lands.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 66.*)

UNITED FARMERS LEAGUE

1. Cited as a Communist-controlled organization in California for small farmers; it was started early in 1933 by Carl Patterson, then State organizer for the Communist Party, and it collapsed in 1934.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1943, pp. 37 and 38.*)
2. Among organizations which for the most part were created and controlled by the Communist Party or were part of the United Front with the party and supported the First United States Congress Against War in 1932. The Congress was openly led by the Communists.
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 462.*)

UNITED FRONT FOR HERNDON

1. Cited as a Communist front.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 335.*)

UNITED HARLEM TENANTS AND CONSUMERS ORGANIZATION

1. Cited as subversive and Communist.
(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released June 1, 1948, and September 21, 1948.*)

UNITED MAY DAY COMMITTEE

1. Cited as subversive and among the affiliates and committees of the Communist Party, U. S. A.
(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letter to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947.*)

UNITED MAY DAY CONFERENCE

1. "Engineered by the Communist Party for its 1937 May Day demonstrations" and also organized by the party in 1938.
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, pp. 124 and 139.*)

UNITED MAY DAY PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE

1. "The May Day parade in New York City is an annual mobilization of Communist strength." Ferdinand Smith, high in the circle of the Communist Party, was a "member of the United May Day Provisional Committee in 1939, vice chairman of the same committee in 1940, and cochairman in 1941."
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 179.*)

UNITED NEGRO AND ALLIED VETERANS OF AMERICA

1. Cited as subversive and among the affiliates and committees of the Communist Party, U. S. A.
(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letter to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947.*)

UNITED SPANISH AID COMMITTEE

1. Cited as subversive and Communist.
(*Attorney General Tom Clark, supplemental list, April 27, 1949.*)

UNITED STATES CONGRESS AGAINST WAR

1. "The American League Against War and Facism was formally organized at the First United States Congress Against War and Fascism held in New York City, September 29 to October 1, 1933. * * * The program of the first congress called for the end of the Roosevelt policies of imperialism and for the support of the peace policies of the Soviet Union, for opposition to all attempts to weaken the Soviet Union. * * * Subsequent congresses in 1934 and 1936 reflected the same program."

(Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7683.)

2. "Convened in St. Nicholas Arena, New York City, on September 29, 1933 * * * it was completely under the control of the Communist Party. Earl Browder was a leading figure in all its deliberations. In his report to the Communist International, Browder stated: 'The Congress from the beginning was led by our party quite openly.'"

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report March 29, 1944, p. 119; also cited in Reports, January 3, 1940, p. 11; and June 25, 1942, p. 14.)

3. "The American League Against War and Fascism was founded at the United States Congress Against War. * * * Henri Barbusse (French Communist) came to the United States in September of 1933 to participate in the United States Congress Against War, at which he was a speaker with Earl Browder, general secretary of the Communist Party."

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 150 and 385.)

4. "The call for the First United States Congress Against War * * * listed for the most part organizations which were created or controlled by the Communist Party or were a part of the United Front * * * the Communist Party's slogan, 'Defend the Soviet Union,' is the first objective. * * * The January 1934 issue of The Communist, the Communist Party's own magazine, described the United States Congress Against War as under its own control."

(Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, pp. 462, 465, and 466.)

UNITED STATES VETERANS COUNCIL (See Council of United States Veterans)

UNITED STUDENT PEACE COMMITTEE

1. "The American Student Union * * * announced that it set up the 'front' movement, the United Student Peace Committee, in 1938, which has brought into its front 17 national youth organizations."

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, January 3, 1939, p. 80.)

UNITED VETERANS FOR EQUALITY

1. A provisional committee which sponsored a joint meeting of 300 veterans January 8, 1946, in Harlem, New York, at which the Communist front, the United Negro and Allied Veterans of America, was formed.

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 378.)

UNITED YOUTH COMMITTEE AGAINST LYNCHING

1. Cited as a Communist front in which the Communist Party and Young Communist League officially participated.

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 155.)

VANGUARD PRESS

1. Cited as a "Communist enterprise" which was established by the American Fund for Public Service (Garland Fund) with a donation of capital amounting to \$139,000. "A series of propaganda books on Russia, edited by Jerome Davis, was one of the first large publishing projects of the Vanguard Press."

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, pp. 75 and 76.)

VETERANS AGAINST DISCRIMINATION OF CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS OF NEW YORK

1. Cited as a subversive affiliate of the subversive Civil Rights Congress.
(Attorney General Tom Clark, letter to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947.)

VETERANS AND WIVES, INC.

1. Cited as a Communist front which "has followed the Communist Party line in agitating for the withdrawal of American troops from China, breaking off diplomatic relations with Franco's Spain, and is opposing anti-Sovietism." Formerly known as Wives, which was organized in New York City in November 1945, it became known as Veterans and Wives, Inc., in January 1946. It was represented at the National Win-the-Peace Conference in April 1946.

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 318 and 378.)

VETERANS NATIONAL LIAISON COMMITTEE

1. A "Communist front in the veteran field."

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 386.)

VETERANS OF EQUALITY

1. Cited as a Communist front represented at the National Win-the-Peace Conference in Washington, D. C., in April 1946.

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 318.)

VETERANS OF THE ABRAHAM LINCOLN BRIGADE

1. Cited as subversive and Communist.

(Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.)

2. "In 1937-38, the Communist Party threw itself wholeheartedly into the campaign for the support of the Spanish Loyalist cause, recruiting men and organizing multifarious so-called relief organizations." Among these was the above.
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 82.*)
3. Cited as a Communist-front organization "serving the objectives of the Communist Parties in the United States and Spain. Earl Browder boasted that 'over 60 percent of the Lincoln Battalion members were members of the Communist Party.'"
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 94 and 382.*)
4. Cited as a Communist front.
(*Pennsylvania Commonwealth Counsel before the reviewing board of the Philadelphia County Board of Assistance, January, 1942.*)

VETERANS OF THE PHILIPPINE CAMPAIGN

1. Cited as a Communist front activity.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1949.*)

VICTORY BOOK STORE

1. Among the "principal book stores of the Communist Party in California" and located at 635 E Street, San Diego.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 224.*)

VOICE OF FREEDOM COMMITTEE

1. Cited as a Communist front "whose function is the support of commentators who have received the acclaim of the Communist press."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 192.*)

WALT WHITMAN BOOK SHOP

1. Among the "principal book stores of the Communist Party in California" and located at 277 East Fourth Street, Long Beach.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 224.*)

WALT WHITMAN SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

1. Cited as an adjunct in Newark, N. J., of the Communist Party.
(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letter to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947.*)

WASHINGTON BOOK SHOP ASSOCIATION

1. Cited as subversive and Communist.
(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.*)
2. "The Washington Cooperative Book Shop, under the name 'The Book Shop Association,' was incorporated in the District of Columbia in 1938. * * * It maintains a book shop and art gallery at 916 Seventeenth Street NW., Washington, D. C., where literature is sold and meetings and lectures held.

“Evidence of Communist penetration or control is reflected in the following: Among its stock the establishment has offered prominently for sale books and literature identified with the Communist Party and certain of its affiliates and front organizations * * * certain of the officers and employees of the book shop, including its manager and executive secretary, have been in close contact with local officials of the Communist Party of the District of Columbia.”

(Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7688.)

3. Cited as a Communist front.

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 150.)

WASHINGTON (D. C.) CIO COMMITTEE TO REINSTATE HELEN MILLER

1. “In 1941 the Department of Labor discharged one Helen Miller on the ground that she was a member of the Communist Party. The Communists and Communist sympathizers of the District of Columbia and vicinity organized the Washington CIO Committee to Reinstate Helen Miller.”

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 113.)

2. Cited as a “Communist created and controlled front organization.”

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 35.)

WASHINGTON (D. C.) COMMITTEE FOR AID TO CHINA

1. Cited as a Communist-controlled organization.

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 143.)

2. Cited as a Communist front which followed the line laid down by the Communist front, American Friends of the Chinese People.

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 143 and 336.)

WASHINGTON COMMITTEE FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION

1. Cited as subversive and Communist.

(Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.)

2. An “affiliate” or “local chapter” of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. “The program of the Washington committee followed that of the national federation. National Communist leaders have addressed its meetings, and conferences sponsored by it have been attended by representatives of prominent Communist-front organizations.” Many of its members were active in the American Peace Mobilization.

(Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, pp. 7688 and 7689.)

3. "When the American League for Peace and Democracy was dissolved in February 1940 its successor in Washington was called the Washington Committee for Democratic Action." The latter was affiliated with the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties.
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Reports, June 25, 1942, p. 22, and March 29, 1944, p. 143.*)
4. Cited as a Communist front.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 335 and 342.*)

WASHINGTON COMMITTEE TO LIFT SPANISH EMBARGO

1. Cited as a Communist front.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 335 and 336.*)

WASHINGTON COMMONWEALTH FEDERATION

1. Cited as subversive and Communist.
(*Attorney General Tom Clark, supplemental list, April 27, 1949.*)

WASHINGTON FRIENDS OF SPANISH DEMOCRACY

1. "In 1937-38, the Communist Party threw itself wholeheartedly into the campaign for the support of the Spanish Loyalist cause, recruiting men and organizing multifarious so-called relief organizations." Among these was the above.
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 82.*)
2. Cited as a Communist front.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 336.*)

WASHINGTON PEACE MOBILIZATION

1. Cited as a Communist-controlled organization which participated in the White House picket line.
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 143.*)
2. Cited as a Communist front.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 342.*)

WASHINGTON PENSION UNION

1. Cited in a documented analysis as a Communist front activity.
(*Washington Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948.*)

WASHINGTON TOM MOONEY COMMITTEE

1. Cited as a Communist front.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 336.*)

WESTERN COUNCIL FOR PROGRESSIVE LABOR AND AGRICULTURE

1. "This Communist front came into existence in April of 1946. The offices are located at 2063 Grace Avenue in Hollywood."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 383.*)

WESTERN WRITERS CONGRESS

1. Cited as a Communist front.
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 94.*)
2. Cited as a Communist front.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 6.*)

WIN THE PEACE CONFERENCE (See National Committee to Win the Peace)**WISCONSIN CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL LEGISLATION**

1. Cited as subversive and Communist.
(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released June 1, 1948, and September 21, 1948.*)

WIVES (See Wives and Sweethearts of Servicemen)

1. Cited as a Communist front which operated during the last war, and which was eventually succeeded by Wives in November, 1945, and by Veterans and Wives, Inc., in January 1946.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 378.*)

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION (See International Democratic Women's Federation)**WORLD YOUTH FESTIVAL (CONGRESS)**

1. Cited as a Communist front activity by World Federation of Democratic Youth, part of the "Communist International solar system" which staged an international conclave in Prague in the summer of 1947.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 54 and p. 187.*)

WORKERS ALLIANCE

1. Cited as subversive and Communist.
(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.*)
2. A "Communist penetrated organization."
(*Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7684.*)
3. "Among the successes in its 'front' movements, the Communists point to the 'Workers' Alliance of America.'" It was created in 1936 and organized "in practically every relief project in the country." It was "apparently patterned after the 'Unemployed Councils of St. Petersburg,' Russia, set up in 1906 as a part of the Communist front there. As the councils in Russia staged sit-down strikes, so also did the Alliance stage sit-down strikes in various State legislatures and relief bureaus in our country."
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, January 3, 1939, pp. 72-74; also cited in Reports, January 3, 1940, p. 9; June 25, 1942, p. 22; March 29, 1944, p. 147.*)
4. "The Communist Party's organization of the unemployed."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1947, p. 307.*)

5. "Organized groups of relief workers and unemployed as the Workers Alliance * * * are the creations of and controlled by the Communist Party." The Communists organized the Workers Alliance among the ERA and WPA workers.

(Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, pp. 78 and 310.)

6. Cited as "Communist dominated."

(New York City Council Committee investigating the Municipal Civil Service Commission.)

7. Cited as a Communist front.

(Pennsylvania Commonwealth Counsel before the reviewing board of the Philadelphia County Board of Assistance, January, 1942.)

WORKERS (COMMUNIST) PARTY OF AMERICA (See Workers Party of America)

WORKERS CULTURAL FEDERATION

1. "An amalgamation of Communist revolutionary cultural groups composed of at least 130 societies," organized in June, 1931, as an outgrowth of the Revolutionary Writers' Federation, the American section of Moscow's Communist International Union of Revolutionary Writers. "The Workers' Cultural Federation adopted the slogan 'Toward an American Revolution.'"

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1945, pp. 118 and 119.)

WORKERS EX-SERVICEMEN'S LEAGUE

1. Cited as the Communist Party of America's contribution to the Internationale Des Anciens Combattants (International Association of War Veterans), first Communist front for veterans organized by the Communist International in Geneva on May 1, 1920. The above was organized in 1930 and in 1935 became the American League of Ex-Servicemen.

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 384-386.)

2. Cited as "a Communist organization" which "marched on Washington during three different years." It was headed by Emanuel Levin, "a Communist functionary."

(Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 244.)

WORKERS INTERNATIONAL RELIEF

1. "The American Section of the WIR * * * like those sections in other countries, was controlled by 'fraction' leaders who, according to article I, section 7, of the Communist International Constitution, were responsible directly to the Comintern at Moscow."

(Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 122.)

WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS

1. An "official Communist Party publishing agency."
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 8; also cited in Report, June 25, 1942, p. 18.*)
2. "Official Communist Party, U. S. A., publishing house."
(*Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 1920, May 11, 1948, pp. 72 and 80.*)
3. Cited as an "important" publishing organization of the Communist Party, located in New York City.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 214.*)
4. Cited as "controlled by Communists" and as one of the two "chief publishers of the Communist Party."
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 289.*)

WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA

1. Cited as a subversive and Communist organization which seeks "to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means."
(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.*)
2. "In December 1921 the Workers Party of America was formed as a camouflage for the real Communist Party of America which maintained its existence underground. In 1925 the official name was changed to Worker's (Communist) Party of America, and at a convention held in March 1928, the Communists finally threw off all camouflage and boldly came out into the open as the Communist Party of the United States of America."
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, January 3, 1939, p. 17.*)
3. The name adopted by the underground Communist Party as its open, legal expression at a convention in New York City, December 23-6, 1921. Both groups eventually merged in August 1925 to become the Workers (Communist) Party of America.
(*Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 209, April 1, 1947, p. 16.*)
4. Among names formerly used by the Communist Party.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1943, p. 33.*)

WORKERS SCHOOL OF BOSTON

1. Taught Marxism and Leninism which includes the fundamental doctrine of revolutionary uprising and seizure of power. Listed in the cash-receipt record of the Communist Party of Boston and located at the headquarters of the party at one time. Operated from about 1932 until the fall of 1936, when it was renamed Progressive Labor School of Boston.
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, pp. 234, 238, 249, 254, and 568.*)

WORKERS' SCHOOL OF LOS ANGELES

1. Part of a nation-wide system of Communist schools at which the "doctrine of revolutionary socialism, the overthrow of capitalist governments by force and violence and Leninism-Stalinism was openly taught by self-admitted members of the Communist Party." Founded in 1939, it was disbanded in 1945 after assisting in the founding and development of its successor, the People's Educational Center.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1947, pp. 63-68.*)

WORKERS SCHOOL OF NEW YORK CITY

1. Cited as "an official Communist Party school" located at 35 East Twelfth Street, New York City, which was also headquarters of the Communist Party. Instructors were always members of the Communist Party. It later merged with the School for Democracy to become the Jefferson School of Social Science.

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, pp. 89 and 168.*)

2. An educational institution controlled by the Communist Party.
- (*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 269.*)

WORKERS SCHOOL OF SAN FRANCISCO

1. "The San Francisco Workers' School opened in 1932 following the same pattern of other Communist workers' schools scattered throughout populous centers in the United States. It was frankly and openly a school for instruction in Communism. * * * By 1943 the school had been rechristened the Tom Mooney Labor School."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1947, pp. 77 and 78.*)

WORKMEN'S EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION

1. Cited as a Communist organization located at 141 Albion Street, San Francisco, Calif.

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 94.*)

WORLD COMMITTEE AGAINST WAR

1. The above came out of the World Congress Against War in 1932 in Amsterdam; in 1933 the above gave birth to the American Committee for the Struggle Against War.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1943, p. 93.*)

WORLD CONGRESS AGAINST WAR

1. "In August 1932 the Communist International sponsored an international gathering at Amsterdam which was known as the World Congress Against War. That gathering called upon the proletariat of the world to prepare to 'turn imperialist war into civil war.' The delegates to the Amsterdam congress were instructed to organize in their respective countries national branches to be affiliated with the world organization. In the United States, in the fall

of 1932, the American Committee for Struggle Against War was organized in response to these instructions.”

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 119.*)

2. Cited as a Communist-directed congress.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 149 and 150.*)

3. Maxim Gorki, well-known Communist of Russia, and Henri Barbusse, outstanding Communist of France, were the instigators of the Amsterdam Anti-War Congress in August, 1932; Michael Gold, Harold Hickerson, and Ella Reeve (Mother) Bloor, three well-known Communist leaders in America, were elected as American members of the International Committee at the Congress. At least 19 members of the Communist Party were on the American committee for the congress which was to meet at Paris on August 20, 1934.

(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, pp. 137 and 461.*)

WORLD FEDERATION OF DEMOCRATIC YOUTH

1. “The AYD (American Youth for Democracy) is affiliated with the World Federation of Democratic Youth, which was founded in London in November 1945 by delegates from over 50 nations. * * * From the outset the World Federation of Democratic Youth demonstrated that it was far more interested in serving as a pressure group in behalf of Soviet foreign policy than it was in the specific problems of international youth. * * * So strong was the Communist domination at the London conference that it aroused the deepest concern of the English bishops.”

(*Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 271, April 17, 1947, pp. 12 and 13.*)

2. Cited as a “part of the Communist International solar system,” which was founded in London November 1945 by delegates from more than 50 nations. With it is affiliated the American Youth for Democracy.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 187.*)

WORLD TOURISTS, INC.

1. Cited as a Communist front.

(*Pennsylvania Commonwealth Counsel before the reviewing board of the Philadelphia County Board of Assistance, January, 1942.*)

WORLD YOUTH CONFERENCE

1. An international gathering in London in November 1945 at which a commission was created which developed the completely communist-dominated World Federation of Democratic Youth.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 54.*)

WORLD YOUTH CONGRESS

1. Cited as a Communist conference held in the summer of 1938 at Vassar College.
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 183; also cited in Report, January 3, 1939, p. 82.*)
2. Cited as a Communist front.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 185.*)

WORLD YOUTH COUNCIL

1. An "international Communist-dominated youth organization" to which was directly linked the American Youth for a Free World. The above had headquarters in London.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 54.*)

WRITERS AND ARTISTS COMMITTEE FOR MEDICAL AID TO SPAIN

1. "This committee was one of the many Communist fronts established for the purpose of agitation and propaganda on the Spanish civil war."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 389.*)

WRITERS CONGRESS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

1. Cited as a "Communist project."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 389.*)

YANKS ARE NOT COMING COMMITTEE

1. The Communist Party was "the principal agent" in "the Yanks Are Not Coming movement." This Communist Party slogan in the day of the Stalin-Hitler pact was formulated by Mike Quin, Daily Worker columnist.
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, pp. 17, 95, and 100.*)
2. "Among the more conspicuous Communist fronts that have defied brazenly the interests of the United States and other freedom-loving nations whenever they have been in conflict with the interests of Soviet Russia and world Communism."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 67.*)
3. Cited as a Communist front.
(*Pennsylvania Commonwealth Counsel before the reviewing board of the Philadelphia County Board of Assistance, January, 1942.*)

YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE

1. Cited as a "subversive," "Communist" organization which seeks "to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means."
(*Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released June 1, 1948, and September 21, 1948.*)

2. Cited as "organized and maintained under strict Communist Party control" and as having "direct connections with Moscow in addition to indirect connections through the Communist Party."

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, January 3, 1940, pp. 8 and 9.)

3. "On October 15, 1943, a special convention of the Young Communist League was held at Manhattan Center at Thirty-fourth Street and Eighth Avenue in New York City. At this convention the Young Communist League officially transformed itself into the American Youth for Democracy."

(Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 271, April 17, 1947, p. 2.)

4. An "out-and-out" Communist organization whose name was changed in 1943 to American Youth for Democracy.

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 91 and 182.)

5. "The Young Communist League, U. S. A., parallels in structure the Communist Party, U. S. A. * * * it is under the supervision of the Communist Party. * * * The YCL has included youths of both sexes from the age of 16 to 23. * * * The function of the Young Communist League is to radicalize young men and women in various mass groupings such as the military training units in schools and colleges, the National Guard, semireligious and religious organizations, and the like."

(Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, pp. 164-166.)

YOUNG PEOPLE'S RECORDS

1. Cited as a Communist front, which has been advertised recently by Communist book stores.

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 390-392.)

YOUNG PIONEERS OF AMERICA

1. "A Communist youth organization for girls and boys of grade-school age. It is built along the same lines as the Boy Scout movement, but dedicated instead to hatred of American institutions and the American flag."

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1943, p. 66.)

2. "For younger children the Communists have created and maintained the organization called 'Young Pioneers.' Part of the duties of members of the Young Communist League was to guide these Young Pioneer organizations. * * * Children of younger age, 8 to 16, were organized into the Young Pioneer movement."

(Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, pp. 118 and 164.)

YOUNG PROGRESSIVE CITIZEN'S COMMITTEE

1. Cited as a Communist front which is "a youth section of the Communist Progressive Citizens of America. * * * Its chapters are active in universities and colleges. It has never deviated from the Communist Party line in any field."

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 393.)

2. Since the 1948 convention of the Communist Party, U. S. A., action has been taken to carry out a decision to virtually liquidate the major Communist youth front, American Youth for Democracy, which was direct successor to The Young Communist League, and to integrate the activities and functions of American Youth for Democracy into Young Progressives, the youth section of the Communist created and controlled (Independent) Progressive Party.

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1949.)

YOUNG WORKERS LEAGUE

1. A Communist enterprise "later known as the Young Communist League and still later as American Youth for Democracy."

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 76.)

2. The name for the Young Communist League in 1927.

(Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 118.)

ZERO HOUR PARADE

1. Cited as an organization "of Communist complexion."

(New York City Council Committee investigating the Municipal Civil Service Commission.)

PUBLICATIONS

ACTION

1. Among publications which "the committee has found * * * to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 224.*)

ACTION BULLETIN

1. Among publications which "the committee has found * * * to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system." A publication of the Civil Rights Congress.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 224.*)

ACTION FOR TODAY

1. Among publications which "the committee has found * * * to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 224.*)

ACTION NOW

1. "Official organ of the Civil Rights Congress."
(*Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 1115, September 2, 1947, p. 3.*)

AGE OF TREASON

1. Cited as "official publication of the American Peace Crusade."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 106.*)

ALLIED LABOR NEWS SERVICE

1. Among publications which "the committee has found * * * to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 224.*)

AMERASIA

1. Among publications which "the committee has found * * * to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 224.*)

AMERICAN QUARTERLY ON THE SOVIET UNION

1. Cited as the name under which the American Review on the Soviet Union, official organ of the American Russian Institute, was previously published.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 169.*)

AMERICAN REVIEW ON THE SOVIET UNION

1. Cited as the official organ of the American Russian Institute.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 169.*)

AMONG FRIENDS

1. Among publications which "the committee has found * * * to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 224.*)

ANTI-NAZI NEWS

1. "Ursula Daniels, Young Communist League member, was the circulation manager of the Anti-Nazi News published by the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League. The name of this publication was changed to News of the World, and finally to Now."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 250.*)

ARBEITER DER

1. Cited as a "German Communist Weekly."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 224.*)

AYD IN ACTION

1. A publication of the American Youth for Democracy, and among those publications which "the committee has found * * * to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 224.*)

BLACK AND WHITE

1. "This monthly 'literary' magazine was a Communist-controlled publication in Los Angeles. Under the editorship of Wilbur Needham, the periodical began publication June 1939 * * * Herbert A. Klein, former organizer of Unit 140 of the Communist Party of Los Angeles, was also an associate editor of Black and White."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 193.*)

BOOK UNION BULLETIN

1. Among publications which "the committee found to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 224.*)

CALIFORNIA EAGLE

1. Among publications which "the committee found to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 224.*)

CAMBRIDGE PEOPLE'S VOICE

1. Cited as a Communist publication.
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 300.*)

CHAMPION LABOR MONTHLY

1. "An official organ of the Young Communist League."
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 102.*)

CHAMPION OF YOUTH (or Champion)

1. "Official organ of the Young Communist League and also of the International Workers Order."
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, June 25, 1942, p. 17; also cited in Report, March 29, 1944, p. 139.*)
2. "Official organ of the Young Communist League," published by Champion of Youth Publishers, 2 East Twenty-third Street, New York City. "The Young Communist League made a practice of giving subscriptions to Champion of Youth to all members who paid their initiation fee. The periodical was also used as an official publication of the International Workers Order which had printed on the cover of its copies 'IWO Edition.'"
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 197 and 338.*)
3. "Identified by David Grad (David Grant), local head of the Young Communist League, while testifying before this commission, as being sponsored by his organization."
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 186.*)

CHART, THE

1. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 224.*)

CHICAGO STAR

1. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 224.*)

CHINA AID NEWS

1. Cited as the official organ of the Communist front, the Washington (D. C.) Committee for Aid to China.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 143.*)

CHINA TODAY

1. Cited as a magazine "published by the Communist front, Friends of the Chinese People, at 168 West Twenty-third Street, New York City."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 198.*)
2. Distributed by the Communists' Progressive Book Shop in Boston, Mass.
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 281.*)

CIVIL RIGHTS NEWS

1. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 224.*)

CLARITY

1. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 224.*)

CLIPPER

1. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 224.*)

COMMUNIST, THE

1. "Official, monthly organ of the Communist Party."
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 8; also cited in Report, January 3, 1941, p. 12.*)
2. "Official organ of the Communist Party of America."
(*Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 209, April 1, 1947, p. 15.*)
3. "Official, theoretical organ of the Communist Party," now known as Political Affairs.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 252 and 267.*)
4. "A monthly magazine published by the Communist Party, U. S. A."
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 82.*)

CONGRESS

1. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 224.*)

CONGRESS VIEWS

1. "Among typical examples of the Communist press and publications."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 49.*)

DAILY WORKER

1. "The chief journalistic mouthpiece of the Communist Party * * * founded in response to direct instructions from the Communist International in Moscow. * * * The first issue of the *Daily Worker* appeared on January 13, 1924. * * * No other paper or publication of any kind in all American history has ever been loaded with such a volume of subversive, seditious, and treasonable utterance as has this organ of the American Communists."

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, pp. 59 and 60; also cited in Reports, January 3, 1939, p. 30; January 3, 1940, p. 7; January 3, 1941, p. 14; and June 25, 1942, p. 4.*)

2. "Official Communist Party, U. S. A., organ."

(*Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 1920, May 11, 1948, p. 44.*)

3. Cited as a "New York Communist daily newspaper, circulated nationally," and as "the official national publication of the Communist Party."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 49 and 212.*)

4. "The chief news organ of the Communist Party is the *Daily Worker* which also publishes a Sunday edition."

(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 279.*)

DESTEPTEREA

1. A Roumanian weekly which the Communist Party admits is under Communist influence. Address: 6527 Russell Street, Detroit, Mich.

(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 280.*)

DIRECTION

1. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 224.*)

DISTRICT CHAMPION

1. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 224.)

ECONOMIC NOTES

1. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 224.)

EMPROS

1. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 224.)

2. A Greek daily which the Communist Party admits is under Communist influence. Address: 344 East Thirty-second Street, New York City, N. Y.

(Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 280.)

EQUALITY

1. Cited as a Communist Party enterprise.

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 49.)

2. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 224.)

EQUAL JUSTICE

1. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 224.)

ETEENPAIN

1. A Finnish Federation publication which is among those publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 224.)

2. A Finnish daily which the Communist Party admits is under Communist influence. Address: 35 East Twelfth Street, New York City, N. Y.

(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 280.*)

FACTS FOR FARMERS

1. Among those publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 224.*)

FACTS FOR WOMEN

1. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

FEDERATED PRESS (See Federated Press, under preceding section on Organizations)

FIGHT

1. Cited as the official organ of the American League Against War and Fascism, later known as the American League for Peace and Democracy.

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, pp. 113 and 128; also cited in Report, June 25, 1942, p. 15.*)

2. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

3. A publication of the American League for Peace and Democracy, which was distributed by the Communists' Progressive Book Shop in Boston, Mass.

(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 281.*)

FILM NEWS

1. A publication of Associated Film Audiences and among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

FOCUS ON YOUTH

1. An American Youth for Democracy publication.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 183.*)

FOR A LASTING PEACE; FOR A PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY

1. "The Cominform's official publication, entitled, in accordance with typical Communist double talk, 'For a Lasting Peace; For a People's Democracy,' is a new vehicle for directives from the Soviet Union to the other Communist Parties of the world."

(*Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 1920, May 11, 1948, p. 84.*)

FRATERNAL OUTLOOK

1. Cited as a publication of the International Workers Order and "among typical examples of the Communist press and publications."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 49 and 225.*)

FREIHEIT (See Morning Freiheit)

1. Cited as "Communist controlled."
- (*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 143.*)

2. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

GERMAN-AMERICAN

1. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

GLOS LUDOWY

1. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

HEALTH AND HYGIENE

1. Organ of the Medical Advisory Board of the Daily Worker and among publications found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

HOLLYWOOD INDEPENDENT

1. An organ of the Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, and among those publications found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

HOLLYWOOD QUARTERLY

1. Cited as a "Communist project" sponsored jointly by the Communist front, the Hollywood Writers Mobilization, and the University of California at Los Angeles. The first issue appeared in October 1945.

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 257 and 258.)

HOOR

1. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.)

INDEPENDENT

1. A publication of the Communist front, Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, and among publications found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.)

INDONESIAN REVIEW

1. A publication of the American Committee for Free Indonesia and among publications found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.)

INDUSTRIAL JOURNAL

1. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.)

IN FACT

1. Cited as a Communist front whose president and editor is George Seldes.

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 48.)

2. A "Communist newsletter * * * written and published by George Seldes."

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 148.)

3. Cited as a Communist front.

(Pennsylvania Commonwealth Counsel before the reviewing board of the Philadelphia County Board of Assistance, January, 1942.)

INTERNATIONAL LITERATURE

1. Organ of the Soviet International Union of Revolutionary Writers, or the International Bureau of Revolutionary Literature.
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 444.*)

INTERNATIONAL PRESS CORRESPONDENCE (INPRECORR)
(IMPRECORR)

1. "The organ of the Communist International."
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, January 3, 1939, p. 79.*)
2. "Official weekly press organ of the Communist International."
(*Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 209, April 1, 1947, p. 41.*)

JEWISH LIFE

1. "Among typical examples of the Communist press and publications." Published by the Morning Freiheit Association, Inc.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 49 and 225.*)
2. A Communist International publication distributed by the Communists' Progressive Book Shop in Boston, Mass.
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 281.*)

JEWISH PEOPLE'S VOICE

1. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

JEWISH SURVEY

1. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

JEWISH VOICE

1. "Published by the National Council of Jewish Communists."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

LABOR DEFENDER

1. A "Communist magazine."
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, June 25, 1942, p. 18.*)
2. An International Labor Defense publication, which is "typical" of the Communist publications.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 49 and 266.*)

3. Organ of the International Labor Defense distributed by the Communists' Progressive Book Shop in Boston, Mass.

(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 281.*)

LABOR HERALD

1. "Official organ of the Communist Trade Union Education League."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

LABOR HERALD (OF THE CALIFORNIA CIO)

1. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

LABOR NEWS BULLETIN

1. "Issued by Communist Party of Massachusetts."

(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 157.*)

LABOR NOTES

1. A publication of the Labor Research Association, distributed by the Communists' Progressive Book Shop of Boston, Mass.

(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 281.*)

LABOR UNITY

1. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

LABOR'S NEWS

1. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

LAISVE

1. A Lithuanian daily which the Communist Party admits is under Communist influence. Address: 46 Ten Eyck Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.

(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 280.*)

LETTER

1. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

LIBERATOR

1. A "Communist magazine."
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, June 25, 1942, p. 18.*)
2. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

LUDOVNY DENNIK

1. A Slovak daily which the Communist Party admits is under Communist influence. Address: 1510 West Eighteenth Street, Chicago, Ill.
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 280.*)

L'UNITA DEL POPOLO

1. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

L'UNITA OPERAIA

1. An Italian monthly which the Communist Party admits is under Communist influence. Address: 37 East Twelfth Street, New York City, N. Y.
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 280.*)

MAINSTREAM

1. A Marxist quarterly launched by the Communist Party in January 1947 for the avowed purpose of stimulating "Marxist thinking in literature and the creative arts." It later merged with New Masses, "the weekly journalistic voice of the Communist Party."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1947, p. 106, and 1948, p. 340.*)

MASSES (See also New Masses)

1. The "journalistic voice of the Communist Party," and "suppressed by the United States Government for its subversive policies." It was later known as New Masses, which recently merged with Mainstream, a Marxist quarterly launched by the Communist Party in the field of literature and the creative arts.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1947, p. 106, and 1948, p. 340.*)

MASSES AND MAINSTREAM

1. "Among typical examples of the Communist press and publications."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 49.*)

MICHIGAN HERALD

1. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

MIDWEST DAILY RECORD

1. An official Communist Party organ in Chicago, Ill.
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 146; also cited in Report, January 3, 1940, p. 11.*)
2. Cited as a Communist publication.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 93.*)

MORNING FREIHEIT

1. A "Communist Yiddish daily."
(*Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7686.*)
2. "The *Freiheit* has been one of the rankest organs of Communist propaganda in this country for almost a quarter of a century."
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 75.*)
3. "The official Communist newspaper published in the Yiddish tongue. For many years, M. J. Olgin was editor of *Freiheit*. Olgin was one of the outstanding leaders of the Communist Party in the United States for 20 years."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 242.*)
4. "One of the daily papers published by the Communist Party."
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 331.*)

NAILEBEN

1. *Naileben* (New Life) is the official publication of the Communist organization, Icor, which is purportedly organized in the interest of the Jewish people.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 261.*)
2. A Jewish and English publication of Icor, distributed by the Communists' Progressive Book Shop in Boston, Mass.
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 281.*)

NARODNI GLASNIK

1. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

NATIONAL ISSUES

1. A publication of the National Committee of the Communist Party.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

NATIONAL GUARDIAN

1. Cited as a publication, launched in New York in 1948, aiming at national circulation, which the committee has found to be from its inception notoriously Stalinist in its staff, writers, management and contents.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1949.*)

NEGRO CHAMPION

1. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

NEGRO DIGEST

1. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

NEGRO QUARTERLY

1. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

NEW AFRICA

1. A monthly bulletin which is the official publication of the Council on African Affairs, a Communist front formerly known as the International Committee on African Affairs.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 320.*)

NEW CURRENTS

1. A publication of the Committee of Jewish Writers, Artists, and Scientists, Inc., and among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1947, p. 210, and 1948, p. 225.*)

NEW MASSES (See also Masses)

1. A "Communist periodical."
(*Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7688.*)

2. "Nationally circulated weekly journal of the Communist Party * * * whose ownership was vested in the American Fund for Public Service" (Garland Fund).
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, pp. 48 and 75; also cited in Reports, January 3, 1939, p. 80; and June 25, 1942, pp. 4 and 21.*)
3. "Until its recent merger with Mainstream, the New Masses has been the weekly journalistic voice of the Communist Party. Its first appearance was as a monthly. As the Masses, it was suppressed by the United States Government for its subversive policies." Mainstream was launched by the Communist Party in January 1947, dealing with the field of literature and creative arts.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Reports, 1947, p. 160, and 1948, p. 340.*)
4. Issued from Communist presses and distributed by the Communists' Progressive Book Shop in Boston, Mass.
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, pp. 281 and 443.*)

NEW ORDER

1. A publication of the International Workers Order and among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)
2. Official organ of the International Workers Order.
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 374.*)

NEW PIONEER

1. "The Communist Party's official publication for children," which was edited by Helen Kay, a member of the Communist Party for at least 12 years.
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 121.*)
2. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)
3. A magazine which was the "official organ of the Young Pioneers (class-hatred training organization of the Communist Party, of the International Workers Order, and of various language groups supporting the Communist Party)."
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 146.*)

NEW THEATRE

1. A Communist Party publication.
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 121.*)

2. Official organ of the League of Workers Theatres, "a Communist project."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 278.*)

NEW TIMES

1. Cited as an "internationally circulated Communist publication" published in Moscow. "Its purpose is obviously to guide the policy of Communist Parties throughout the world." Its predecessors were the War and the Working Classes, World News and Views, and Inprecorr.

(*Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 1920, May 11, 1948, pp. 23, 25, and 43.*)

2. "Among typical examples of the Communist press and publications."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 49.*)

NEW WORLD

1. "Among typical examples of the Communist press and publications."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 49.*)

NEWS OF THE WORLD

1. The name of the publication of the Communist front, Hollywood Anti-Nazi League, was changed from Anti-Nazi News to News of the World, and finally to Now.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 250.*)

NEWS OF WORLD LABOR

1. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

NEWS OF SPAIN

1. A publication of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade and among those publications found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

NOVY MIR

1. Cited as a "Communist enterprise" which was among the beneficiaries of the American Fund for Public Service (Garland Fund).

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 76.*)

2. Novy Mir ("Workers of the World Unite") is among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 145 and 225.)

3. "The Communist newspaper Novy Mir is the official newspaper for the Russian section of the International Workers Order."

(Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 390.)

NOW

1. The name of the publication of the Communist front, the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League, was changed from Anti-Nazi News to News of the World, and finally to Now.

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 250.)

NY TID

1. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.)

OBRANA

1. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.)

2. A Czech weekly which the Communist Party admits is under Communist influence. Address: 3624 West Twenty-sixth Street, Chicago, Ill.

(Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 280.)

OUR WORLD

1. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.)

PACIFIC WEEKLY

1. "This Communist publication was alleged to be 'a western journal of fact and opinion.' It was published at Carmel, Calif. The editor and publisher was W. K. Bassett. Ella Winter, veteran California Communist, was literary editor."

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 341.)

PAN PACIFIC MONTHLY

1. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

PANVOR

1. An Armenian weekly which the Communist Party admits is under Communist influence. Address: P. O. Box 168, Station F, New York City, N. Y.
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 280.*)

PARTY ORGANIZER

1. "The organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, United States of America."
(*Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7683.*)
2. "Official Communist Party magazine."
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 181.*)
3. "Official internal organ of the Communist Party of the United States, intended for the enlightenment of party members only."
(*Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 209, April 1, 1947, p. 19.*)
4. Identified by Communist William Schneiderman as the official publication of the National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 10.*)
5. "A magazine for active Communists."
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 315.*)

PEOPLE'S DAILY WORLD

1. "The official organ of the Communist Party on the west coast."
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 95; also cited in Report, January 3, 1941, p. 10.*)
2. "West Coast mouthpiece of the Communist Party * * * published by the Pacific Publishing Foundation, Inc., in San Francisco. * * * The San Francisco office is located at 590 Folsom Street and the Los Angeles office is at 206 South Spring Street."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 342.*)

PEOPLE'S PRESS

1. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

PEOPLE'S VOICE

1. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

PEOPLE'S WORLD (See People's Daily World)**PHOTO-HISTORY**

1. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)
2. A Communist International publication distributed by the Communists' Progressive Book Shop in Boston, Mass.
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 281.*)

PICTURE DIGEST

1. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

PICTURE SCOOP

1. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

POLITICAL AFFAIRS

1. Cited as an "official Communist Party monthly theoretical organ."
"Political Affairs, formerly known as The Communist, 'a magazine of the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism published monthly by the Communist Party of the United States of America,' now calls itself 'a magazine devoted to the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism.' Its chief editor is Eugene Dennis, executive secretary of the party."
(*Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 1920, May 11, 1948, pp. 5 and 36; also cited in Report No. 209, April 1, 1947, p. 25.*)
2. New name for the monthly ideological publication of the Communist Party, the Communist.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 252.*)

PROGRESSIVE CITIZEN

1. Published in New York by the Communist front, Progressive Citizens of America.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 354.*)

PROTESTANT (See Protestant Digest)**PROTESTANT DIGEST**

1. "A magazine which has faithfully propagated the Communist Party line under the guise of being a religious journal."
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 48.*)
2. A "Communist publication" later known as The Protestant.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 93, 225, and 320.*)

RADNICKI GLASNIK

1. A Croatian daily which the Communist Party admits is under Communist influence. Address: 1625 Blue Island Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 280.*)

RADNIK

1. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

RAILROAD WORKERS LINK

1. "Among typical examples of the Communist press and publications."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 49.*)

READER'S SCOPE

1. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

REPORTER

1. Publication of the Communist front, National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

REPORT FROM WASHINGTON

1. Publication of the Communist front, Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

REPORT ON WORLD AFFAIRS

1. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

REVOLUTIONARY AGE

1. The "official organ of the Communist Party" and "devoted to the overthrow of the United States Government." With headquarters in Boston, Louis Fraina, "the first Communist editor in the United States," edited the *Revolutionary Age*. "In an issue of his magazine dated July 12, 1919, Fraina called for 'the annihilation of the fraudulent democracy of the parliamentary system.'"

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, June 25, 1942, pp. 6 and 17.*)

SALUTE

1. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

SAZNANIE

1. Cited as a publication of the Bulgarian section of the Communist Party.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

2. A Bulgarian weekly which the Communist Party admits is under Communist influence. Address: 1343 East Ferry, Detroit, Mich.

(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 280.*)

SCIENCE AND SOCIETY

1. Cited as a Communist publication.

(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 96.*)

2. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

3. Cited as a Marxian quarterly distributed by the Communists' Progressive Book Shop in Boston, Mass. William T. Parry, director of the Communist Progressive Labor School in Boston, is the managing editor.

(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, pp. 281 and 284.*)

SCOOP

1. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

SLAVIC AMERICAN

1. A quarterly magazine, which is published in New York, and is the official Communistic organ of the American Slav Congress, which

has been cited by Attorney General Tom Clark and by the California Committee on Un-American Activities as "subversive and Communist."

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1949.*)

SOCIAL WORK TODAY

1. "A Communist magazine."
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 129.*)
2. "This Communist periodical is published at 112 East Nineteenth Street, New York City."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 375.*)
3. Cited as a Communist front.
(*Pennsylvania Commonwealth Counsel before the reviewing board of the Philadelphia County Board of Assistance, January, 1942.*)

SOUTHERN PATRIOT

1. "Organ" of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.
(*Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 592, June 12, 1947, pp. 6 and 9.*)

SOUTHERN WORKER

1. A monthly publication which the Communist Party admits is under Communist influence. Address: P. O. Box 572, Birmingham, Ala.
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 280.*)

SOVIET CULTURE

1. A publication of the American Russian Institute and among those publications found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

SOVIET PICTORIAL

1. "Soviet Pictorial, carrying glorified photographs of life in the Soviet Union, was a publication of the Friends of Soviet Russia."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 243.*)

SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY

1. Cited as a Communist front.
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 167; also cited in Report, June 25, 1942, p. 21.*)
2. Among the "more important" Communist-front organizations "for the sole purpose of carrying on propaganda on behalf of the Soviet Union."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 169.*)

3. A magazine published by Friends of the Soviet Union and distributed by the Communists' Progressive Book Shop in Boston, Mass. "The articles and pictures in this magazine seek to show the great benefits and advantages enjoyed by Russian workers, stressing the theme that Russia is the only successful nation in the world today."

(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, pp. 281 and 517.*)

SOVIET SPORTS

1. A publication of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

SPOTLIGHT

1. "Official organ" of the American Youth for Democracy.
(*Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 271, April 17, 1947, pp. 3 and 4.*)
2. "The official magazine of the American Youth for Democracy."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 186.*)

STATE OF AFFAIRS

1. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

STUDENT ADVOCATE

1. "Published by the Communist-front American Student Union at 112 East Nineteenth Street, New York City."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 377.*)
2. "The official organ of the American Student Union."
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 551.*)

STUDENT OUTLOOK

1. A publication of the American Youth for Democracy.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

STUDENT REVIEW

1. "Published by the Communist National Student League at 31 East Twenty-seventh Street, New York City."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report 1948, p. 377.*)

TAC

1. A Theatre Arts Committee publication.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

T AND T—TREND AND TIME

1. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

TEACHER-WORKER

1. Published by the Communist Party unit at the City College of New York, according to Morris U. Schappes, Communist teacher who was a member of the unit and edited the *Teacher-Worker*.
(*Rapp-Coudert Committee, Report, 1942, pp. 297 and 298.*)

TEENER'S TOPICS

1. A publication of the American Youth for Democracy.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

TEEN LIFE

1. A publication of the American Youth for Democracy.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

THEATRE WORK SHOP

1. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

TOILER

1. "The *Toiler* was the first Communist newspaper in the United States. It was succeeded by the *Daily Worker*, published at Communist Party headquarters in New York City.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 376.*)

TOVERI

1. "*Toveri* ('The Comrade.' Organ of Communist Finns)."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA

1. "Official organ in Polish of the Communist Party."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

TYOLAINEN

1. *Tyolaisnainen* ("The Working Woman") is among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

2. A Finnish weekly which the Communist Party admits is under Communist influence. Address: 35 East Twelfth Street, New York City, N. Y.
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 280.*)

TYOMIES

1. *Tyomies* ("The Workman") is among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)
2. A Finnish daily which the Communist Party admits is under Communist influence. Address: P. O. Box 553, Superior, Wis.
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 280.*)

UJ ELORE

1. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)
2. A Hungarian daily which the Communist Party admits is under Communist influence. Address: 1124 Buckeye Road, Cleveland, Ohio.
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 280.*)

UKRANIAN DAILY NEWS

1. A Communist newspaper which the Communist Party itself admits is under Communist influence. Address: 17 East Third Street, New York City, N. Y.
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, pp. 280 and 391.*)

U. S. WEEK

1. Cited as a Communist front which received funds from the Robert Marshall Foundation.
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 148.*)
1. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

UNITED FARMER

1. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

UUS ILM

1. *Uus Ilm*, "The New World," is an Estonian Communist weekly.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)
2. "The official newspaper read by members of the Estonian Workers' Clubs of Massachusetts is '*Uus Ilm*,' published by Communists and included in the list of Communist newspapers submitted by Earl Browder, chief of the Communist Party, U. S. A."
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 159.*)

VANGUARDA

1. A Portuguese Communist Party organ.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

VANGUARD PRESS (See Vanguard Press, under preceding section on Organizations)

VETERAN NEWS

1. Official organ of the Workers Ex-Servicemen's League.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 385.*)

VIDA OBRERA

1. *Vida Obrera* ("Workers' Life") is among publications which were found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

VIENYBE

1. A Lithuanian triweekly which is among publications found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

VILNIS

1. *Vilnis* ("The Surge"), a Lithuanian labor daily, is among publications found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)
2. A Lithuanian daily which the Communist Party admits is under Communist influence. Address: 3116 South Halstead Street, Chicago, Ill.
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 280.*)

VOICE OF ACTION

1. "A Communist magazine."
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, January 3, 1939, p. 75.*)

VOICE OF FREEDOM

1. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

VOICE OF LABOR

1. "Official organ of the Workers Party of America."
(*Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 209, April 1, 1947, p. 41.*)

VOICE OF WORKING WOMEN

1. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

VOLUNTEER FOR LIBERTY

1. A publication of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, and among publications found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

WAR AND THE WORKING CLASSES

1. Cited as an "internationally circulated Communist publication" which has been succeeded by *New Times*.
(*Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 1920, May 11, 1948, pp. 23 and 43.*)

WATERFRONT WORKER

1. "A mimeographed sheet published in San Francisco from December 1932 until 1936. It was first issued by the Marine Workers' Industrial Union, identified as an affiliate of the Community Party."
(*Attorney General Francis Biddle, in re Harry Bridges, May 28, 1942, p. 10.*)
2. A Communist publication.
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 94.*)

WESTERN WORKER

1. "A Communist Party newspaper."
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 94.*)
2. "The old official Communist Party organ" replaced by the *People's Daily World* of San Francisco.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1947, p. 64.*)
3. A daily publication which the Communist Party itself admits is under Communist influence. Address: 121 Haight Street, San Francisco, California.
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities Report, 1938, p. 280.*)

WINNER

1. "The American Youth Congress publishes a magazine entitled *Winner*, the editor of which is Barry Wood, Communist Party name for Jeff Kibre, well-known party leader of southern California." (*Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7685.*)
2. "Published by the American Youth Congress." (*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 182.*)

WOMAN POWER

1. A publication of the Congress of American Women. (*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

WOMAN TODAY

1. Cited as Communist front. (*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 181.*)

WOMEN TODAY

1. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system." (*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

WORCESTER WORKER

1. Published by the Communist Party of Worcester, Mass. (*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 360.*)

WORK

1. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system." (*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

WORKERS MONTHLY

1. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system." (*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

WORKERS' THEATRE

1. Predecessor of the *New Theatre* magazine, the official organ of the League of Workers Theatres, a Communist project. The Workers' Theatre had headquarters in San Francisco in the Ruthenberg House. Charles E. Ruthenberg was the first general secretary of the Communist Party. (*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 237 and 238.*)

WORKING WOMAN

1. An official Communist Party magazine.
(*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 181.*)
2. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

WORLD FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY

1. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

WORLD NEWS AND VIEWS

1. Cited as an "internationally circulated Communist publication" which was succeeded by the War and the Working Classes, and more recently by New Times.
(*Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 1920, May 11, 1948, pp. 23 and 43.*)
2. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

YANKEE ORGANIZER

1. "Published by the Boston headquarters of the Communist Party."
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 156.*)

YOUNG COMMUNIST REVIEW

1. Published by the National Board of the Young Communist League of the United States.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 181.*)
2. Successor to the Young Worker, Nation-wide magazine of the Young Communist League.
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 185.*)

YOUNG COMRADE

1. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

YOUNG FRATERNALIST

1. A publication of the International Workers Order.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

YOUNG PIONEER

1. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

YOUNG WORKER

1. A Nation-wide magazine of the Young Communist League; the magazine was later called The Young Communist Review.
(*Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 185.*)

YOUTH

1. A publication of the Communist front, American Youth for Democracy.
(*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.*)

"The Communist Party takes on and puts off ancestors with the ease of a southern gentleman's lifting of his hat."

DR. J. B. MATTHEWS, in *Odyssey of a Fellow Traveler*

IMPORTANT COMMUNIST FRONT ACTIVITY

The 1948 Fourth Report by your committee was devoted to the general subject of Communist front organizations. In that report, your committee presented a comprehensive report and qualitative and quantitative analysis of the types of Communist fronts and of the varying degrees of Communist influence in organized groups.

This section of the 1948 Fourth Report was published on pages 23-89. Your committee refers legislators, attorneys and researchers to the 1948 Report as an indispensable reference volume to be used in connection with this 1949 Report.

Communist front organizations totaling 172 were analyzed and reported in the 1948 Fourth Report in alphabetical order on pages 91-393 of the report.

Our present report contains in the section titled *Official Citations of Communist Fronts*, on Pages 257-410, a revised compilation of citations by official agencies of Communist organizations and publications.

As we explained in detail in our 1948 Fourth Report, many of the Communist organizations are temporary creations, spawned by the basic groups, while others are long-range groups that are fundamental and basic in the strategy and tactics of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism.

Your committee has selected from the whole field of Communist front groups, and particularly cites to the Legislature, the 21 basic, fundamental Communist activities that provide the framework for the conduct of the Communist conspiracy in 1949.

We warn the Legislature and the people of California that these 21 basic groups are completely Communist manipulators of the broad strategy and tactics of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism in our Nation, and particularly in California; and that these basic Communist organizations are conducting and operating the Communist program of the Seventh Period of Communist Strategy in the United States, which your committee has reported in detail under the heading, *The Domestic Situation*, in Part One of this report.

We urge that the Legislature and the people of California become aware of the sinister and treacherous activities of these agents of the

world Communist conspiracy, who are working fanatically and incessantly to overthrow our Government by advocacy and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism.

Following is a digest of pertinent facts on the 21 key Communist front activities now working to undermine this Nation in the interests of Soviet Russia:

I. AMERICAN RUSSIAN INSTITUTE

Throughout the life of the Communist movement in the United States the Communist Party has maintained front organizations and conducted enterprises for the sole purpose of carrying on propaganda on behalf of the Soviet Union.

Some of the more important of these fronts and enterprises have been Friends of Soviet Russia, Friends of the Soviet Union, Soviet Russia Today, Russian Reconstruction Farms, Open Letter for Closer Co-operation With the Soviet Union, Golden Book of American Friendship With the Soviet Union, Trade Union National Committee for Russian Relief, American Federated Russian Famine Relief Committee, Russian War Relief, Statement by American Progressives on the Moscow Trials, Open Letter to American Liberals, and the American Russian Institute for Cultural Relations With the Soviet Union.

The American Russian Institute interlocks in many ways with the American Council on Soviet Relations.

According to its folder prospectus, distributed freely at meetings of the American Peace Mobilization, the American Russian Institute was founded in 1926 as the clearing house for "factual" information on the Soviet Union. It calls itself "nonpolitical" and "American."

It "arranges language courses, lectures, dinners and film showings" and permits the free use of its library containing an index of "10 Soviet newspapers."

The semiofficial status of the American Russian Institute is established by certain outstanding facts:

(1) The description appearing in the August, 1941, issue of the *American Review on the Soviet Union* (back cover inside) declares that "it aims to serve as an authoritative clearing house for factual information concerning the Soviet Union."

(2) The April, 1940, issue of the *American Quarterly on the Soviet Union* (inside cover) declares that the American Russian Institute furnishes information to the Soviet Union, which means to the Soviet Government, since there are no private agencies.

(3) Without official contacts, the writers for the organs of the American Russian Institute could not have access to the various sources of information in the Soviet Union.

Basil Bass, Aaron Bodansky, Edward C. Carter, Samuel H. Cross, Mortimer Graves, William W. Lancaster, Robert S. Lynd, Arthur Upham Pope, Henry E. Sigerist, Ernest J. Simmons, Vilhjalmur Stefansson, Maxwell S. Stewart, and Harriet L. Moore constituted the board of directors of the American Russian Institute at the close of World War II.

For a detailed report on the individuals participating in the Stalinist activities of this important Communist front, see 1947 Report, pages 88, 89, 103; and the 1948 Report, pages 169-168.

II. AMERICAN SLAV CONGRESS

The American Slav Congress is one of the most important Communist fronts. It specializes on infiltration into our big American nationality groups to confuse and divide the people with Stalinist propaganda on the issue of preparedness against Russian aggression and such important "cold war" developments as the Marshall Plan and the Atlantic Pact.

It has been cited as a Communist front by Attorney General Clark and by your committee and now is under intensive investigation by a number of official agencies.

Commenting on this type of front organization, your committee said in its 1948 Report:

Another important type of Communist created and controlled organization is the broadly-based, formal organization, created to serve a key function of international Red Fascism, and almost invariably linked to an international organization sponsored by the Comintern.

Such organizations are not as rapidly created or as summarily liquidated as the front defense committees. They are more stable and complex in their structure, and they constitute the source of the central core of Communists and fellow-travelers who join in the creation of the temporary front committees.

While they also engage in fund-raising for the benefit of the Communist program, they are permitted to keep more of the money raised through dues and assessments to maintain permanent offices and staffs.

Typical of the permanent, completely Communist created and controlled organizations are * * * the American Slav Congress * * *. (1948 Report, pp. 34-35.)

The American Slav Congress was formed at a meeting held in Detroit, on April 25-26, 1942, in response to an appeal of the All-Slav Congress, previously held in Moscow, August 10 and 11, 1941. The Detroit congress was a culmination of a number of preliminary meetings held in various key cities having large Slav populations.

Chairman of the All-Slav Congress which was held in Moscow was Lt. Gen. Alexander Gundorov of the Red Army. Vice chairman was Alexander Korneichuk, Soviet writer. The Congress was addressed by Alexei Tolstoi, Soviet writer; Professor Zdenek, biographer of Lenin and a professor of western Slavic languages and culture at the Moscow Institute; Wanda Wasilevska, Polish Communist leader and wife of Korneichuk; Johannes Becher, German Communist leader; and Frederich Wolf. Of the 20 elected to the executive committee, 10 were Russians and 10 were Slavic Communists.

The Congress called on the millions of Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Carpathian Ukrainians, Bulgars, Serbs, Macedonians, Vlaxhs, Croats, and Slovenes to "unite against the common enemy of all the Slav peoples."

The Moscow appeal was responsible for the forming, not only of the All-American Slav Congress, but also of similar congresses in Canada, New Zealand, and Latin America. The Latin-American congress first met in Montevideo on April 24 and 25, 1941. A second Moscow congress was held on April 7, 1942; and a third on May 10, 1943.

Simultaneous with the first Moscow congress (August, 1941), there was a Slav Congress held in Pittsburgh (August 10, 1941). It was decided at that time to hold an All-American Slav Congress in Detroit. John D. Butkovich, national president of the Croatian Fraternal Union of the International Workers' Order, was chairman of the All-Slav Congress committee. Stephan Zeman, Jr., was made secretary. He had previously

participated in meetings of the fraternal orders committee of the International Workers Order with Butkovich and B. K. Gebert of the Communist Party who has an extensive police record in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, and New Jersey.

One of the most important preliminary meetings leading to the Detroit congress was that of the Macedonian-American People's League (composed of Greeks, Serbs, Macedonians, and Bulgars), held in Gary, Indiana. The principal speaker was George Pirinsky of Detroit, secretary of the League, whose real name is George Zyloff. In signing propaganda articles, he also uses another alias—George Necoloff. He played an important part in the All-American Slav Congress.

It was evident from the various meetings held in the United States, following the Moscow call, leading to the Detroit congress, that the heads of the national groups of the International Workers' Order were the dynamos in the fronts which sprang up. Among these fronts were the Federation of Bulgarian-Macedonian Workers' Clubs, Croatian Fraternal Union, Slovak National Alliance, Yugoslav Friends of Democracy, Slavonic Committee for Democracy, Slovak Women's Society, Serbian National Federation, Polish Falcons of America, Slovene National Congress, Bulgarian-American Committee, Servian Vidov-dan Council, Slovenian-American Council, United Committee of South Slav Americans, Polish-American Trades Council, and finally the All-American Slav Congress.

Foremost of those active in the movement to establish the All-American Slav Congress, in addition to those previously mentioned, were John Kocharsky (Polish); Vincent Ujeich (red fronter); Leo Krzycki, J. J. Zeman, Martin Krasich, Steve Krall, Anna Blatniak of the International Workers' Order; Slovak Women's Committee, Rudolph Martonovic, Charles Korenice of the Slovak section of the International Workers' Order; A. Dmytrishn of the Ukrainian section of the International Workers' Order; Stanley Nowak, Nick Swetnick, member of the Young Communist League; Vladimir Kazakevich and Nicholas Tarnowsky, at the time coeditors of the *Ukranian Daily News*; General Yakhontoff, member of many red fronts; Leo Krzycki; Blair F. Gunther; W. T. Osowski; and V. S. Platk.

The Slovene National Congress, held in Cleveland in December 1942, joined with the All-American Slav Congress. Louis Adamic was elected chairman, and M. A. Bogdanovich of San Pedro, California, was elected treasurer. Also joining the congress was the United Conference of South Slavic Americans, organized in Cleveland and originally called the United Yugoslav Committee. At the Cleveland meeting of the Slovene National Congress, a 10-point program was mapped out in defense of Tito, as against Mihailovich. It was proposed to turn the combined forces loose in an effort to swing public sentiment in the U. S. A. in order to influence public officials in favor of Tito.

The Slovenian-American Council, the Servian Vidov-dan Council, and the Council of Americans of Croatian Descent also met in Cleveland, and joined together in forming the United Committee of South Slav Americans, with Louis Adamic as president.

This Communist front later changed its name to American Slav Congress and launched publication of a blatantly Stalinist quarterly,

The Slavic American. Headquarters of the organization are at 205 East 42d St., New York City.

The fall, 1948, issue of *The Slavic American*, a copy of which is in the committee's files, contains inflammatory anti-American articles by George Pirinsky, Louis Adamic and Edward V. Temple.

It lists on its editorial board: Zlatko Balokovic, Thomas Bell, Leo Krzycki, Prof. J. M. Marsalka, Virginia G. Muir, State Senator Stanley Nowak, George Pirinsky, Dr. Pitirim Sorokin and George Wuchinich.

III. CALIFORNIA LABOR SCHOOL

For many reasons, the California Labor School, which is controlled and operated lock-stock-and-barrel by the Communist Party, is an important front. It is a keystone Communist front in California.

It is important to the Communist Party because it provides a cover for their liaison between Comintern agents, spies and California Communist functionaries with their party agents in trade unions, in politics, the educational system, and in front activity. It also serves as a key proselyting center and as a training school in many of the open legal tactics and agitation methods of the party, which are combined with illegal methods through the Communist underground.

It is important to the American people and to the Legislature of our State, because it is an open Communist controlled operation in which Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism is taught, advocated, supported and propagandized.

The California Labor School has a direct link with Communist-led labor unions and with scores of Communist-front organizations throughout the State. It combines with the Communist book publishing houses and bookstores to teach, practice and advocate Marxism-Leninism as cited in *Part One* of this report in voluminous detail.

It is crucially important to the Legislature and the people that this Communist School link in the Communist conspiracy be understood. Your committee, therefore presents a resume with revised selections from our past reports on the Communist school system and includes new and current documentation on the activities of the California Labor School.

For a detailed account of the California Labor School, see the 1947 Third Report, pages 77-94.

Communist Party workers' schools were created almost as soon as the Communist Party of the U. S. A. came into being in 1919, to indoctrinate students with the theories of revolutionary Marxism and Leninism. They were designed to attract members of the labor movement as part of the "boring-from-within" policy of the Profintern, the Red International trade union apparatus, in Moscow. The instructors were originally required to be members of the Communist Party.

Since 1919 the Red educational system slowly has crept across the nation. Until about 1943 the Communist Party made no particular effort to conceal the true character of its educational institutions.

The doctrine of revolutionary socialism, the overthrow of capitalist governments by force and violence of Leninism-Stalinism was openly taught by self-admitted members of the Communist Party.

In San Francisco the Tom Mooney Labor School functioned for years with Communist Party functionaries as instructors, and those who

read the school's pamphlets and brochures had no difficulty in recognizing the nature of the institution. The Los Angeles Workers School was organized on the same pattern.

J. EDGAR HOOVER'S STATEMENT

In its report to the Legislature in 1945 the committee quoted J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, at page 136, as follows:

"Over the years, the American Communists have developed a propaganda machine and nefarious and elaborate school system of their own. Their officials in secret and public meetings urge that the propaganda phase of their work must be accelerated. *Brazenly, they have urged the development of courses, lectures, and assemblies as media to espouse the ideologies of Marxism and to establish Marxism as a school of thought in the United States * * **"

The committee further reported at page 136:

"For the first time, Earl Browder has assumed absolute and direct control of the 'Workers Schools' of the United States. It is reported that in New York City, V. J. Jerome and Elizabeth Lawson are the key people in the Communists' 'elaborate school system.' V. J. Jerome (alias Isaac Romaine) has been the secret educational director of the Communist Party for many years. He was formerly the editor of *The Communist*. Jerome is considered one of the outstanding dialecticians in the United States and is considered by many members one of the 'brains' of the Communist Party. He was one of the instructors in the New York Workers' School. It is estimated that the Communist Party schools will graduate about 5,000 students a year."

In 1943, pursuant to the impetus given the educational program by the national heads of the Communist Party, the People's Educational Center in Los Angeles and the California Labor School in San Francisco were launched.

These apparently new educational organizations under new names were intended to conceal the Communist character of the institutions, and, in this manner, exercise a much broader field for propagandization than was possible under the hammer-and-sickle. The Workers' Schools had been utilized for the purpose of indoctrinating new Communist Party members and prospects. The field for general propagandization was therefore limited. Under the rather innocuous appellations of the People's Educational Center and the California Labor School many non-Communists were expected to enroll.

Courses offered in these camouflaged institutions would include such innocent subjects as shorthand, body building and the dance, music as communication, drawing for beginners, the modern novel, basic journalism, languages, etc. *Once the unsuspecting students were enrolled it would be easy to sell the handpicked likely prospects on Marxism and revolutionary Communism.*

The usual window-dressing attendant upon the creation of Communist fronts was applied generously in the launching of these two California Communist institutions. Professors on the faculty of the University of California at Los Angeles were induced to deliver lectures on one subject or another at the People's Educational Center. The extension division of the University of California at Berkeley was hoodwinked by the California Labor School into jointly sponsoring a Labor and Peace Institute on the campus of the University of California at Berkeley. Thus Communist education in California was dignified by joining hands with the State University.

LOS ANGELES COMMUNIST WORKERS' SCHOOL

The Los Angeles Workers' School was formerly located at the office of the People's Daily World located at 323 W. Third Street in Los Angeles. The People's Daily World staff took applications for enrollment in the school.

The regular office of the school was maintained at 212 W. Third Street, Room 207 in Los Angeles, where the courses were actually taught.

For the full semester of 1942, which commenced October 5th and ended December 23d of that year, the Workers' School announced a special course called *Victory and After*, based on the book of the same name by Earl Browder. The instructors were Carl Winter, Eva Shafran, Pettis Perry and Max Silver, all of whom were full time officers of the Communist Party of Los Angeles County.

By 1942 the *People's Daily World* had replaced the old official Communist Party organ, the *Western Worker*, and Ed Robbin, radio commentator for the *People's Daily World*, was also an instructor. Leo Gallagher, Charles Katz, and Estolv Ward, always prominent in Communist Party affairs, and Lou Baron, whose record in Communist activities is well known, were other instructors in the school. Communist Party functionary Eva Shafran was the director of the school. An announcement of courses for 1943, a copy of which is in the possession of the committee, stated in the foreword that:

"The Los Angeles Workers' School was established in 1939 to fulfill the need for an educational institution which would provide systematic training in the history, principles and program of the working class and people's movement and prepare students for effective participation in the progressive movements of labor and the people."

AUTHORITATIVE MARXIST-LENINIST VIEWPOINT

The following paragraphs from the foreword in the announcement of classes, above referred to, are of considerable interest:

"Beginning with a small group of students in 1939, the enrollment has increased steadily. During the past year over 1,000 students enrolled for workers school courses. The Los Angeles Workers' School is now the largest labor school in the west.

"The studies in the school are based on the principles of scientific socialism; and the courses, dealing primarily with social, political and economic problems, are presented from an authoritative Marxist-Leninist viewpoint."

"The classes are open to everyone interested in the study of social sciences and current economic and political programs. The students of the Workers' School come from many trades and professions—industrial workers, office workers, students, professionals—representing a cross section of the working population.

"The teaching staff of the Workers' School is composed of instructors whose qualifications include both sound theoretical training and extensive and varied experience in the labor movement. *A basic principle underlying the teaching at the Workers' School is unity of theory and practice.*

"The Workers' School library has a large collection of Marxist books, pamphlets and periodicals. Students are urged to make full use of its facilities."

Among the courses taught at the time (1942) were "*Fundamentals of Marxism*," "*Marxism and the War*," "*The Negro People—History, Problems and Caste*," and "*History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*."

(See *Analysis of History of the CPSU*, Page 223.)

In 1943 the literature of the Los Angeles Workers' School announced that its director was still Eva Shafran, and that the board of directors was composed of the following persons: Leo Gallagher, well known Communist attorney of Los Angeles, Estolv Ward, Bert Corona, Mrs. Mary

Troy, Lou Baron, LaRue McCormick, Pettis Perry, Judy Schmidt, Alan Bryan and Jane Renaker. The Communist affiliations, activities and sympathies of these individuals are well known.

Among the teachers at the Los Angeles Workers' School in 1943, were such prominent Communists as John Howard Lawson, Albert Maltz, Elizabeth Leach, Carl Winter, Max Silver, Ed Robbin, Judy Schmidt, and Pettis Perry.

Upon the death of Eva Shafran the duties of the director of the Los Angeles Workers' School were assumed by Julia Sandy. Mrs. Sandy's Communist record is interesting. Her husband, George Sandy, has been prominent in Communist Party affairs since 1937. He was an organizer for the Communist Party in Orange County in that year, attended the Communist Party convention in San Francisco in 1942, and sponsored many Communist candidates for public office. He was appointed a member of the Communist State Central Committee on September 6, 1940, registered as a member of the Communist Party in Los Angeles on June 15, 1940, and in 1944 was an officer of the Communist Party of Los Angeles County. Mrs. Julia Sandy has never denied her Communist Party affiliation, and her selection as the Director of the Los Angeles Workers' School to replace Eva Shafran is complete proof, if proof were needed, of the continued Communist character of the institution.

In 1944, the Los Angeles Workers' School was located at 212 W. Third Street in that city.

PEC ABSORBS COMMUNIST WORKERS' SCHOOL

In 1945, in the February 6th issue of the *People's Daily World*, on page 3, column 3, there appears an announcement of profound significance. It reads as follows:

Workers' School Bows Out, Joins with PEC

Los Angeles, February 5—The Los Angeles Workers' School has closed its doors and discontinued all its services, executive secretary Julia Sandy announced. The school was founded six years ago to give Marxist training to trade unionists and others.

Reasons for closing the school are given in the following statement by Mrs. Sandy for the board of directors:

"For six years the Workers' School has devoted itself to meeting the need of our community for a people's anti-Fascist education, utilizing the Marxist approach to promote a better understanding of the struggle for Democracy. The curriculum included many subjects dealing with the science of Marxism as well as subjects of more general interest—American history, trade unionism, the nature of Fascism.

"With our entry into the war in 1941, the Workers' School centered its attention on developing greater clarity on the problems involved in the winning of the war and the building of postwar peace and security.

"In 1944, with the opening of the People's Educational Center, the Workers' School was no longer alone in providing our community with consistently anti-Fascist education. The People's Educational Center, from its inception, has been providing the community at large with a fine program of education for democracy. This institution, being a coalition in the field of education of all consistent anti-Fascists is serving a most valuable purpose in our community. It is for this reason that the Los Angeles Workers' School participated in the founding and development of the People's Educational Center.

"In the critical struggle in which our Nation is now engaged, education for democracy is more than ever a burning need. Through its broad educational program the People's Educational Center has a vital role to play in the building of national unity, and can make a significant contribution as a great center of democratic education in Los Angeles.

"In view of these developments, the board of directors has decided to dissolve the Workers' School. The school has played a pioneer role in the educational field in Los Angeles. The policies of collective security and national unity it struggled for are now the policies of the great progressive organizations of the majority of the American people. *The special task of teaching scientific socialism is now being served by the Marxist political-educational organization, The Communist Political Association.*

"The Workers' School now leaves the field open for the broadest anti-Fascist forces to carry forward on the educational front the major struggle of the present moment of history—the struggle for the perspective of lasting peace and economic security opened up at Teheran; and it is confident that they will succeed."

Here, then, out of the mouth of the Communist Director of the Communist Los Angeles Workers' School, is a positive statement to the effect that the Communist Workers' School helped organize the People's Educational Center as the organization which would carry on its activities. What Mrs. Sandy was actually stating was that the name of the Workers' School was being changed to the People's Educational Center and that the Communist Party's educational program to spread the gospel of international Communism would be carried on in a new and broader field and in a more determined and vigorous way than ever before.

The "Provisional Committee" for the People's Educational Center is listed at page 137 in the committee's 1945 Report. The members of this committee were:

John Allard, Educational Director and a member of the United Automobile Workers of America, CIO; Fay E. Allen, member of the American Federation of Musicians, Los Angeles Local 767, A. F. of L.; R. S. Avery; Charlotta A. Bass, editor and publisher of the *California Eagle*; George Bradley, International Vice President of the Building Service Employees International Union, A. F. of L.; Phillip M. Connelly, former State President of the California CIO; O. W. E. Cook, teacher, adult education; Frank C. Davis, former Assistant Professor, University of California at Los Angeles; Reverend Martin S. Eidsath, Pastor of the Southwest Presbyterian Church; Harry Hoiyer, Assistant Professor at the University of California at Los Angeles; John Howard Lawson, National Vice President of the League of American Writers; Arnold Manoff, author and lecturer, School for Writers; Russell L. McKnight, President, Film Technicians, Local 683, I.A.T.S.E., A. F. of L.; Carey McWilliams; Ruth S. Ryan; M. William Pomerance, business agent, Screen Cartoonists Local 852, A. F. of L.; Eva Shafran, Director, Los Angeles Workers' School; Albee Slade, Editor and Commentator, CIO Newspaper of the Air; C. L. Vanderbie, consultant, Adult Education; Ralph D. Winstead, National Representative of the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America, CIO; and William Wolff. The headquarters of the organization was originally located at 812 Broadway Arcade Building, in the City of Los Angeles.

COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF AMERICAN WRITERS

The League of American Writers conducted a school in Hollywood in which John Howard Lawson was the dominant figure. Lawson's record of Communist activities and affiliations is set forth in considerable detail in the committee's 1945 and 1948 Reports. He, among other Communists, spearheaded the formation of the People's Educational Center. The League of American Writers' school went out of existence after first having made a loan of \$1,000 to the People's Educational Center. In the event anyone should entertain a doubt concerning the Communist character of John Howard Lawson and the League of American Writers Schools, that doubt should be completely removed by the statement issued by former United States Attorney General, Francis Biddle. The statement follows:

The League of American Writers, founded under Communist auspices in 1935, for some years attracted to its fold many of the most prominent American writers, Communist and non-Communists. In 1939 the league began openly to follow the Communist

Party line as dictated by the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, and at that time most of the non-Communists disaffiliated themselves from it and declared their opposition to its policy.

The League of American Writers was founded at a congress of American revolutionary writers held in New York April 26-27, 1935. The call for the congress was signed by members of the John Reed Club, including such well-known Communists as Earl Browder, Isidor Schneider, John L. Spivak, and Michel Gold. The congress greeted Gold as the best loved American revolutionary writer and Gold in turn told the gathering that, "Our writers must learn that the working class which has created a great civilization in the Soviet Union is capable of creating a similar civilization in this country."

The leading speakers at the congress were all prominently identified with the Communist movement in the United States and featured such men as M. J. Olgin, (See Page 199) editor of the Communist Yiddish Daily, *Morning Freiheit*, Alexander Trachtenberg, head of the party's publishing house, International Publishers, Inc., and Clarence Hathaway, editor of the *Daily Worker* whose masthead then proclaimed it the official organ of the Communist Party, U. S. A., section of the Communist International.

The league was created, among other things, "to enlist writers in a national cultural organization for peace and democracy and against fascism and reaction, to support progressive trade-union organizations and the people's front in all countries, and to cooperate with the progressive forces."

Soon after the league was established, the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International in Moscow decided upon the Trojan Horse policy for Communist parties everywhere. By this policy Communists sought to infiltrate existing organizations without revealing their identity. Accordingly, it became necessary to conceal the Communist influence in the League of American Writers. The revolutionary slogans and resolutions were discarded.

In the years from 1936 to 1939 the league made an effort to secure as members the leaders of liberal thought among American writers. Although its Communist control was deliberately obscured, it sponsored a policy which accorded with the Communist Party line in those years, including condemnation of the Franco revolution in Spain and an interpretation of that revolution as presenting an issue of Communism vs. Fascism. In its congresses held in these years the league condemned Fascism and praised the "Soviet peace policy." It sought to make its program attractive by sponsoring the Federal Arts Project and attacking those who were opposed to any of the social legislation then being enacted in the United States.

At the time of the Russo-German pact in August, 1939, the League of American Writers began once more to follow the Communist Party line openly and without much attempt at dissimulation. It was in this period that most of the prominent non-Communist writers resigned from the league. Thomas Mann stated that the league "thinks too much about politics and not enough about literature." In 1940 and up until June 22, 1941, the league devoted its efforts principally to keeping the United States out of the "imperialist war." Its activities were featured in the *Daily Worker* and it in turn complimented the *Daily Worker* for the recognition it was giving to the league's anti-war program. Many leading Communists were openly active in the league at this time.

On June 6, 1941, the league held its Fourth Annual Writers' Congress in New York City. It condemned the "imperialist war," which it called a war for world markets. Speakers charged that the President was attempting to lead the country into war, and condemned the administration for its action in sending troops to quell the North American Aviation Co. strike and for its prosecution of Harry Bridges.

The American Peace Mobilization and its picketing of the White House was endorsed. Less than a month later the league issued a call to all writers and writers' organizations for "all immediate and necessary steps in support of Great Britain and the Soviet Union."

Not only did the league follow the Communist Party line in regard to foreign affairs, but its program since 1940 has shown a close parallel to the leading domestic issues supported by the party, including a campaign in behalf of Negro rights, opposition to what is called political persecution in the United States, and praise of the Soviet Union and its leaders.

The League of American Writers maintains an annual writers' school in New York City, featuring courses in labor journalism and pamphlet writing taught by Communists. Once each week it sponsors a "work in progress" reading by some author. The *Daily Worker*, in its regular reports of these readings, indicates that the majority of invited readers are known Communists or fellow travelers.

The overt activities of the League of American Writers in the last two years leave little doubt of its Communist control. The resignation of many writers who had affiliated themselves with it in the era of the Trojan horse and their statements at the time of disassociating themselves from it largely remove all possible speculations as to the facts.

PEOPLE'S EDUCATIONAL CENTER 1944

Immediately upon making the loan of \$1,000 to the People's Educational Center the League of American Writers' school in Hollywood went out of business. The People's Educational Center was organized to cover the same courses offered by both the Los Angeles Workers' School and the American Writers' School presided over by John Howard Lawson. The Workers' School, as well as the American League of Writers' school, made its contribution to the new institution. The People's Educational Center was presented with the Communist library of the Workers' School.

The prospectus for the winter term of 1944 of the People's Educational Center states that the headquarters of the institution is located at 524 South Spring Street in Los Angeles. For this term the faculty members were as follows:

Alvah Bessie, screen writer and critic; Edward Biberman, artist (brother of Herbert Biberman, who was prominent in the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League, the League Against War and Fascism, the League for Democratic Action, and many other Communist front organizations); Revels Cayton, Vice President of the California CIO Council; Dr. Frank C. Davis, formerly a professor of psychology at the University of California at Los Angeles, (later educational director of the People's Educational Center); Edward Dmytryk, motion picture director; Guy Endore, motion picture writer; Charles J. Katz, member of the firm of Katz, Gallagher and Margolis, and R. Lal Singh, editor of the Communist India News. (The law firm of Katz, Gallagher and Margolis was vigorously condemned in a resolution passed by the Central Labor Council of the American Federation of Labor in Los Angeles).

The same prospectus for the 1944 winter term announced that the school's instructors would include:

Leo Gallagher, well known Communist Party member; Augustus F. Hawkins, member of the California State Assembly; Herbert Klein; Ernest Dawson, proprietor of a book store on the corner of Wilshire and Grand Avenue in Los Angeles and prominent in many Communist front organizations; Carl Winter, former chairman of the Communist Party of Los Angeles County; Dr. Murray Abowitz, member of the American-Soviet Medical Society and husband of Ellenore Abowitz (formerly Ellenore Bogigian); Oscar Fuss, formerly an officer of the Communist Workers' Alliance; Ned R. Healy, former member of Congress; John Howard Lawson, former associate editor of the New York Communist Daily Worker, and Albee Slade, (Albee Slotkinoff), prominent in the Mobilization for Democracy and the Civil Rights Congress in the City of Los Angeles. Eva Shafran, the last director of the Communist Party Workers' School in Los Angeles, Wilma Shore, screen writer, and John P. McTernan (selected to substitute for Vito Marcantonio, radical member of Congress, at a Shrine Auditorium meeting in Los Angeles) were also instructors at the People's Educational Center at the 1944 summer term of the institution.

Other members of the faculty in 1944 were Annette Cimring, member of the editorial staff of a Communist publication called The Action Letter, and Kenneth Macgowan, who, despite a warning by this committee to President Sproul of the University of California, was employed as a member of the faculty at the University of California at Los Angeles. (Macgowan is still teaching in that institution.)

COMMUNIST PEC, 1945

It was announced that Bruce Minton, a screen writer, would be an instructor at the People's Educational Center in its spring term of 1945. At the time of this announcement Bruce Minton was a prominent member of the Communist Party. He had been very close to Earl Browder. After Browder's removal as the secretary of the Communist Party, Bruce Minton, together with Communist Ruth McKenney, because of so-called "factual factionism," were expelled from the Communist Party. It should not be necessary to state that Bruce Minton, since his expulsion from the Communist Party, no longer was an instructor at the People's Educational Center.

Other members of the faculty of the People's Educational Center during the spring of 1945 were:

Judith Schmidt, Circulation Manager of the *People's Daily World* for Los Angeles County; Ruth McKenney; Viola Spolin, screen writer; Edward Eliscu, screen writer, and Sanford Goldner, research director in charge of the Los Angeles office of the California CIO Council.

By December, 1945, the curriculum for the People's Educational Center had been considerably broadened. The headquarters of the school were now located at 1717 North Vine Street, Hollywood. The faculty now included:

Dr. Harry Hoiyer, Professor Leonard Bloom, Professor Howard Gilhausen, Professor David Appleman, Professor Dean McHenry, Professor Ralph Beals and Dr. Frank C. Davis, all members of the faculty of the University of California at Los Angeles; Leo Bigelman, former teacher at the Los Angeles Workers' School; Jules Carson, former instructor at the Tom Mooney Labor School in San Francisco; Peter De Lima, left-wing radio commentator; Meyer Frieden, former U. C. L. A. student and one of the organizers of the Young Communist League in Oakland, and then the head of the Young Communist League's successor, American Youth for Democracy; John Howard Lawson; Katherine McTernan, former instructor at the California Labor School in San Francisco; Viola Brothers Shore, screen writer; Frank Tuttle, screen director, and Alvin Wilder, left-wing radio commentator. Others connected with the People's Educational Center were Willis J. Hill, Ralph Winstead, R. S. Avery, Fay E. Allen, Harry Brown, Francis Eisenberg, Mrs. Gertrude Flatte, Tex Freeman, Frank Green, Dorothy Healy, Kenneth W. Howard, Boyce Howard, Z. P. Peterson, Louis J. Rosenkranz, and Howard Lambert.

(1947 Third Report, p. 71.)

When a trusted Communist functionary appears as the member of the Board of Directors or an officer of an organization, the Communist character and control of the group is firmly established. It must be remembered that Communist functionaries never waste time. In the first place, no self-respecting American organization would deliberately elect a known Communist functionary to a position of importance and control in its organization. When, therefore, Dorothy Healy (Dorothy Schneiderman, Dorothy Ray), Secretary of the Communist Party of Los Angeles County, is discovered as a member of the Board of Directors of the People's Educational Center, the character of the institution is immediately established. (See the committee's 1943, 1945, 1947, and 1948 reports for the Communist record of Dorothy Healy.)

The committee found close coordination between the educational programs of the Communist Party in San Francisco and the educational policies of the Communist Party in Los Angeles. The over-all direction of Communist Party indoctrination throughout the United States was

ably directed by V. J. Jerome (Isaac Romaine), National Educational Director for the Communist Party of the United States of America. The singleness of purpose and uniformity of direction in consistent advocacy of Marxism-Leninism was clearly revealed in the activities, curricula and mechanics of the People's Educational Center in Los Angeles and the California Labor School in San Francisco.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA, LABOR SCHOOL

The San Francisco Workers' School opened in 1932 following the same pattern of other Communist workers' schools scattered throughout populous centers in the United States. It was frankly and openly a school for instruction in Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism.

The announcement of courses offered for the fall term of 1934 contained the following quotation from the writings of Lenin on the cover of the pamphlet: "Without revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary practice."

The school was located at 675 Minna Street in the City of San Francisco.

Among the instructors were Leo Gallagher, Ida Rothstein, Carl Hama and other prominent Communists. The officers of the school were as follows: Executive Secretary, Emma Cutler; Secretary, Fred Mitchell; Maria Morris, Leo Thompson, Dan Morgan, John Hunt, Hilda Silvers and Ada Handler. Members of the Advisory Council were Langston Hughes, Ella Winter, Lincoln Steffens, Emmett Kirby, Beatrice Kinkad, Anita Whitney, Dr. M. H. Crawford, Sam Darcy (District Organizer of the Communist Party at that time), Benjamin Ellisberg, Plasterers Union of the American Federation of Labor; Ed Harris, Machinists Local 68 of the American Federation of Labor; Sam Diner, Harry Jackson, Coast Organizer for the Marine Workers Industrial Union; and George Maurer, Trade Union Director. Courses taught in the San Francisco Workers' School were Marxian Economics, Short Wave Radio, Political Discussion Groups for Young Workers, Self Defense in Courts, Russian Language, History of the Three Internationals, Intermediate English, National Minorities in California, Principles of Communism, Quack Economic Plans and Trade Union Organization.

The foreword in the announcement of courses for the fall semester of 1934 is as follows:

"The San Francisco Workers' School functions on the basis of the economic, political and philosophic teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and has as its fundamental principles the inseparability of revolutionary theory from revolutionary practice. The central aim of the Workers' School is to equip workers with the knowledge and understanding of Marxism-Leninism and its effective application in their militant struggles against the capitalist class toward the decisive proletarian victory. The revolutionary working class movement is in constant need of trained new groups of active workers and leaders. The school is not an academic institution. It participates in all the current struggles of the working class.

"Pseudo Marxist and 'liberal' schools—it is necessary to state that the *Workers' School is the only school in San Francisco which authoritatively bases its education on the theory of Marxism-Leninism under the official guidance of the leadership of the Communist Party of the United States of America and the Communist International.*

"Students seeking to obtain a true scientific Marxist-Leninist education should not be confused by the appearance of unauthorized schools pretending to the same purpose. Serious students of social science will also beware of the so-called 'liberal' schools. Marxism, the application of the principles of dialectical materialism, is a science based on a thorough study of the process of social and physical life. This science should be distinguished from the shallow vaporings of pedants who hide their bankruptcy and confusion under the title 'liberalism.'

"School library—the school asks for the assistance of all its friends in establishing its library. We have no endowment and the small tuition fee paid by the students is not sufficient to cover the expenses connected with the school. Therefore, we ask that any working class, political, economic, or research literature that you can contribute to the school library be sent to the school office." (1947 Third Report, p. 77.)

By 1936 the location of the school was 121 Haight Street in the City of San Francisco which was also the headquarters for the Communist Party of California, Arizona and Nevada. William Schneiderman, Secretary of the Communist Party of California, Lawrence Ross, George Maurer, and other well-known Communist figures had been added to the school's faculty staff.

By 1943 the school had been rechristened the Tom Mooney Labor School and was located at 678 Turk Street.

The officers of the school were as follows:

Board of Directors: John B. Mooney, Anna Mooney, Paul Schnur, John A. St. Peter, Professor Arthur G. Brodeur, Warren K. Billings, David Jenkins (Director), Hazel Grossman (Executive Secretary), Julia C. George (Office Secretary) and Ellice Johnston (Librarian). Among the members of the faculty of the institution in 1943 were Paul Pinsky, CIO Research Director; Frances Moore, then employed in the Division of Labor Statistics and wife of William Plunkert; Sam Kagel, War Manpower Commission; Assemblyman Augustus Hawkins (later a member of the faculty of the People's Educational Center in Los Angeles); Herbert Resner, attorney for the Communist Party; Katherine McTernan; Jules Carson; Professor Robert A. Brady of the University of California; David Hedley (later to become associated with the CIO Political Action Committee while still an alien); Professor Holland Roberts of Stanford University; Dr. Sanford Goldner (later to teach at the People's Educational Center); Sidney Roger, left-wing radio commentator; and Hazel Grossman, whose husband, Aubrey, is now the admitted Educational Director of the Communist Party for the City and County of San Francisco. (1947 Third Report, p. 78.)

During the winter and spring terms of 1944 the officers of the Tom Mooney Labor School were as follows:

George Hayward, President; G. F. Irvine, Vice President; Paul Schnur, Secretary; John A. St. Peter, John B. Mooney, Victor Swanson, Professor Holland Roberts, Richard Lynden, Frank Fitzgerald, Mervyn Rathborne, Hazel Grossman and David Jenkins, Directors. Among the individuals listed as sponsors of the school were: E. F. Burke, Secretary of the Marine Cooks and Stewards Association, CIO; Paul Pinsky, CIO Research Director; Mervyn Rathborne, Secretary of the California CIO Council; Mrs. Charlotta Bass, Editor of the *California Eagle*; Henry Melnikow, National Labor Bureau; Frederick Thompson; Anna Mooney; Professor Arthur G. Brodeur, of the University of California; Warren K. Billings; Paul Meyer, Industrial Division, YMCA; Professor Robert Brady of the University of California and George R. Reilly.

A glance at the curriculum reveals that changing the name of the San Francisco Workers' School to the Tom Mooney Labor School did not result in any deviation from the Marxist character of the institution. Among those added to the faculty we find Louis Fowlks, a member of the War Production Board and prominent in the International Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians (FAECT). Katherine McTernan was still teaching Economic Theory and had now become a teacher's assistant at the University of California. Hazel Grossman was still functioning as Executive Secretary. Dr. Sanford Goldner was still teaching his specialty, "History of American Thought." David Jenkins was still the director of the school. Professor Holland Roberts was teaching a course called the "People's History of the United States."

By the summer of 1944 the California Labor School had replaced the Tom Mooney Labor School and had opened headquarters at 216 Market Street in the City of San Francisco. While the name was changed the officer personnel virtually remained intact. George Hayward was listed as president; George F. Irvine, as vice president; Paul Schnur, as secretary and Frank Fitzgerald, George Hardy, David Jenkins, Richard Lynden, Dewey Mead, Mervyn Rathborne, Holland Roberts,

John A. St. Peter and Victor Swanson, as directors. Hazel Grossman was listed as being in charge of the Social Science Department and David Jenkins was the school's director.

TROJAN HORSE CAMOUFLAGE

The success of the Trojan Horse camouflage of the California Labor School is indicated by the school's utterly amazing achievement in joining with the sedate and dignified University of California in programs on the campus of that institution at Berkeley in 1946. (As a matter of fact, by that time, the committee saw the Dean of the Extension Division of the university listed as one of the sponsors of the school.)

In 1944 the faculty of the California Labor School was adorned with writers for the Communist newspaper, the *People's Daily World*, left-wing radio commentators, members of the Communist Party of San Francisco, expounders of Marxism, and a sprinkling of pink professors from the University of California across the bay in Berkeley.

The curriculum announcement for fall, 1944, lists, for the first time, an Educational Advisory Council.

This interesting list includes Dr. Thomas Addis, Stanford University; Professor Arthur G. Brodeur, University of California; Dr. A. J. Cloud, San Francisco Junior College; Professor William R. Dennes, Professor of Philosophy, University of California; Professor Willard H. Durham, University of California; E. W. Gifford, University of California; Professor Edward M. Hulme, Stanford University; Professor A. M. Kidd, University of California; Dr. Alexander C. Roberts, San Francisco State College; Holland D. Roberts, Stanford University; Leo Rogin, University of California; Dr. Curtis E. Warren, San Francisco Board of Education, and Dr. Baldwin Woods, Director of the Extension Division of the University of California. (1947 Third Report, p. 88.)

In the school's course on community services, the committee finds the course being coordinated by Rose Segure, former social worker and active undercover California Communist functionary. Rose Segure's Communist activities date back to State Relief Administration days. Her record is long and interesting and includes effective participation in the Communist front organization designed for Soviet espionage, the Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians.

George Andersen, attorney for the Communist Party of California, taught a course in American Citizenship at the California Labor School during the spring term of 1945.

The instructors and lecturers for the summer and fall terms of 1946 are as follows:

Leon Alexander, Mara Alexander, Eva Le Gallienne, Tempe Allison, Mimi Kagan, Cyril Atkinson, Eugene Bielawski, E. Bogosian, Holbrook Bonney, Jessie Elliott Buck, Dudley A. Cameron, Jules Carson, Edward Cerney, Isobel Cerney, Leo E. Christiansen, Susan Clark, Adelyne Cross, Vivian Dahl, Warren D'Azevedo, Margaret De Patta, Philip Eden, Irwin Elbert, Sylvia Evanson, Lincoln Fairley, Claire Falkenstein, Gustave Friedman, Fannie Garfield, Louise Gilbert, Robert Goff, Carleton Goodlet, Theodore Gorbacheff, Thelma Thurston Gorham, Archie Green, Nick Gregoric, Hazel Grossman, Milton Halberstadt, Golda Hall, Gladys Hares, Thomas L. Harris, Gail Hazard, Edith Kiertzner Heath, Eleanor Hesthal, Eli Hirsch, Marco Ignacio Infante, David Jenkins, Tony Jue, William Kauffman, Freda Koblick, Ned Kramer, Ramon Lavallo, Cecile Livette, Peter Macchiarini, Janet Macharg, Helen Miller, Keith Monroe, Louisa Moreno, Philip Morton, John Nunes, Ted Odza, Giacomo Patri, Joe Phillipsbury, Paul Pinsky, Jan Reiner, Holland Roberts, Charles F. B. Roeth, Mildred Rosenthal, Peggy Sarasohn, Ann Service, Michael Shapavalov, Nathan Siegel, Julius Stern, Celeste Strack, Juan Urriza, George Vurek, Henry Wachs, Tom Weber, Eva S. Weil, Frederick Welch, Helen Wheeler, Reginald Louis White and Ruth Witt-Diamant.

COMMUNIST COURSES AT CALIFORNIA LABOR SCHOOL

While the descriptive material concerning each course offered by the California Labor School is of great interest to students of propaganda methods the brief outline of the course *What Is Socialism?* is of importance in evaluating the character of this Communist institution. At page 16 of the pamphlet distributed during 1947 by the California Labor School, we find the following:

This class deals with such questions as: How does Socialism differ from Capitalism? What is the history of socialist movements in this country? What would Socialism mean in the United States? How is Socialism working in the Soviet Union? Is the labor government in Britain introducing Socialism? The purpose of this class is to make clear the character of socialist society, to discuss and evaluate the various socialist movements that have arisen, and to consider the practical significance of socialism in the world today.

When it is known that the instructor of this class, Celeste Strack, is an outstanding Communist Party functionary in the State of California, it becomes exceedingly easy to anticipate the answers the students will receive in their study of "Socialism" in the California Labor School.

On the same page of the pamphlet above referred to is a description of the course offered under the title of "Advanced Economics IV: Economic Theories of Marx and Keynes." It reads as follows:

This class is designed for those students who have taken our basic economics courses at the school, or their equivalent elsewhere. It analyzes the reasons why we have chronic unemployment, depressions and booms under capitalism. The theories of Karl Marx on the inevitability of crises and unemployment under capitalism are thoroughly examined, along with the theories of John Maynard Keynes, the advocate of the idea that capitalism can be reformed.

When it is known that Hazel Grossman was the instructor of this course and that she is the wife of Aubrey Grossman, Educational Director of the Communist Party for the City and County of San Francisco, little doubt is left in anyone's mind as to the purpose of both the course and the school.

If anyone is so naive as to believe that the courses in art, journalism, drama and dancing are innocent subjects and devoid of the possibilities of Communist indoctrination, he knows nothing at all of the elementary principles of the Communist theory. The slogan *Art Is a Weapon*, is well known to the Communists and to the students of Communism. The Communist Party insists on Marxian dialectic in all forms of Communist art. Unless the theories of "class-struggle" and "class-consciousness" are injected into every effort the result is not only futile to the Stalinists but is subjected to vicious Communist criticism and contempt.

COMMUNIST SCHOOLS IN 1949

The California Communist school system was consolidated under one name in July, 1948, when the People's Educational Center in Hollywood suddenly was folded up completely to avoid an intensive investigation of Communist activity in Hollywood by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The California Labor School of San Francisco took over the facilities and staff of People's Educational Center, and the combined schools continued without pause to teach, advocate and propagandize Marxism-Leninism.

The California Labor School now is located in San Francisco at 240 Golden Gate Avenue. It also has branches in Oakland and Berkeley.

The Communist school's headquarters in Los Angeles are located at 1808 West Seventh Street. It also has branches in the C.I.O. Building, 5851 Avalon Blvd., Room 306; and at City Terrace Cultural Club, 3875 City Terrace Drive. A Graphic Arts Workshop also is operated at 5444 Hollywood Blvd., Studio 2.

The Communist educational apparatus continues to conduct its teaching of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism behind the false front of art, cultural and worker education, although the teaching approach to these fields has a markedly Stalinist trend.

Your committee publishes herewith, from official announcements of the California Labor School, its schedule of classes during the early part of 1949 in the San Francisco Bay area and in Southern California. (The actual documents, circulated by the school, are reproduced on the following pages.)

CALIFORNIA LABOR SCHOOL

SCHEDULE OF CLASSES • JANUARY 24—APRIL 1, 1949

CALIFORNIA LABOR SCHOOL—1808 West 7th Street

Mondays, 7:00 P.M. - 8:30 P.M.

LABOR JOURNALISM

Practical publicity for trade unions, organizations and clubs.
Penn Vanderveest and others.

ELEMENTARY ENGLISH

Reading and writing English.
Eas Teller

IMPERIALISM

The facts concerning imperialism, together with a theoretical analysis of the facts.
Michael Harrison

Mondays, 8:30 P.M. - 10:00 P.M.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE AMERICAN TRADE UNION MOVEMENT
Trade union history in the light of current problems.
Kenneth Hartford

ACTORS' WORKSHOP

Preparation for and participation in a people's theater.
Joseph Papinefsky

THE SCHOOL-AGE CHILD

The development and problems of the child from 4-12.
Marie Shish

Tuesdays, 7:00 P.M. - 8:30 P.M.

PROGRESSIVE TRADITIONS OF LABOR
Origin and history of A.F.L. its contributions to labor and democracy.
Instructor to be announced.

MUNDOGRAPHING, LEAFLET,

PAMPHLET AND POSTER DESIGN
Selection of material and use of equipment.
Paul Levine—Ted Glavin

AN INTRODUCTION TO PHILOSOPHY

Basic attitudes toward social change, the nature of man and the universe.
Dr. Sanford Goldner

Tuesdays, 8:30 P.M. - 10:00 P.M.

THE FIGHT FOR NEGRO FREEDOM
Economic, political and social status of the Negro people, relation to the struggles of the white workers.
Sylvia Perlman

WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

Definition and nature of socialism.
Instructor to be announced

THE JEWISH PEOPLE IN THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY

The challenge to Jewish existence, the nature of Jewish values.
Dr. Sanford Goldner

Wednesdays, 7:00 P.M. - 8:30 P.M.

WHAT TO DO UNTIL THE LAWYER COMES

Basic rights in case of arrest, search and seizure, interference with free speech and assembly.
Co-ordinator, Thelma Horng

POLITICAL ECONOMY II

Analysis of capitalist economy for advanced students.
Instructor to be announced.

BEGINNING RUSSIAN

Learning to read and speak Russian.
Alexandra Collins
Tuition \$7.50

Wednesdays, 8:30 P.M. - 10:00 P.M.

REVIEW OF THE WEEK

Current news against a historical background.
Guy Enders

WOMEN IN A CHANGING WORLD

History, problems and contemporary status of women here and abroad.
Instructor to be announced.

BEGINNING SPANISH

Practical conversation and simple grammar, Berlitz method and textbook used.
Gladys Hagg
Tuition \$7.50

Thursdays, 7:00 P.M. - 8:30 P.M.

PUBLIC SPEAKING

Instruction and practice in speech organization and delivery.
Instructor to be announced

BUILDING TRADE UNION LEADERSHIP

Collective bargaining, grievance procedure, wages, prices and profits.
Julian Hicks—Len Timelman

BEGINNING FRENCH

Learning to read and speak French.
Belle Francis
Tuition \$7.50

Thursdays, 8:30 P.M. - 10:00 P.M.

THE VANISHING PAYCHECK

A non-technical course in cost-of-living, taxes, wages and prices.
Julian Hicks

MEDICINE FOR THE LAYMAN

Popular analysis of diet, heart, cancer, poisons, drugs, viators, etc.
Co-ordinator, Dr. Murray Abowitz

THE PRE-SCHOOL CHILD

The growth and development of the child from infancy to 6 years.
Clara Rabbin

Fridays, 7:00 P.M. - 8:30 P.M.

POLITICAL ECONOMY I

A scientific analysis of the capitalist economic structure.
Tom Farrell

Fridays, 8:30 P.M. - 10:00 P.M.

SCIENCE OF SOCIETY

An analysis of the forces determining social change.
Tom Farrell

WRITING PEOPLE'S SONGS

A workshop course in writing people's songs.
Irving Garden, Ben Robinson and others

PROBLEMS OF THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN PEOPLE

Social, cultural and economic status; methods of organization to fight for equality.
Ramon Walsh—Francis Lym



C.I.O. BUILDING—5851 South Avalon Blvd.—Room 306

Mondays, 7:00 P.M.

WAGES AND JOBS—ECONOMICS FOR THE WORKER
A popular version of Political Economy I.
Alban McNeill

Mondays, 8:30 P.M.

SCIENCE OF SOCIETY
An analysis of the forces determining social change.
Alban McNeill

Tuesdays, 7:00 P.M.

BUILDING TRADE UNION LEADERSHIP
Collective bargaining; grievance procedure; wages, prices and profits.
Hicks—Timelman—Farrell

Tuesdays, 8:00 - 9:30 P.M.

PROBLEMS FACING THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT
Forces affecting the labor movement, of interest to unionists and non-unionists.
Clara Rabbin

GRAPHIC ARTS WORKSHOP—5444 Hollywood Blvd., Studio 2

Wednesdays, 8:00 - 10:00 P.M.

BEGINNING DRAWING AND PAINTING
Marla Shure
Tuition \$15.00

Tuesdays, 8:00 P.M.

THE PRE-SCHOOL CHILD
Day-to-day problems in the development and growth of children.
Lary Thelman

Wednesdays, 7:00 P.M.

WEDNESDAYS, 8:30 P.M.
ORGANIZED LABOR AND WORLD PROBLEMS
The workers' strike in America's foreign policy.
Julian Hicks

CITY TERRACE CULTURAL CLUB—3075 City Terrace Drive

Wednesdays, 8:00 - 9:30 P.M.

POLITICAL ECONOMY I
A scientific analysis of the capitalist economic structure.
Max Lave

Thursdays, 8:00 P.M. - 10:00 P.M.

ADVANCED PAINTING
Morton Diamondstein
Tuition \$15.00

Thursdays, 7:00 P.M.

THURSDAYS, 8:30 P.M.
PUBLIC SPEAKING FOR TRADE UNIONISTS
Instruction in speech organization and delivery, Parliamentary procedure.
Sylvan Feuerbach

Fridays, 8:00 P.M.

REVIEW OF THE WEEK
Current news against a historical background. Films will be used from time to time.
Sanford Bernstein

Thursdays, 8:00 P.M. - 9:30 P.M.

THE JEWISH PEOPLE IN THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY
The challenge to Jewish existence, the nature of Jewish values.
Dr. Sanford Goldner

LOCATION TO BE ANNOUNCED

Wednesdays, 8:30 P.M.

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF MUSIC
A course with phonographic illustration to depict music in relation to historic peoples' struggles.
Harry Hay

REGISTER NOW!

1808 West 7th Street - Los Angeles 5, California - DUnshik 82319

THE TERM LASTS TEN WEEKS . . . FEE \$6.00 UNLESS OTHERWISE LISTED

CALIFORNIA LABOR SCHOOL

evening education for everybody

10 week WINTER TERM January 10 - March 19, 1949

"Meet the Teacher," reception and program,
Saturday, January 8 at 8 p.m.
240 Golden Gate Ave., San Francisco

OPEN HOUSE JANUARY 10 THROUGH 14.

Visit classes first week without charge (special lectures excepted).

SCHOLARSHIPS . . .

Members of contributing unions eligible for full scholarships in Labor and Social Sciences, History, English, Philosophy and Psychology; half scholarships in Languages, Literature and Writing, Arts and Crafts, Music, Drama, Modern Dance and Folk Dancing.

Work scholarship information available at Registrar's desk.

FEE REDUCTION . . .

20% reduction in total fees for registration in more than one class. (Scholarships excluded.)

FACILITIES AVAILABLE INCLUDE:

Visitor's tickets for single class sessions.
Trade Union and Extension Services for Unions and Organizations throughout California.
Labor and Progressive Films.
Library open evenings weekdays 7 to 10 p.m.
Gregor Duncan Art Gallery.
Programs and Entertainment by People's Songs, CLS Branch.
Restaurant and Canteen Shop open weekdays.
for information, write or call

California Labor School, 240 Golden Gate Ave., GR 4-8601

Office hours: 10 to 10

Saturday: 10 to 4

THREE DAY CONFERENCE ON AMERICAN LABOR

Featuring Dr. Philip Foner*, authority on American labor and author of HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT, with Bay Area labor leaders.

Topics: The Raids of the American Labor Movement, Class Collaboration, the Progressive Tradition of the A. F. of L., Reports of the AFL and CIO Conventions, Labor and World Peace. Friday, Saturday, Sunday, January 14, 15, and 16, in San Francisco. Wednesday, January 12 at 160 Grand Ave., Oakland. Complete program sent on request.

*Dr. Foner is also author of JACK LONDON—AMERICAN REBEL. BASIC WRITINGS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON. JEWS IN AMERICAN HISTORY and BUSINESS AND SLAVERY.

COMING

Herbert Aptheker, author, lecturer, and scholar, and America's leading authority on Negro History, will be the featured guest at a Conference February 4 to 10. Information on request.

Labor and Social Sciences

POLITICAL ECONOMY I
WHAT IS SOCIALISM?
PUBLIC SPEAKING
AND PARLIAMENTARY
PROCEDURE
WORLD NEWS

JERROLD STOLL
HOLLAND ROBERTS
Tue 8:45-10:15 \$6
Mon. 8:45-10:15 \$6

ECONOMICS SEMINAR
LAW What do the "Nis"
the Lawyer Comes
IMPERIALISM
POLITICAL ECONOMY II
THE SOVIETS—
FACT AND MYTH

Everyday Life in the
Soviet Union. How the
Sovets Look at the
World

CHINA AND THE FAR EAST
(5 weeks)
AMERICAN CAPITALISM
TODAY
Rearm or Crisis
Marrs or Keynes

POLITICAL ACTION—
1949 ON

YOUTH IN ACTION
75,000 AIR MILES
OF NEWS
INTRODUCTION TO
TRADE UNIONISM
LABOR STRUGGLES 1948-9

Part I Begins Jan. 10i
Part II Begins Feb. 14i

EUROPEAN TRADE UNIONS
HOW THEY WORK

HERMAN STUYVELAAR, guest lecturer

JEWISH HISTORY

15 weeks!

NEGRO HISTORY

15 weeks beginning

Feb. 15i

HISTORY OF AMERICAN

DEMOCRATIC THOUGHT

HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY

SOCIAL THINKING

SEMINAR IN HISTORICAL

MATERIALISM

MENTAL HYGIENE: THE FAMILY AND THE INDIVIDUAL

READING AND WRITING—

ENGLISH FOR DAILY

USE—II

BASIC READING SKILLS—JESSIE RUCK

EFFECTIVE WRITING—IV

RUSSIAN I

RUSSIAN II

Private instruction by appointment

FRENCH I

FRENCH II

SPANISH I

SPANISH II

CHORAL SINGING

MUSIC FORM AND

CONTENT

SPANISH GUITAR

Lectures—1st 4 weeks

Instruction—Last 6 weeks

Full Ten weeks

VOICE AND INSTRUMENTAL LESSONS BY APPOINTMENT

DANCE TECHNIQUE

MODERN DANCE GROUP

Development of an ad-

vanced unit, working for-

ward public production

MIAMI KAGAN—Director

NICK GREGORIC

NICK GREGORIC

BALLROOM DANCE GROUP

INDIVIDUAL INSTRUCTION

BALLROOM DANCE

Five half-hour lessons

FOLK DANCING

ACTING I

(with workshop)

ACTING II

(with workshop)

PLAYWRITING

Submit writing examples in advance

SEMINAR ON ART

AND LITERATURE

AMERICAN LITERATURE

TECHNIQUE OF WRITING

CREATIVE WRITING

NEWS BEHIND THE NEWS

HOLLAND ROBERTS

(19-21st Street)

WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

GORDON WILLIAMS

(9024 Birch St., E. Oakland)

THE NEGRO AND THE

LABOR MOVEMENT

HISTORY OF SOCIALIST

MOVEMENTS IN THE U. S.

THEORY AND PRACTICE

OF TRADE UNIONISM

ECONOMIC SEMINAR

CHORAL SINGING

INTRODUCTION TO

PHILOSOPHY

COMPARATIVE

PHILOSOPHY

WHAT IS MARXISM?

TECHNIQUE OF WRITING

DAVID JENKINS

Tue. 7:15-8:45 \$2.50

Tue. 7:15-8:45 \$2.50

(Both 5 week classes \$6)

Wed. 8:45-10:15 \$6

GEORGE HITCHCOCK

LEON ALEXANDER

GEORGE HITCHCOCK

Tue. 7:15-8:45 \$2.50

Wed. 7:15-8:45 \$6

Thu. 7:15-8:45 \$6

Fri. 8:45-10:15 \$6

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History

Tue. 7:15-8:45 \$2.50

Tue. 7:15-8:45 \$2.50

(Both 5 week classes \$6)

Wed. 8:45-10:15 \$6

Philosophy

Fri. 8:45-10:15 \$6

Fri. 8:45-10:15 \$6

Fri. 8:45-10:15 \$6

Psychology

Tue. 7:15-8:45 \$2.50

Wed. 7:15-8:45 \$6

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Following is the recent curriculum of the California Communist school system:

Red School in the San Francisco Bay Area

CALIFORNIA LABOR SCHOOL

Winter Term January 10-March 19, 1949—at San Francisco School,
240 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco

LABOR AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

Political Economy I—Tues. 8.45-10.15—\$6

Instructor: Andrew Zirpoli

What Is Socialism?—Mon. 8.45-10.15—\$6

Instructor: Steve Murdock

Public Speaking and Parliamentary Procedure—Mon. 7.15-8.45—\$6

Instructor: Jerrold Stoll

World News—Tues. 7.15-8.45—\$3.50

Instructor: Holland Roberts

Guest Lecturers: Donna and Leonard Grumet (Poland), William Kerner (China), Herman Stuyvelaar (Europe and U. S. S. R.), Bipan Chandra (India), Ramon LaValle (Europe) and others

Economics Seminar—Tues. 8-10—\$6

Instructor: Miriam Weisstein

Law: What to do 'til the Lawyer Comes—Wed. 7.15-8.45—\$3

Instructor: Julius Keller

Imperialism—Mon. 8.45-10.15—\$6

Instructor: Jules Carson

Political Economy II

The Soviets—Fact and Myth—Everyday life in the Soviet Union. How the Soviets look at the world—Tues. 8.45-10.15—\$3.50

Instructors: Dr. William Berke, William Kerner

China and the Far East—Fri. 8.45-10.15—\$3

Instructor: William Kerner

American Capitalism Today—Boom or Crisis, Marx or Keynes—Wed. 8-10—\$6

Instructor: Hazel Grossman

Guest Lecturers: Lincoln Fairley, Philip Eden, Paul Pinsky, Celeste Strack, Miriam Weisstein, Andrew Zirpoli

Political Action—1949 On—Fri. 8.45-10.15—\$3.50

Coordinator: David Jenkins

Guest Lecturers: Paul Schlipf, Angela Ward and others

Youth in Action—Wed. 8.45-10.15—\$6

Instructor: Allan Barahal

75,000 Air Miles of News—Thurs. 8.45-10.15—\$3

Instructor: Ramon LaValle

Introduction to Trade Unionism—Fri. 7.15-8.45—\$6

Instructor: William Rubens

Labor Struggles 1948-49—Mon. 7.15-8.45—\$3.50

Instructor: Irwin Elber

Guest Union Leaders: Joe Johnson and others from Maritime, Oil and Office and Professional Workers

European Trade Unions—Tues. 7:15-8.45—\$3

Instructor: Andrew Zirpoli

Guest Lecturer: Herman Stuyvelaar

HISTORY

Jewish History—Tues. 7.15-8.45—\$3.50

Instructor: David Jenkins

Negro History—Tues. 7.15-8.45—\$3.50

Instructor: David Jenkins

History of American Democratic Thought—Wed. 8.45-10.15—\$6

Instructor: Holland Roberts

PHILOSOPHY

History of Philosophy—Fri. 8.45-10.15—\$6

Instructor: George Hitchcock

Social Thinking—Wed. 7.15-8.15—\$6

Instructor: Leon Alexander

Seminar in Historical Materialism—Tues. 8.45-10.15—\$6

Instructor: George Hitchcock

PSYCHOLOGY

Mental Hygiene: The Family and the Individual—Thurs. 8-10—\$7

ENGLISH

Reading and Writing I—Mon. 7.15-8.45—\$6*English for Daily Use II*—Mon. 8.15-10.15—\$6

Instructor: George Perman

Basic Reading Skills III—Thurs. 7.15-8.45—\$6

Instructor: Jessie Buck

LANGUAGES

Russian I—Mon. 7-8.30—\$8

Instructor: Michael Shapovalov

Russian II—Mon. 8.30-10—\$8

Private instruction by appointment

French I—Fri. 7.15-8.45—\$8

Instructor: Gilbert Daunic

French II—Fri. 8.45-10.15—\$8*Spanish I*—Wed. 7.15-8.45—\$8

Instructor: Manuel Sanchez

Spanish II—Wed. 8.45-10.15—\$8

MUSIC

Choral Singing—Mon. 7.30-10—\$6

Instructor: Leo E. Christiansen

Music: Form and Content—Tues. 8-10—\$6

Instructor: William Jones

Spanish Guitar—Thurs. 8-10—\$6

Instructor: Gilbert Daunic

Voice and instrumental lessons by appointment

DANCE

Dance Technique—Wed. 7-8.30—\$10

Instructors: Mimi Kagan, Gloria Unti

Modern Dance Group—Wed. 8.30-10.15—No fee

Development of an advanced unit, working toward public production

Director: Mimi Kagan

Ballroom Dance Group—Thurs. 8-10—\$10

Instructor: Nick Gregoric

Individual Instruction Ballroom Dance—Tues. 8-10, Sat. 1-3—\$10

Instructor: Nick Gregoric

Folk Dancing—Wed. 8-10—\$3

Instructor: Vilma Lenshaw

DRAMA

Acting I—Wed. 7.30-10—\$10 (with workshop)

Instructor: David Sarvis

Acting II—Tues. 7.30-10—\$10 (with workshop)

Instructor: David Sarvis

LITERATURE AND WRITING

Playwriting—Fri. 8-10—\$7

Instructor: Andor De Soos

Seminar on Art and Literature—Mon. 8-10—\$6

Coordinator: Alexander Saxton

American Literature—Fri. 7.15-8.45—\$6

Instructor: Tessa Marn

Guest Lecturers: Alexander Saxton, Morris Watson, Celeste Strack, Holland Roberts

Technique of Writing (See Berkeley Schedule)

Instructor: Anthony Boucher

Creative Writing—Thurs. 8-10—\$8

Instructor: Holland Roberts

In Oakland-East Bay Branch: 160 Grand Avenue, Oakland

Classes at 160 Grand Avenue except as noted. Telephone Higate 4-1544. Gordon Williams, Director.

News Behind the News—Fri. 8-10—\$5

Instructor: Holland Roberts (319 21st Street)

What Is Socialism?—Mon. 8-10—\$6

Instructor: Gordon Williams (9026 Birch Street, East Oakland)

The Negro and the Labor Movement—Tues. 8-10—\$6

Instructors: Hursel Alexander, Roscoe Proctor

History of Socialist Movements in the U. S.—Wed. 8-10—\$6

Instructor: Celeste Strack

Theory and Practice of Trade Unionism—Tues. 8-10—\$6

Instructor: Jules Carson

Economic Seminar—Tues. 8-10—\$8

Instructor: Hazel Grossman

Choral Singing—Tues. 8-10—\$6

Instructor: Leo Christiansen

Introduction to Philosophy—Thurs. 8-10—\$6

In Berkeley

Comparative Philosophy—Thurs. 8-10—\$6

Instructor: George Hitchcock (2114 Durant Avenue)

What Is Marxism?—Mon. 8-10—\$6

Instructor: Billie Wachter (2114 Durant Avenue)

Technique of Writing—Thurs. 8-10—\$10

Instructor: Anthony Boucher (2643 Dana Street)

Red School in Southern California

CALIFORNIA LABOR SCHOOL

Schedule of Classes, January 24-April 1, 1949—1808 West 7th Street, Los Angeles, California

MONDAYS, 7 p.m.-8.30 p.m.

Labor Journalism—Practical publicity for trade unions, organizations and clubs

Instructors: Penn Vandervoort and others

Elementary English—Reading and writing English

Instructor: Rae Yaller

Imperialism—The facts concerning imperialism, together with a theoretical analysis of the facts

Instructor: Michael Harrison

MONDAYS, 8.30-10 p.m.

Development of the American Trade Union Movement—Trade union history in the light of current problems

Instructor: Kenneth Hartford

Actors' Workshop—Preparation for and participation in a people's theater

Instructor: Joseph Papirofsky

The School-Age Child—The development and problems of the child from 6-12

Instructor: Marie Briebl

TUESDAYS, 7 p.m.-8.30 p.m.

Progressive Traditions of the American Federation of Labor—Origin and history of A. F. L. Its contributions to labor and democracy

Instructor to be announced

Mimeographing, Leaflet, Pamphlet and Poster Design—Selection of material and use of equipment

Instructors: Paul Levine, Ted Gilien

An Introduction to Philosophy—Basic attitudes toward social change, the nature of man and the universe

Instructor: Dr. Sanford Goldner

TUESDAYS, 8.30 p.m.-10 p.m.

The Fight for Negro Freedom—Economic, political and social status of the Negro people; relation to the struggles of the white workers

Instructor: Sylvia Fleishman

What Is Socialism?—Origins and nature of Socialism

Instructor to be announced

The Jewish People in the Struggle for Democracy—The challenge to Jewish existence; the nature of Jewish values

Instructor: Dr. Sanford Goldner

WEDNESDAYS, 7 p.m.-8.30 p.m.

What to Do Until the Lawyer Comes—Basic rights in case of arrest, search and seizure, interference with free speech and assembly

Coordinator: Thelma Herzig

Political Economy II—Analysis of capitalist economy for advanced students

Instructor to be announced

Beginning Russian—Learning to read and speak Russian

Instructor: Alexandra Collins. Tuition \$7.50

WEDNESDAYS, 8.30 p.m.-10 p.m.

Review of the Week—Current news against a historical background

Instructor: Guy Endore

Women in a Changing World—History, problems and contemporary status of women here and abroad

Instructor to be announced

Beginning Spanish—Practical conversation and simple grammar, Berlitz method and textbook used

Instructor: Gladys Magy. Tuition \$7.50

THURSDAYS, 7 p.m.-8.30 p.m.

Public Speaking—Instruction and practice in speech organization and delivery

Instructor to be announced

Building Trade Union Leadership—Collective bargaining; grievance procedure; wages, prices and profits

Instructors: Julian Hicks, Len Titelman

Beginning French—Learning to read and speak French

Instructor: Bella Francis. Tuition \$7.50

THURSDAYS, 8.30 p.m.-10 p.m.

The Vanishing Paycheck—A non-technical course in cost-of-living, taxes, wages and prices

Instructor: Julian Hicks

Medicine for the Layman—Popular analysis of diet, heart, cancer, polio, drugs, vision, etc.

Coordinator: Dr. Murray Abowitz

The Pre-School Child—The growth and development of the child from infancy to 6 years

Instructor: Clara Robbin

FRIDAYS, 7 p.m.-8.30 p.m.

Political Economy I—A scientific analysis of the capitalist economic structure

Instructor: Tom Farrell

FRIDAYS, 8.30 p.m.-10 p.m.

Science of Society—An analysis of the forces determining social change

Instructor: Tom Farrell

Writing People's Songs—A workshop course in writing people's songs

Instructors: Irving Gordon, Earl Robinson and others

Problems of the Mexican-American People—Social, cultural and economic status; methods of organization to fight for equality

Instructors: Ramon Welch, Frances Lym

At C. I. O. Building—5851 Avalon Blvd.—Room 306—Los Angeles, California

MONDAYS, 7 p.m.

Wages and Jobs—Economics for the Worker—A popular version of Political Economy I

Instructor: Allan McNeill

MONDAYS, 8.30 p.m.

Science of Society—An analysis of the forces determining social change.

Instructor: Allan McNeill

TUESDAYS, 7 p.m.

Building Trade Union Leadership—Collective bargaining; grievance procedure; wages, prices and profits

Instructors: Hicks, Titelman, Perloff

TUESDAYS, 8 p.m.

The Pre-School Child—Day-to-day problems in the development and growth of children

Instructor: Lory Titelman

WEDNESDAYS, 8.30 p.m.

Organized Labor and World Problems—The workers' stake in America's foreign policy

Instructor: Julian Hicks

THURSDAYS, 8.30 p.m.

Public Speaking for Trade Unionists—Instruction in speech organization and delivery. Parliamentary procedure

Instructor: Sylvan Pasternak

FRIDAYS, 8 p.m.

Review of the Week—Current news against a historical background. Films will be used from time to time

Instructor: Sanford Bernstein

At City Terrace Cultural Club—3875 City Terrace Drive

TUESDAYS, 8-9.30 p.m.

Problems Facing the Trade Union Movement—Forces affecting the labor movement; of interest to unionists and non-unionists

Instructor: Claire Hartford

WEDNESDAYS, 8-9.30 p.m.

Political Economy I—A scientific analysis of the capitalist economic structure

Instructor: Max Love

THURSDAYS, 8-9.30 p.m.

The Jewish People in the Struggle for Democracy—The challenge to Jewish existence; the nature of Jewish values

Instructor: Dr. Sanford Goldner

At Graphic Arts Workshop—5444 Hollywood Blvd., Studio 2

WEDNESDAYS, 8-10 p.m.

Beginning Drawing and Painting—

Instructor: Merle Shore

Tuition, \$15.00

THURSDAYS, 8-10 p.m.

Advanced Painting—

Instructor: Morton Dimondstein

Tuition, \$15.00.

Location to be announced

IV. CALIFORNIA LEGISLATIVE CONFERENCE

This Communist front for several years was known by the number of its meetings. In 1948 it became a permanent organization.

FIRST STATE-WIDE LEGISLATIVE CONFERENCE

Robert W. Kenny and Bartley Crum called a state-wide legislative conference held at the Memorial Auditorium in Sacramento, January 5 and 6, 1946. The Los Angeles sponsors of the conference included Eleanor Abowitz, Carey McWilliams, Dr. Franklin Fearing, Isaac Pacht, Reuben Borough, Harry Braverman, John Anson Ford, George Campbell, John Cromwell, Dr. E. C. Farnham, George Moore, Norman Houston, Rollin McNitt, Seniel Ostrow, Frank Pellett, Mr. and Mrs. Julian Sieroty, Robert L. Smith, Mrs. Ralph Vandervort, Col. Evans Carlson, and John Howard Lawson.

SECOND LEGISLATIVE CONFERENCE

In an effort to influence the 1947 Session of the Legislature and to attract innocents to the Communist Party program for the organization of the third party, a Second State-wide Legislative Conference was called for February 15-16, 1947, at the California Junior High School Auditorium in Sacramento. The letter inviting participation for this conference is on the letterhead of the State-wide Legislative Conference, located at 1515 Cross Roads of the World, Hollywood 28, California.

CONFERENCE SPONSORS

G. F. Irvine, San Francisco, and Reuben W. Borough, Los Angeles, were listed as co-chairmen, committee on arrangements. C. C. Carlson was listed as treasurer.

The pamphlet used to promote the conference said:

In issuing this call, the sponsors recognize that there is an imperative need for a state-wide legislative conference and that such conference should also set up a continuations committee to lead the fight for the program adopted. Through such a coordinating committee it will be possible to develop intensive campaigns in every district in California.

The pamphlet was signed by G. F. Irvine, Chairman of the Legislative Board of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers; Mervyn Rathborne, Secretary of the C. I. O. State Council; John Cromwell, Chairman, Hollywood Independent Citizens' Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions; Noah Griffin, Regional Director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Edward Mosk, Chairman, National Citizens Political Action Committee of Southern California; Frank Green, Executive Secretary of the Progressive A. F. L. Committee for Political and Legislative Action, and Wilford Howard, Legislative Chairman, Townsend Clubs of California.

According to the best Communist practices there are the usual number of "sponsors." When a substantial number of Communists and Communist fellow-travelers are found in "sponsors" lists there is little

doubt of the Communist inspiration and domination of the organization. The list is as follows:

Ellenore Abowitz, Los Angeles	Richard S. Otto, Van Nuys
E. F. Benedict, Crescent City	Louise Darby, San Diego
Reuben W. Borough, Los Angeles	Albert Dekker, Canoga Park
George Campbell, Los Angeles	Carey McWilliams, Los Angeles
Rabbi Elliot M. Burstein, San Francisco	Ray Morkowski, San Diego
C. C. Carlson, Los Angeles	Harold Orr, Los Angeles
Dr. Glen E. Carlson, Redlands	Pauline Lauber Finn, Los Angeles
Benjamin Dreyfus, San Francisco	Bishop Edward L. Parson, San Francisco
Mrs. Henry E. Erdman, Berkeley	Ellis E. Patterson, Los Angeles
C. M. Gibbens, Los Angeles	Dr. Norman W. Pendleton, San Francisco
Richard Goggin, San Francisco	George Pepper, Los Angeles
Daniel Harris, Bakersfield	Prof. Hubert Phillips, Fresno
Augustus F. Hawkins, Los Angeles	Ed Reite, San Francisco
Myron Herrell, Hayward	Dr. Frederick Reynolds, Los Angeles
Norris Helfer, Los Angeles	Mrs. Myrtle Rohrer, Los Angeles
Willis Hill, Los Angeles	Lester M. Ryan, Tiburon
Lena Horne, Los Angeles	Paul Schliff, Oakland
Maurice Howard, Los Angeles	Paul Schnur, San Francisco
Dr. Claude Hudson, Los Angeles	Roy Sturtevant, Contra Costa
Edwin Jobe, Covina	Albee Slade, Los Angeles
Rev. Andrew Juvinal, Stockton	Rev. Franklin M. Toothaker, Oakland
John Howard Lawson, San Fernando	Rev. Dillon Wesley Throckmorton, Modesto
Robert W. Kenny, Los Angeles	Mrs. Lois Tuchler, San Francisco
Wendell B. Kramer, Modesto	Western Cooperative Dairymen's Union, Fresno
Kenneth Macgowan, Los Angeles	Mrs. John Whedon, Los Angeles
Dr. Don MacQueen, Los Angeles	Bert Witt, Los Angeles
Mrs. Elizabeth McCalmont, Los Angeles	Helen Wheeler, San Francisco
Prof. C. C. McCown, Berkeley	
John McTernan, Los Angeles	
Rev. Don M. Chase, Redding	
Philip M. Connelly, Los Angeles	
John Cromwell, Los Angeles	

COMMUNIST INSPIRED MARCH ON CAPITOL

Out of the Communist State-wide Legislative Conference held in Sacramento came the inspiration for a march on the Capitol, March 23-24, 1947.

Another call for the California Legislative Conference appeared in the Communist *People's Daily World* for March 5, 1948. About one hundred delegates from 11 Northern California congressional districts met at the Palace Hotel, San Francisco, on March 8, 1948.

1948 CONFERENCE EXECUTIVE BOARD

At a Fresno conference September 11-12, 1948, on the campus of Fresno State College, this Communist front paraded a list of known Communists as speakers and leaders; brazenly adopted and supported the complete Communist Party line. It expanded its executive board to 76 members, and became a permanent organization.

Reuben W. Borough, long-time joiner of CP fronts and causes, resigned as chairman "to be more active in the IPP campaign" and was succeeded by Dr. Norman Pendleton of Los Angeles, a national Townsend lecturer.

This front claims to have more than 500 delegates from 244 organizations.

The following are members of its new expanded executive board as published in *People's Daily World*, September 13, 1948:

AFL, NORTHERN CALIFORNIA—Henry O. Harkness, United Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Local 595, Oakland; George Hayward, Pile Drivers Local 34, San Francisco; Hal Harrington, Boilermakers, Stockton; Margaret Cobb, Retail Clerks, San Jose.

AFL, SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA—C. G. Moore, Painters, 5, Los Angeles; Thomas Bankhead, Carpenters, 634, Los Angeles; Ruth Luchshein, Social Workers, Los Angeles; W. B. Casey, Beet Sugar Local 20748, Santa Ana.

CIO, NORTHERN CALIFORNIA—Frank Hendricks, International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union, Local 10, San Francisco; Paul Schlipf, California CIO Council, San Francisco; Hence Fisher, Oil Workers Local 19, Bakersfield; Ole Fagerhaugh, Alameda County CIO Council, Oakland.

CIO, SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA—Harlan Savage, Oil Workers, Local 128, Long Beach; James Burford, Los Angeles CIO Council; Sam Berland, United Public Workers, Los Angeles; John Allard, United Auto Workers, Chrysler Local 230, Los Angeles.

VETERANS AND YOUTH (both sections)—Seymour Mandel, American Veterans Committee, Los Angeles; Julius Stern, Veterans of Foreign Wars, San Francisco. (Others to be named.)

RAILROAD BROTHERHOODS, NORTHERN CALIFORNIA—Harold Seyferth, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen & Enginemen, San Jose; George Lechner, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, Watsonville; D. W. Renow, Order of Railway Conductors, Tracy; John Gardner, Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, Oakland.

RAILROAD BROTHERHOODS, SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA—D. H. Crouch, Order of Railway Conductors, Needles; Graham Mitchell, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Los Angeles; Clarence C. Carlson, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen & Enginemen, Los Angeles; V. M. Luttrell, Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, Needles.

WOMEN'S AUXILIARIES, NORTHERN CALIFORNIA—Amelia Granville, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers Auxiliary, Tracy; Annie Haynie, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen & Enginemen Auxiliary, Tracy.

WOMEN'S AUXILIARIES, SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA—Mrs. Bessie McDonald and Mrs. Carrie Carrol, Los Angeles CIO Council Auxiliary; Mrs. Winnie Sullivan, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen & Enginemen Auxiliary, Los Angeles; Mrs. Mary Long, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen Auxiliary, Los Angeles.

INDEPENDENT UNIONS, NORTHERN CALIFORNIA—G. A. Thomas, M. F. Damas and O. R. Stephenson, International Association of Machinists, Local 1546, Oakland; E. A. Tonkin, International Association of Machinists, Local 732, San Francisco.

INDEPENDENT UNIONS, SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA—To be selected later.

COMMUNITY AND OTHER GROUPS, NORTHERN, CALIFORNIA—Betty Hirschfelder and Jean Rice, Council of Women Shoppers, San Francisco; Myrtle Mosure, Social Action Committee, First Congregational Church, Santa Rosa; Benjamin Dreyfus, Lawyers' Guild, San Francisco.

COMMUNITY AND OTHER GROUPS, SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA—To be selected.

PENSION GROUPS, NORTHERN CALIFORNIA—Wilford Howard, Townsend movement, San Francisco; Mrs. Lena Varnell, Townsend, Watsonville; C. W. Gotham, Townsend, Oakland; Dr. George W. Simmons, Townsend, Oakland.

PENSION GROUPS, SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA—Mrs. Theda Cook, Townsend, Venice; Mrs. G. E. Pittenger, Townsend, Van Nuys; Carl Miller, Townsend, Los Angeles; Mrs. Whitmore, Townsend, Los Angeles.

FARM GROUPS, NORTHERN CALIFORNIA—Donald Severn, Santa Clara County Water & Power Users Assn.; E. K. Finney, Western Dairymen's Assn., Modesto; Will Erickson, Grange, Paso Robles; L. L. Threlkel, Grange, Newcastle.

FARM GROUPS, SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA—Edwin Jobe, Covina; C. C. Kofahl, Pomona Grange, Kern County; Henry Hathaway, Fairfax Grange, Kern County; J. E. Bussell, Rosedale Grange, Kern County.

NEGRO ORGANIZATIONS, NORTHERN CALIFORNIA—Dr. Carleton Goodlett, National Association Advancement of Colored People, San Francisco; Mrs. Frances Albrier, California Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Berkeley; Claude O. Allen, Oakland; J. M. Holomon, Richmond.

NEGRO ORGANIZATIONS, SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA—Mrs. V. J. Strickland, Los Angeles; Rev. Mitchell, Ministerial Alliance, Los Angeles; Mrs. Mable Gray, Five Over Club, Los Angeles; Herbert Jenkins, Los Angeles.

JEWISH GROUPS, NORTHERN CALIFORNIA—To be selected.

JEWISH GROUPS, SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA—Dr. Sanford Goldner and Paul Major, American Jewish Labor Council, Los Angeles; Abraham Maymudes, Jewish People's Fraternal Order, Los Angeles; Mignon Rothstein, Southland Jewish Organizations, Los Angeles.

MEXICAN-AMERICAN, SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA—Henry Marquez and Nora Alderete, Federation of Spanish-American Voters, Los Angeles; Pete Vega, Latin-American Protective League, Los Angeles; Oscar Castro, Frances Lym, Mexican Civil Rights Congress, Los Angeles.

Co-chairmen of the conference are G. F. Irvine, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen & Enginemen, San Francisco, and Dr. Norman Pendleton, Townsend movement, Los Angeles.

1949 MARCH ON CAPITAL

In April, 1949, just as your committee was completing the final work on this report, the Communist-dominated Independent Progressive Party announced, through *People's Daily World*, in a series of propaganda stories, plans for a new march on Sacramento.

On May 3, 1949, the Independent Progressive Party announced a program calling for "major concentration" on three urgent issues: *Opposition to the North Atlantic Pact, an unemployed agitation program and opposition to antisubversive legislation.*

On May 2, 1949, in *People's Daily World*, page 3, a combined "march on Sacramento" by three important Stalinist fronts was announced, in a story which said:

Three major descents by citizens on the state capital are scheduled for May.

The Legislature, now entering the third straight month of law making, will receive more direct contact this month from members of labor, pension, youth and progressive organizations than at any previous time during this session.

Citizens' voices will be heard by legislators during:

A special assembly of the California Legislative Conference, scheduled for May 10. Many delegates are slated to stay over and participate in bill hearings on May 11. Some will arrive early for hearings May 9.

A two-day conference May 15-16 by various student committees for academic freedom, aimed primarily at mobilizing student protest against such bills as State Senator Jack B. Tenney's "loyalty" oath measures.

A CIO march on Sacramento on May 23 to take up the issue of unemployment, with delegates mobilized from all parts of the state by the California CIO Council.

The California Legislative Conference has scheduled hearings on at least four major pieces of legislation from May 9-11.

The California Legislative Conference is a political and legislative agitation and propaganda front, playing second fiddle to and collaborating with the Independent Progressive Party, which now is the above-ground political apparatus of the Communist Party of the U. S. A.

The California Legislative Conference has been characterized by complete subservience to the twists and turns of the Communist Party line and by a heavy sprinkling of Communists and fellow travelers in its key positions.

The committee is well aware that many innocent and well-meaning persons have been duped into participating in its activities and warns that the simplest way to test its sincerity and integrity is to launch within

the organization any movements, resolutions or activities to condemn and oppose Communism or to criticize the Soviet Union and support American foreign policy.

V. CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS

Having adopted a line of militant skullduggery against the United States with the close of World War II, the Communist Party set up the Civil Rights Congress for the purpose of protecting those of its members who run afoul of the law.

This new project was founded at a conference held in Detroit on April 27-28, 1946, effectuating the merger of the International Labor Defense and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. The latter organizations had been so badly discredited by repeated exposure as to injure their usefulness in the newly envisaged campaign of Communist lawlessness. It will be found, however, that the sponsors of the Civil Rights Congress in many instances are the same as those of its predecessor organizations.

It has been a time-honored Communist tactic to set up a hue and cry for civil liberties precisely at a moment when boldest attacks upon democracy are intended. Invariably this appeal finds a response among Communist sympathizers, and ingenuous professional bleeding hearts, who would rather sacrifice the interests of their country than do violence to the Communist conception of civil liberties as applied to the United States. *For some curious reason these standards are never applied to any territory under the Communist dictatorship.*

INTERNATIONAL LABOR DEFENSE .

The International Labor Defense was the American section of the International Red Aid, formed by the Communist International in 1922. It was part of an international network of organizations for the defense of Communist lawbreakers. In France it was known as Secours Rouge Internationale, in Austria as Oesterreiche Rote Hilfe, in Germany as Internationale Rote Hilfe, in Holland as Internationale Roode Hulp, and in Spain as El Socorro Rojo Internacional, all operating under the direction of MOPR with headquarters in Moscow. The international head of the organization was Helen Stassova, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Attorney General Francis A. Biddle has properly designated the International Labor Defense as "the legal arm of the Communist Party."

Speaking at the foundation meeting of the Civil Rights Congress, Vito Marcantonio, president of the International Labor Defense for about 10 years, pledged to carry on within the new organization, in harmony with the history and traditions of the International Labor Defense.

The International Labor Defense has been under investigation by the Committee on Un-American Activities since 1938. On October 17, 1939, Benjamin Gitlow, one of the original founders of the International Labor Defense in 1925, and one of its leading officials, testified as follows

regarding the character of this organization, which has not changed under its new label:

International Labor Defense is not a national organization, but an international organization * * *. In the second place, the International Labor Defense is not a defense organization in the pure sense of that term; nor is it a civil liberties defense organization. It is the legal defense organization of the Communist Party and the Communist International in this country, and serves, also, as a highly political and propagandist Communist organization. (Hearings of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, vol. 10, p. 5982.)

BACKGROUND

The ink was scarcely dry on the Stalin-Hitler pact presaging the disastrous Communist-led strikes in North American Aviation and Allis-Chalmers, the peace strikes in universities, and the fulminations against President Roosevelt as an "imperialist warmonger," when Earl Browder, then general secretary of the Communist Party of the United States and passport forger, sounded the usual warnings about the imminent menace to our civil liberties. Speaking at the National Conference for Civil Liberties in New York City on October 14, 1939, he declared:

The forces which are moving against American civil liberties are the same forces which want this war to go on as long as possible for the sake of the profits they expect to make out of it, and which are preparing to take this country into the war at an opportune moment * * * the forces involving America in the senseless destruction and slaughter of the imperialist war strike first of all against the Communist Party because they see in it the leader and the symbol of all the deepest antiwar and peace sentiments of the masses, which they wish to silence and to crush. (*The Second Imperialist War*, by Earl Browder, International Publishers, 1940, p. 139.)

Thereafter, a maze of organizations was spawned for the alleged purpose of defending civil liberties in general but actually intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law.

Among these organizations were the Committee for Citizenship Rights, the Committee for Civil Rights for Communists, Detroit Bill of Rights Defense Committee, Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights, Michigan Civil Rights Federation, Minneapolis Civil Rights Committee, National Committee for People's Rights, the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, and numerous other special committees under various guises. Former Attorney General Francis A. Biddle characterized the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, the chief national organization on this list, as follows:

The program of the federation parallels closely the Communist Party line of 1940 * * * One of the tactics which they use to attack the (national defense) program was the emphasis on the threat to civil liberties and the rights of labor and of minority groups * * * The defenses of Communist leaders such as Sam Darcy and Robert Wood, party secretaries for Pennsylvania and Oklahoma, have been major efforts of the federation. (Memorandum of Attorney General Francis A. Biddle prepared for use in administration of the mandate of Public Law 135.)

ANTAGONISM TOWARD THE UNITED STATES

Early in 1945, after the close of World War II, the attitude of the Soviet Government changed from one of reserved cooperation with the United States to one of vituperative criticism. This attitude served to cover its own aggressively expansionist designs. The Communist parties throughout the world echoed this sentiment and translated it into positive activities with the United States as the chief target. The Communist Party, U. S. A. (then known as the Communist Political Association)

was quick to join this procession. In a resolution of its national board adopted in convention, July 26-28, 1945, dealing mainly with the adoption of the new, belligerent line, it declared :

American capital supported the war against Nazi Germany, not because of hatred of fascism or a desire to liberate suffering Europe from the heel of Nazi despotism, but because it recognized in Hitler Germany a dangerous imperialist rival * * * They are trying to organize a new cordon sanitaire against the Soviet Union * * * (*Political Affairs*, July, 1945, pp. 579, 580.)

This significant change in approach was expressed in an accentuation of every possible form of civil strife and disruptive interference with the social, economic, and civic affairs of the Nation, carefully disguised in the form of a legitimate effort for the rights of labor and world peace.

Eugene Dennis, general secretary of the Communist Party, U. S. A., recently convicted for contempt of Congress, outlined these tasks in specific form in his pamphlet, *What America Faces*, embodying his speech before the plenary meeting of the National Committee of the Communist Party held in New York on February 12-15, 1946. He calls for "strike-wage struggles," "growing class consciousness," "a crucial battle against the giant trusts," "fighting spirit * * * of the workers," "united actions of the Negro and white workers, as well as of labor and the veterans * * * into a coordinated drive," and insists that "Communists play a key role in helping shape vital strike strategy and tactics." He reminds his followers that any wage settlements made "can result only in a temporary stalemate or armed truce."

He holds out the fear of "considerable unemployment and inflation," and "a great crisis" leading "to a new world war as the way out." He declares that the "American working people will resist" and "fight" these measures. He looks forward to a "definite upsurge" in mass activities and calls upon the Communists "to prepare in time to organize and lead these movements." He calls for a "mass movement which can curb the monopolists" and "the imperialist war makers."

He applauds "state-wide demonstrations of labor, the veterans * * * in Albany, Harrisburg, Sacramento, Lansing, and Cleveland" and "the powerful demonstrations of the GI's."

From the general tone of these declarations it should be clear that we are faced with another Stalin-Hitler pact period in which Communist hostility to the United States finds expression in a new and more intensified form. *Perhaps we had better call this the period of the STALIN-Dimitroff-Rakosi-Pauker-Fischer-Togliatti-Thorez-Dennis axis with Russia as its chief pole, the period of a strongly reactivated Communist International, in which the Communists are clearly out to raise all the trouble they can.*

It is a period in which the Communists have drawn upon themselves the following well-deserved characterization of J. Edgar Hoover, Chief of the Federal Bureau of Investigation :

The Communist Party of the United States is a fifth column if there ever was one. It is far better organized than were the Nazis in occupied countries prior to their capitulation. They are seeking to weaken America just as they did in their era of obstruction when they were alined with the Nazis. Their goal is the overthrow of our Government. (Statement of J. Edgar Hoover before the Committee on Un-American Activities, March 26, 1947.)

Clearly expressed is the underlying outlook of hostility toward the American Government by Civil Rights Congress spokesmen. Joseph Nahem, a Communist veteran who took a leading part in the GI demonstrations in the Pacific area, who was arrested on March 15, 1946, for picketing the New York City Hall on the occasion of the visit of the Honorable Winston Churchill, and who was duly defended by the Civil Rights Congress, has formulated this approach as follows:

The state is an instrument of direct and indirect oppression of one class by another; that the paraphernalia of the state, such as the army, the police and the courts are utilized today by the bourgeoisie for curbing, restricting, and openly suppressing the working class and its parties: These are the cornerstone principles of Marxism-Leninism. * * * We urge that full support be given to the Civil Rights Congress, which has taken over the appeal. (*Daily Worker*, May 20, 1946.)

Gerhart Eisler put the matter a little more bluntly. Speaking of the Government which finally brought him to justice for his passport frauds and contempt of Congress, which constitute a meager portion of his crimes, he declared: "I always had only contempt for my jailers."

PROTECTIVE COMMUNIST MEASURES

Manifestly this incendiary program requires the establishment of a protective buffer as a safeguard against legal prosecution. It was necessary to exploit America's traditional regard for civil liberties in order to allow free play for outright subversion. William Z. Foster, chairman of the Communist Party, United States of America, has clearly described this strategy for protecting Communist leaders and organizers as follows:

In every strike the question of defending the civil rights * * * of the * * * union leaders constitutes an important problem * * *. Defense activities are not only a matter of court action, but especially of mass pressure * * * against the government and the employers * * *. Attacks on the civil rights of the strikers * * * must be militantly resisted * * * through the holding of mass meetings, sending of delegations to the state legislatures and Congress. When injunctions are issued * * * the strikers should follow the traditional American (sic) trade-union policy of ignoring such court orders * * *. Against * * * violators of civil rights * * * the strikers should make active use of all available political institutions (pp. 240, 241).

It's about time, therefore, that red-baiting be knocked on the head in the American labor movement. This Hitlerism slander campaign should be recognized for what it is, the spreading of employer-inspired, imperialist warmonger propaganda in the ranks of the workers (p. 358). (*American Trade Unionism*, by William Z. Foster, International Publishers, 1947.)

Although Milton Kaufman, executive secretary of the Civil Rights Congress, issued the usual denial that "the Civil Rights Congress is inspired by or acts as a front for any political party, including the Communist Party," the Congress has mirrored the Communist approach to the letter. In fact, Mr. Kaufman admitted that his organization would not shrink "from the most vigorous defense of Communists" and that it would disdain to join in "the new national sport of red-hunting." (*New York Times*, March 13, 1947, p. 26.)

TECHNIQUE OF DISTORTION

Applying the recognized military strategy of taking the offensive against the "enemy" (as the Communists now refer to the American Government), the Civil Rights Congress does not limit itself to a simple defense of those under charges. In fact, its pronouncements indicate that

such a defense is by no means its primary purpose. Instead, this organization concentrates mainly upon attacking the American Government in the most virulent manner with no regard for the truth.

Sponsors who have lent their names to the organization in the interests of civil liberties find themselves listed as endorsing the most distorted assaults upon the United States—assaults characteristic of the slanderous attacks emanating from the Soviet Union and its agents throughout the world. The “Urgent Summons to a Congress on Civil Rights” held in Detroit on April 27 and 28, 1946, furnishes some glaring examples of this approach:

Today's drive to subvert our democratic liberties is well-organized, well-heeled, insidious. * * * The great war against fascism is won, but the victory is far from secure. * * * Reactionary forces, based on war-rich monopolies, the die-hard union breakers, red-baiters, and race haters, command the largest surviving fifth column in the world. They are turning the weapons and methods of fascism against the American people. They are prepared to destroy our democracy, even to the establishment of outright fascism.

Outlining its aims and program, the Civil Rights Congress declares that—

All aspects of our political life today are affected by the growing offensive of those who seek to destroy the United Nations unity and who would plunge the world into a new war. These enemies of the peace in our country cannot achieve their sinister purpose unless they split and demoralize the democratic forces. Therefore, they grow more arrogant in their attacks on labor, on the Negro people, and other racial and religious minorities; the Hitlerite tactic of Red-baiting is reaching new heights. (*Worker*, May 12, 1946, p. 7m.)

In its call to a conference on April 13, 1946, the New York Initiating Committee preparing for the Civil Rights Congress on April 27-28, announced blandly that—

We are getting a taste of the divide-and-conquer technique which in Germany led to fascism, to the human slaughterhouses at Dachau and Maideneck—and to World War II.

The same pamphlet calls attention to an alleged “Fascist offensive * * * on our lives and liberties * * * on the minds of our children” to a “Hitler's white supremacy technique * * * of gun, whip, and rope.”

In its May 29, 1946, issue of *Action Now*, official organ of the Civil Rights Congress, referring to the presidential message on the threatened railroad strike, we find the headline “Truman bill means fascism in America.”

In his speech before the Civil Rights Congress in Detroit on April 27, 1946, George Marshall, former chairman of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, now under indictment after being cited for contempt of Congress, sounded the following dire note:

What has happened since VJ-day is truly ominous. We hear the tread of approaching storm troopers and as of today so close that we must close our ranks to fight—right now.

Referring to the South, where both the AFL and CIO have substantial local unions, the resolutions committee of the Civil Rights Congress at its Detroit convention in 1946 declared:

The Bill of Rights has been treated as a scrap of paper in most of the Southern states insofar as the common people, black and white, are concerned. The right to vote, to join a union, to speak, to write, to move about freely, to a fair trial, are only hollow phrases to a majority of the people in the South.

Advertising a meeting in behalf of Gerhart Eisler, international Communist agent, one of Moscow's "brain trusters" in its subversive activities in the United States and charged by his own sister with being a "terrorist type" responsible for the death of a number of opponents of the Stalin regime, the Civil Rights Congress declares in the *Daily Worker* of March 6, 1947 (p. 8):

Gerhart Eisler was denied every civil right by the FBI, the Department of Justice, a Congressional Committee. That means YOUR democratic liberties are endangered.

Again on February 15, 1947, the Civil Rights Congress in its circular letter to Congressmen describes Eisler's appearance before the House Committee on Un-American Activities as follows:

The chairmen then refused to permit him to read, before being sworn, a one-page statement of protest of his arrest.

It is worth recounting the true facts in order to appreciate fully the Communist technique of distortion. Authoritative testimony before this committee supported by documentary evidence shows that Eisler, under the various aliases of Edwards, Brown, Hans Berger, and Samuel Liptzen, using forged passports, carried on his nefarious activities without molestation in 1933 and then from 1941 to 1947.

Refusing to be sworn in until he had read his "three-minute" statement, Eisler promptly distributed to the press a prepared statement of 23 pages, now reprinted as a pamphlet and widely circulated under the title "*Gerhart Eisler—My Side of the Story.*"

On December 27, 1946, he was granted the privilege of the air over the WOR network affording him an opportunity to voice his views before a nation-wide radio audience.

Since his citation for contempt by Congress, he has been addressing meetings in various parts of the country exploiting to the full the unique opportunity we have afforded him as the only agent of the Communist International to be allowed to address public meetings in the United States without resort to subterfuge—all this under a government which is charged with "turning the weapons and methods of fascism against the American people." Convicted by a federal court and under \$20,000 bail, he continued his activities, writing articles for the Communist press, addressing meetings, and acting as adviser in chief of the Communist Party of the United States.

Eisler's latest escapade was to stow away on a Polish boat, forfeiting his \$20,000 bond, posted by the Civil Rights Congress.

STATUS OF CIVIL LIBERTIES IN AMERICA

It is high time that certain phases of our way of life, which we have too long taken for granted, be restated so that we may not become oblivious of their merits in the face of Communist distortion. What about the warmongering charge? We are leaning over backward in our efforts to arrive at peaceful relations with the Soviet Union, some claiming that we are still guilty of appeasement. We have disarmed almost to the point of dangerous impotence. We have no designs for expansion or accession of territorial claims as a result of our recent victory.

What are the sober facts? Contrary to the practice now being enforced at the point of the bayonet in Soviet-controlled areas we are not suppressing political parties—even the Communist Party, despite

extreme provocation, has not been outlawed. Contrary to the practice in Soviet-controlled territory, our trade-unions are free and independent organizations constituting an influential section of our body politic. We have no concentration camps or slave labor. Our press is uncensored and we are still devotedly enforcing the right to freedom of speech, press, assembly, travel, and worship, the right to trial by jury, habeas corpus, and the countless other blessings of a democratic society which are absent under a Communist dictatorship.

The *New York Times* has said the following in regard to the American attitude toward the Negro, which is a favorite topic of Communist vilification:

Around the turn of the century the Negro lynchings in this country were close to 100 annually, and about the same time the Russian czars were sending to Siberia perhaps 10,000 political exiles annually. In the last dozen years our Negro lynchings have been perhaps five a year, and the inmates of the Soviet concentration camps have been estimated at 10,000,000 or higher. (*New York Times*, June 19, 1947, p. 20.)

There can be no doubt that the standard of living of the average Negro in the United States is far higher than that of the average Soviet worker, under the Communist dictatorship.

The incendiary character of the Civil Rights Congress propaganda is forcefully demonstrated by contrast with the latest estimate made by the American Civil Liberties Union for the period ending July, 1946. *It must be remembered, in this connection, that the ACLU has gone so far in its preoccupation with civil liberties as to defend both Communists and Fascists, sometimes with an almost complete disregard for considerations of national security involved.* We quote from this extremely liberal source:

Wholly unlike the period following World War I, the conversion from war to peace in 1945 brought no marked changes in the exercise of American liberties affecting either the majority or minorities. The voluntary wartime censorship of press and radio were at once removed; * * * restrictions were gradually removed on enemy aliens * * *. The reason for this striking difference between the aftermaths of the First and Second World Wars is to be found in the comparatively slight record of repressive measures in World War II. Only a few score persons had been prosecuted for speech or publication. Public debate and discussion had remained unrestricted * * *. No wartime hysteria had marked the country. Organized labor had become too strongly entrenched to permit wholesale attacks upon the trade-union movement * * *. Indeed, the gains in civil liberties which had surprisingly marked the war years continued. (*From War to Peace, American Liberties*, 1945-46, published by the American Civil Liberties Union, 170 5th Ave., New York 10, N. Y., July 1946, pp. 5, 6.)

ORIGIN, EXTENT, AND PURPOSE

According to its own pronouncements, the Civil Rights Congress appears to be dedicated to a most meritorious cause, which is described as follows:

The CRC is a national membership organization formed by hundreds of national and community groups from all parts of the country to provide a well-organized, unified program of action to defend and extend the democratic rights of every American.

It should be noted in this connection that the Civil Rights Congress is not recorded as defending any but Communist or Communist-front cases and that the phrase "extend the democratic rights of every American" is time-honored Communist double talk for the idea of utilizing the opportunities afforded by our democracy for the furtherance of Communist propaganda and the ultimate establishment of a Communist dictatorship.

The Detroit conference of April 27-28 was preceded by a conference held on April 13, 1946 (Thomas Jefferson Day) at the Fraternal Club-house, at 110 West Forty-eighth Street, New York City. This building is owned by the International Workers Order, cited by former Attorney General Biddle as "one of the strongest Communist organizations." The conference was called by an "Initiating Committee," whose origin has never been disclosed.

The call assured all and sundry that "An enemy offensive is now being waged against the common people of the United States—labor, Negroes, Jewish people, the foreign-born, progressives, and all their organizations—in a relentless drive to establish fascism in our own country." The New York meeting proceeded to elect an organizing committee. Following the Detroit conference, Meyer E. Stern, director of District 6 of the United Packinghouse Workers (CIO), announced through the Daily Worker of May 9, 1946, page 4, the formation of the Civil Rights Congress of New York, formerly known as the New York Conference on Civil Rights. A meeting had previously been held for this purpose at the Hotel Capitol on April 25.

As to the character of the "national and community groups" which constitute the Civil Rights Congress, the pronouncement goes on to state that:

Into the CRC have been merged the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties and the International Labor Defense. The Civil Rights Federation in Detroit and the Chicago Civil Liberties Committee immediately affiliated with the CRC. * * * Local organizations which have merged into the New York CRC include Veterans Against Discrimination and the Metropolitan Inter-faith and Interracial Coordinating Council.

Officially endorsed by the Civil Rights Congress was the Stalinist Eisler defense committee, defending Gerhart Eisler, American representative of the allegedly "dissolved" but extremely active Communist International. The congress also voted to reconstitute an Abolish Peonage Committee, claiming in its customary smearing fashion that "The crime of peonage or debt slavery is still rampant in our land."

Also represented at the CRC were the Nassau County (N. Y.) Conference for Human Rights, the St. Louis Committee for a Fair Employment Practice Ordinance, the United Citizens for Democracy of Houston, Tex., the Mass Movement League of Toledo, Ohio, the Wisconsin Committee for a Permanent FEPC, the New York Committee for Justice in Freeport, the Southern Negro Youth Congress, and the National Negro Congress. Other typical regional organizations are the Texas Civil Rights Congress, West Bronx Civil Rights Congress, Albany Civil Rights Congress, Upper West Side Civil Rights Congress, Illinois Civil Liberties Committee, Eisler Defense Committee, Greenwich Village Civil Rights Congress, etc. The onetime major Communist front in Los Angeles, Mobilization for Democracy, headed by Robert W. Kenny, also merged into the Civil Rights Congress.

Of the above organizations the following have been cited as Communist front organizations by former Attorney General Francis A. Biddle: International Labor Defense, the "legal arm of the Communist Party"; the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, Michigan Civil Rights Federation; National Negro Congress. The following have

been previously cited as such by the Committee on Un-American Activities on one or more occasions: International Labor Defense, National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, National Negro Congress, Michigan Civil Rights Federation, Southern Negro Youth Congress. The Chicago Civil Liberties Committee should not be confused with the American Civil Liberties Union, from which is seceded in repudiation of the policies of the latter organization. All merged into the new organization pledged by the former head of the International Labor Defense to carry on the history of the latter, notorious, Communist front.

The Detroit conference claimed 415 delegates with 38 observers from 23 states and the District of Columbia. Of this number, 258 came from the Midwest, 35 from the East, 70 from the West, and several from the South. It should be noted, however, that the ringleaders like Milton Kaufman, George Marshall, Louis Colman, and others came from New York where Communist Party headquarters are located. Conference figures show 119 labor delegates, 2 from fraternal organizations, 26 Negroes, 21 from civic and political organizations, 9 from religious organizations, 20 women organizations, 24 foreign-born, 5 youth, 3 veterans, 3 educators, and 5 lawyers. The decision to form the Civil Rights Congress was adopted unanimously and a continuations committee (a term typical of Communist front organization procedure) was authorized to pick an executive committee. (*Daily Worker*, May 12, 1947, p. 7m.)

Dues are set at \$1 per year for general membership, \$3 for associates, \$5 for subscribers, \$10 for sustaining members, and \$25 for supporters.

Subsequently the Civil Rights Congress pledged itself "to act against the Schwellenbach proposal to outlaw the Communist Party," (*Daily Worker*, March 15, 1947, p. 12) denounced "punitive measures directed against the Communist Party," opposed proposed loyalty investigations of Federal employees as "the most dangerous and undemocratic proceeding that could be conceived," (*Daily Worker*, May 19, 1947, p. 3) urged President Truman "to effect immediate release of Gerhart Eisler," (*PM*, March 3, 1947, p. 20m) and announced that it would "undertake full responsibility for the defense, in and out of court, of Eugene Dennis, general secretary of the Communist Party, and Leon Josephson," (*Daily Worker*, May 23, 1947, p. 3) a leading party member identified with espionage activities and passport frauds.

Among its activities is also the defense of Howard Fast's *Tom Paine*, with a demand that it be restored for use in the public high schools. *This book is a fictionalized, sugar-coated, but thinly disguised exposition of Communist theory and practice including the advocacy of overthrow of government by force and violence. Its clear implication is that we must carry over the revolutionary tactics used against the British Government in colonial times as described by Mr. Fast, to the present against our own Government.* The following passages are typical:

Armed Masses

Quoting Benjamin Rush: "We had no precedent, but only a theory, and that theory is that strength lies in the hands of the armed masses. * * * But there was never in this world, a technique for revolution. * * * The strength of many is revolution" (p. 116).

Quoting Tom Paine: "Revolution is a method of force by a party not in power as we understand it, by the party of the people, which has never been in power in the history of this earth" (p. 197).

Then, with startling suddenness, it came to an end. All the carefully organized revolutionary cells, miners in Wales, cutlers in Sheffield, the dock workers at Liverpool and Tyne, the potters and the wheelwrights—all those who had looked for Paine's leadership—were cracked wide open by the government * * * before the thin threads of revolution were even in shape to be drawn together (p. 247).

The Civil Rights Congress has been active in behalf of Paul Robeson, who was denied the right to speak in Albany and Peoria. Paul Robeson has been outspoken in his defense of the Communist Party on numerous occasions as cited in the following issues of the *Daily Worker*: July 23, 1940, page 1; March 5, 1941, page 2; March 18, 1945, page 3; April 22, 1947, page 5; April 30, 1947, page 11. He has defended Gerhart Eisler and Leon Josephson, active international Communist agents. While refusing to affirm or deny membership in the Communist Party, he has participated in official Communist gatherings on March 17, 1941, March 17, 1947, and on May 8, 1947. He has long been an ardent apologist for the Soviet Union, where his son resided and was educated.

In Los Angeles, the Civil Rights Division of the Mobilization for Democracy affiliated with the Civil Rights Congress, cooperated with the Progressive Citizens of America in seeking to reverse the decision of the directors of the Hollywood Bowl barring Henry A. Wallace from speaking and has conducted numerous agitations against law enforcement agencies. (*Daily Worker*, April 28, 1947, p. 4.)

INTERLOCKING RELATIONSHIPS

The fact that the Civil Rights Congress is not based primarily upon a desire to defend civil rights is brought out sharply by the number of its sponsors and officers who have been associated in one way or another with the American Peace Mobilization, formed at the time of the Stalin-Hitler pact in order to sabotage our national defense program and culminating in a mass picket line around the White House lasting until a few days before Adolf Hitler attacked Russia.

A list of those 43 individuals to be found in both organizations follows:

INDIVIDUALS CONNECTED WITH BOTH THE CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS AND THE AMERICAN PEACE MOBILIZATION

Adelman, Meyer	Henderson, Donald	Refregier, Anton
Bay, Howard	Hughes, Langston	Reich, Harry
Berne, Lewis Alan	Jurich, J. F.	Robeson, Paul
Billings, Warren K.	Lee, Canada	Robinson, Earl
Burt, Sam	Leicester, Robert	Robinson, Reid
Connelly, Philip M.	Marshall, George	Selly, Joseph P.
Connolly, Eugene P.	McMichael, Jack	Shore, Jerome
Curran, Joseph	McWilliams, Carey	Soyer, Raphael
Dehn, Adolph	Merrill, Lewis	Stewart, Donald Ogden
DeLacy, Hugh	Oakes, Grant W.	Ward, Courtney D.
Dodd, Bella V.	Powell, Hazel Scott	Ward, Harry F.
Dutto, Frank	Quill, Michael J.	Weinstock, Louis
Emspak, Julius	Rathborne, Mervyn	Wilkerson, Doxey
Gainer, Morris	Rautenstrauch, Walter	Yergan, Max
Hammett, Dashiell		

It will be remembered that during the days of the infamous Soviet-Nazi pact, the Communists built protective organizations known as the National Emergency Conference, the National Conference for Democratic Rights, which culminated in the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. It cannot be accidental that the following 83 indi-

viduals supporting one or more of these organizations have also aided the Civil Rights Congress:

Ackley, Charles B.	Field, R. D.	Poteat, Edwin McNeill
Adamic, Louis	Flynn, Elizabeth G.	Pressman, Lee
Allen, James Egert	Fritchman, Stephen H.	Quill, Michael J.
Anderson, William A.	Gallagher, Leo	Rathborne, Mervyn
Arndt, Elmer J. F.	Gimbel, Elinor S.	Rautenstrauch, Walter
Balokovic, Zlatko	Gregg, J. A.	Refregier, Anton
Bay, Howard	Hammett, Dashiell	Robeson, Paul
Bell, Thomas	Harvey, Arthur J.	Robinson, Edward G.
Benet, William Rose	Henderson, Donald	Robinson, Reid
Benson, Elmer A.	Hill, Charles A.	Schieffelin, William J.
Berne, Lewis Alan	Hughes, Langston	Schlesinger, A. M.
Bethune, Mary McLeod	Jack, Hulan E.	Schneirla, T. C.
Bowie, W. Russel	Jurich, J. F.	Selly, Joseph P.
Bradley, Lyman R.	Kahn, Albert E.	Sorrell, Herbert K.
Brewer, James L.	Kennitz, Milton	Spofford, William B.
Brodsky, Joseph R.	Kent, Rockwell	Stefansson, Vilhjalmur
Brown, Charlotte H.	King, Carol	Stern, Bernard J.
Burnham, Louis E.	Marshall, George	Stevens, Hope R.
Colman, Louis	Mather, Kirtley F.	Stevenson, A. E.
Connolly, Eugene	Matthieson, F. O.	Stewart, Donald Ogden
Corwin, Norman	McConnell, Francis J.	Struik, Dirk J.
Curran, Joseph	McMichael, Jack	Talbott, Glenn J.
DeLacy, Hugh	McWilliams, Carey	Ward, Harry F.
Dickerson, Earl B.	Merrill, Lewis	Weber, Max
Dodd, Bella V.	Nordstrand, Josephine	White, Wayne
Dunn, Robert W.	Oakes, Grant W.	Wilkerson, Doxey
Fairchild, Henry P.	Parsons, Edward L.	Yergan, Max
Feuchtwanger, Lion	Pettus, Terry	

Re-exploiting a limited circle of pro-Communist sponsors, the Civil Rights Congress counts for support upon the following 40 individuals also found on statements or committees supporting the release of Earl Browder, former general secretary of the Communist Party, U. S. A.:

Adelman, Meyer	Gallagher, Leo	Robeson, Paul
Alexander, Raymond Pace	Guinier, Ewart	Robinson, Reid
Bay, Howard	Hammett, Dashiell	Shore, Jerome
Chodorov, Edward	Henderson, Donald	Smith, Ferdinand
Collins, Charles	Jack, Hulan, E.	Spofford, William B.
Connelly, Philip M.	Jurich, J. F.	Stefansson, Vilhjalmur
Connolly, Eugene P.	Kent, Rockwell	Stevens, Hope R.
Curran, Joseph	LeSeuer, Arthur	Ward, Courtney D.
DeLacy, Hugh	McWilliams, Carey	Ward, Harry F.
Dickerson, Earl B.	Merrill, Lewis	Weber, Max
Dunn, Robert W.	Oakes, Grant W.	Yergan, Max
Flynn, Elizabeth G.	Quill, Michael J.	
Fritchman, Stephen H.	Rautenstrauch, Walter	
Gainer, Morris	Reich, Harry	

The Civil Rights Congress has received the support of numerous Communist-front organizations and has cooperated with such organizations on frequent occasions, of which the following are typical:

On August 28, 1946, the Upper West Side Civil Rights Congress of New York City held a meeting at the Pythian Temple, 135 West Seventieth Street, which was cosponsored by the Communist Party, West Side; American Labor Party; American Youth for Democracy; United Negro and Allied Veterans of America; and the International Workers Order, Lodge 572.

Tickets for the Civil Rights Congress meeting on March 20, 1947, in behalf of Gerhart Eisler were on sale at Club 65 Bookshop, 13 Astor

Place; International Workers Order, 80 Fifth Avenue; Jefferson Bookshop, 575 Sixth Avenue; Forty-fourth Street Book Fair, 133 West Forty-fourth Street; Worker's Bookshop, 50 East Thirteenth Street; American Youth for Democracy, 150 Nassau Street; the German-American, 305 Broadway—all well-known Communist centers. (*Daily Worker*, March 6, 1947, p. 8.)

Participating organizations in the Eisler defense committee, an offshoot of the Civil Rights Congress, are the following Communist-dominated fronts: American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born; Friends of the German-American; German-American Labor Council. (Pamphlet, *Eisler Hits Back*, published by the German-American, 1947, p. 15.)

Subscribers to the pro-Communist gossip and scandal sheet, *In Fact*, have been placed on the mailing list of the Civil Rights Congress. (*New York World Telegram*, December 11, 1946.)

On August 1, 1946, the *Daily Worker* announced a Madison Square Park demonstration in which the Civil Rights Congress, the Communist Party, and the American Labor Party participated. John Williamson, member of the top secretariat of the Communist Party, U. S. A., was a speaker.

People's Songs, a group which has been identified by its appearance on the programs of Communist organizations, furnished the talent for a Civil Rights Congress affair on September 15, 1946.

KEY INDIVIDUALS

The character of the Civil Rights Congress is amply demonstrated by the Communist affiliations of its leading officers and supporters:

JOSEPH R. BRODSKY, member of initiating committee and New York board of directors of Civil Rights Congress; cited by Benjamin Gitlow as "a member of the Communist Party holding a position of the highest confidence * * * the party's main legal adviser * * * who handled confidential matters and money matters"; (*Hearings of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities*, vol. 7, p. 4554) listed as pay-off man for Moscow by the British Government; (Documents Illustrating the Hostile Activities of the Soviet Government and the Third International Against Great Britain. Presented to Parliament by Command of His Majesty, Command Paper No. 2874, 1927) attorney for the International Labor Defense, the International Workers Order; attorney for the Communist Party in 1936, 1940, 1942, 1946, and 1947. After his death on July 28, 1947, the Communist Party announced that he had been a charter member of the organization. In September, 1939, Brodsky had denied party membership under oath.

LOUIS COLMAN, member, initiating committee; executive secretary, New York branch; member of national staff of Civil Rights Congress; assistant national secretary, International Labor Defense, the "legal arm of the Communist Party"; supporter of Communist candidate for President in 1932.

THELMA DALE, member, initiating committee of Civil Rights Congress; member, New York State committee of the Communist Party, U. S. A., in 1945; speaker for the International Labor Defense, Japanese-American Committee for Democracy, Congress of American Women.

HUGH DE LACY, convention speaker, sponsor of Civil Rights Congress; cited as one who is "beloved, long beloved, and deeply cherished by the Communist Party"; (*Congressional Record*, December 7, 1945, p. 11875) signer of protest against barring Communist Party from ballot in 1940; defends Communists Sam Darcy, Harry Bridges, William Schneiderman, Morris U. Schappes, Earl Browder, Ernest Fox, Oklahoma Communist Party leaders; closely associated during a plenary meeting of the executive committee of the Communist Party, U. S. A., in January, 1944, with Carl Reeve and Henry Huff, chairman and secretary of the Communist Party of the State of Washington, respectively.

JULIUS EMSPAK, member, initiating committee of Civil Rights Congress; cited by Louis F. Budenz as "Comrade Juniper," a secret member of the Communist Party, U. S. A., in 1947; sponsor of the American Peace Mobilization and its successor, the Win-the-Peace Conference.

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, sponsor, Civil Rights Congress; member, national committee, Communist Party, U. S. A.; and head of a number of committees set up to defend Communists.

STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN, sponsor of Civil Rights Congress; ousted as editor of the *Christian Register* because of charges of Communist sympathies; supporter of the following Communist fronts: Congress of Youth, Committee to Defend America by Keeping Out of War, North American Spanish-Aid Committee, *New Masses*, Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, Win-the-Peace Conference, American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born; "sponsored no less than 22 pro-Soviet organizations"; (*Congressional Record*, May 28, 1947, p. A2680) signer, Communist Party election petition, August 22, 1940.

LEO GALLAGHER, sponsor of Civil Rights Congress; Communist candidate in Los Angeles in 1933, 1934, 1938; attorney for the Communist Party, 1934, 1940; attorney for the International Labor Defense, 1930, 1934, 1936, 1937; subject of disbarment proceedings in 1936.

DONALD HENDERSON, sponsor of Civil Rights Congress; Communist Party official and writer for the Communist press; expelled from faculty for Communist activities in Columbia University in 1933; signer of statement in behalf of Communists Earl Browder, Gerhart Eisler, Sam Darcy, Eugene Dennis, Luis Carlos Prestes, George Dimitrov; member of numerous front organizations.

LANGSTON HUGHES, sponsor of Civil Rights Congress; member, Communist Party, U. S. A.; signer of statement in behalf of Communists George Dimitrov, William Z. Foster, Don West, Benjamin J. Davis, Jr.; contributor to the Communist press.

J. F. JURICH, sponsor of Civil Rights Congress; signer of statement in behalf of Communists Earl Browder, Sam Darcy, Harry Bridges, and Communists in the Army.

ALBERT E. KAHN, member, initiating committee, Civil Rights Congress; New York State Communist Party leader; signer of statement in behalf of Communists Gerhart Eisler, George Dimitrov; editorially associated with the following Communist publications: *The Hour*, *New Currents*, *Jewish Life*, *New Masses*.

MILTON KAUFMAN, executive secretary, Civil Rights Congress; leader of left-wing in the American Newspaper Guild; signer of statement defending the Communist Party, April 16, 1947; sponsor of the

following Communist fronts: American League for Peace and Democracy, Joint Committee for Trade-Union Rights, Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights.

JACK McMICHAEL, member, initiating committee, Civil Rights Congress; defended the Communist Party on October 28, 1940, December 19, 1940, March 5, 1941, March 18, 1945, April 29, 1947, May 20, 1947; signer of statement in behalf of Communists Earl Browder, Gerhart Eisler, Morris U. Schappes, Sam Darcy; supporter of the following Communist fronts: American Peace Mobilization, American Youth Congress.

HERBERT MARCH, sponsor, Civil Rights Congress; member, national committee, Communist Party; former organizer, Young Communist League.

GEORGE MARSHALL, chairman of the board of the Civil Rights Congress; signer of statement in behalf of Communists Mrs. Raissa Browder, Luis Carlos Prestes, Gerhart Eisler; signer of statement defending the Communist Party on August 8, 1940, March 5, 1941, March 18, 1945, April 16, 1947; cited for contempt of Congress.

SAUL MILLS, sponsor, Civil Rights Congress; signer of statement in behalf of Communists Earl Browder, Morris U. Schappes, and Communists in the armed forces; opposes President Truman's loyalty program; supporter of the following Communist fronts: American Peace Mobilization, Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, Washington Committee for Democratic Action, Stage for Action.

SAMUEL A. NEUBURGER, member, initiating committee, and New York director, Civil Rights Congress; attorney for Communist defendants, October 1940, May 1947; attorney for International Labor Defense.

GRANT W. OAKES, sponsor, Civil Rights Congress; signer of statement in behalf of Communists Earl Browder, Jack Johnstone; signer of statement in defense of Communist Party, March 18, 1945, May 25, 1947; supporter of Communist publications *Daily Worker*, *Chicago Star*; sponsor, American Peace Mobilization and Chicago May Day Committee.

IRVING POTASH, sponsor, New York Civil Rights Congress; member, political committee and national board, Communist Party.

WALTER RAUTENSTRAUCH, member, initiating committee, Civil Rights Congress; signer of statement in behalf of Communists Luis Carlos Prestes, Harry Bridges, George Dimitrov, Earl Browder; supporter of the following Communist fronts: American Peace Mobilization, American League for Peace and Democracy, American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, American Youth Congress, Council for Pan-American Democracy, Committee for Citizenship Rights, Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, Jefferson School of Social Science, League of American Writers, New Masses, School for Democracy, Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee.

EARL ROBINSON, also known as Robert Earl, sponsor, Civil Rights Congress; furnished music for Communist Party according to *Daily Worker* of January 20, 1938, February 9, 1938, January 30, 1939, December 20, 1942, January 20, 1947; acted in behalf of Communists Ella Reeve Bloor, Harry Bridges, Morris U. Schappes; supported the following Communist fronts: Abraham Lincoln Brigade, American Artists School, American Friends of the Chinese People, American Peace Mobilization, China Aid Council, International Labor Defense, International

Workers Order, League of American Writers, National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, New Masses, School for Democracy, Soviet Russia Today, United American Artists, American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, People's Songs, Jefferson School of Social Science, and the Young Communist League.

REID ROBINSON, sponsor, Civil Rights Congress; signer of statement in behalf of Communists Earl Browder, Harry Bridges; signer of statement defending the Communist Party, September 24, 1940, and March 18, 1945; held incommunicado by the Canadian Government in 1941; supporter of the following Communist fronts: All-California Conference for Defense of Civil Rights, American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, American Council on Soviet Relations, American League for Peace and Democracy, American Peace Mobilization, American Youth Congress, Committee to Defend America by Keeping out of War, First Congress of the Mexican and Spanish-American Peoples of the United States, Galena Defense Committee, International Labor Defense, Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Second Northwest Congress Against War and Fascism, New Masses, Council for Pan-American Democracy.

JOSEPH P. SELLY, member, initiating committee, Civil Rights Congress; acted in behalf of Communists Morris U. Schappes, Harry Bridges, Francisco Perez Leiros, Murray Winocur; supporter of following Communist front organizations: Council for Pan-American Democracy, International Labor Defense, American Council on Soviet Relations, American Peace Mobilization, American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee.

FERDINAND C. SMITH, member, initiating committee, Civil Rights Congress; Communist Party member; acted in behalf of Communists Earl Browder, Morris U. Schappes, Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., Israel Amter, George Dimitrov; supporter of the following Communist fronts: Council on African Affairs, Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, National Negro Congress, *New Masses*, United May Day Committee, Stage for Action, George Washington Carver School.

HOPE R. STEVENS, member, initiating committee, Civil Rights Congress; acted in behalf of Communists Earl Browder, Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., Luis Carlos Prestes, Sam Darcy, Harry Bridges, George Dimitrov; signer of statement in defense of the Communist Party, September 16, 1940, March 5, 1941; supporter of the following Communist fronts: Lawyers Committee to Keep the U. S. out of War, American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, National Negro Congress, Council for Pan-American Democracy, West Indies National Emergency Committee, Jewish People's Committee.

DONALD OGDEN STEWART, member, initiating committee, Civil Rights Congress; supporter of the following organizations defending individual Communists or the Communist Party: American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, International Labor Defense, National Committee for People's Rights, National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights; signer of statement in behalf of Communists Sam Darcy, George

Dimitrov, Harry Bridges; supporter of the following Communist fronts: American League for Peace and Democracy, League of American Writers, Committee for a Democratic Far-Eastern Policy, Consumers Union, Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, Motion Picture Democratic Committee, National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, New Masses, Soviet Russia Today, Theatre Arts Committee, American Council for a Democratic Greece.

DIRK J. STRUIK, sponsor, Civil Rights Congress; signer of statement in behalf of Communists Earl Browder, Harry Bridges, Morris U. Schappes, George Dimitrov; supporter of the following Communist fronts: Jefferson School of Social Science, American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, *Science and Society*, *New Masses*, Committee to Defend America by Keeping out of War, Conference on Pan-American Democracy, American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, Massachusetts Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Committee for Citizenship Rights.

COURTNEY D. WARD, sponsor, Civil Rights Congress; signer of statement defending the Communist Party, March 13, 1947, May 25, 1947; endorser of *Daily Worker*; supporter of the following Communist fronts: American Peace Mobilization, National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee; participant in banquet for Ella Reeve Bloor, leading Communist, June, 1947.

HARRY F. WARD, chairman, Civil Rights Congress; signer of statement in behalf of Communists Harold Pritchett, Simon Gerson, Sam Darcy, Ella Reeve Bloor, Luis Carlos Prestes, Harry Bridges, Morris U. Schappes, Gerhart Eisler, Earl Browder; signer of statement in defense of the Communist Party, March 5, 1941, April 19, 1947; supporter of the following Communist publications: *New Masses*, *Soviet Russia Today*, *Daily Worker*, *Midwest Daily Record*; endorser of statement in defense of the Soviet Union, October 4, 1933, June 20, 1936, September, 1939, August, 1941, March 18, 1946, June 15, 1947; supporter of the following Communist fronts: American League Against War and Fascism, American League for Peace and Democracy, American Peace Mobilization, American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, American Friends of the Chinese People, American Friends of Spanish Democracy, American Youth Congress, League of American Writers, National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, National Negro Congress, American Student Union, International Labor Defense, American Youth for Democracy, League of Women Shoppers, Council for Pan-American Democracy, Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee.

MAX WEBER, sponsor, New York Civil Rights Congress; signer of statement in behalf of Communists Earl Browder, James Ford, Sam Darcy, Harry Bridges, George Dimitrov, Israel Amter, Gerhart Eisler, Benjamin J. Davis, Jr.; signer of statement in defense of the Communist Party, March 18, 1945, April 16, 1947, May 20, 1947; signer of statement in defense of the Soviet Union, March, 1937, November, 1937, April 28, 1938, September, 1939, March 18, 1946; supporter of the following Communist fronts: American Artists Congress, Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, *New Masses*, *Soviet Russia*

Today, United American Artists, International Workers Order, American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

LOUIS WEINSTOCK, member, initiating committee, Civil Rights Congress; member, national committee, Communist Party; signer of statement in behalf of Communists Earl Browder, Ella Reeve Bloor, Abraham Markoff, George Dimitrov, Stanley Nowak, Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., Robert Thompson; numerous other front connections.

GENE WELTFISH, member, initiating committee, Civil Rights Congress; signer of statements in behalf of Communists Gerhart Eisler, Ella Reeve Bloor; condemns "Red-baiting," September 25, 1946; supporter of the following Communist fronts: American Committee for a Democratic Greece, Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, Congress of American Women, Jefferson School of Social Science, American Youth for Democracy, Council on African Affairs.

MAX YERGAN, member, initiating committee, Civil Rights Congress; signer of statement in behalf of Communists Earl Browder, Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., George Dimitrov, Harry Bridges, Ella Reeve Bloor; signer of statement in defense of the Communist Party, September 16, 1940, April 26, 1947; supporter of following Communist fronts: National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, American League for Peace and Democracy, American Peace Mobilization, Win-the-Peace Conference, American Committee for Protection of Foreign-Born, Committee for a Democratic Far-Eastern Policy, National Negro Congress, American Student Union, American Youth Congress, China Aid Council, Committee for Citizenship Rights, Committee to Defend America by Keeping out of War, National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, Council on African Affairs, Council for Pan-American Democracy, International Committee on African Affairs, International Labor Defense, International Workers Order, *New Masses*, School for Democracy, George Washington Carver School, Jefferson School of Social Science, People's Radio Foundation.

Of the above 34 key individuals guiding the policies of the Civil Rights Congress, 12 are outright leading members of the Communist Party, 25 have aided one or more leading Communists on occasion, and 14 have signed statements in support or defense of the Communist Party. Due allowance should be made for the fact that important party members are known to keep their membership secret. It is therefore safe to assume from the pattern of loyalty to the party-line that there are more party members among these 34 key individuals.

It is worthy of note that subsequent to the formation of the Civil Rights Congress in Detroit on April 27-28, 1946, and the enlistment of additional sponsors, the names of a number of members of the initiating committee, having served their decoy purposes, disappeared from the organization's letterhead, among them being Zlatko Balokovic, Elmer A. Benson, Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, Edward Chodorov, Norman Corwin, Julius Emspak, Jess Fletcher, Clark Foreman, Carey McWilliams, Kirtley F. Mather, Bishop Edward L. Parsons, James G. Patton, Dr. Edwin McNeill Poteat, Paul Robeson, Edward G. Robinson, Wesley E. Sharer, Prof. John F. Shepard, Johannes Steel, and Donald Ogden Stewart. This seems to be a favorite device of Communist front organizations.

SUMMARY

From the facts cited above it should be clear that the Civil Rights Congress is an organization dedicated not to the broader issues of civil liberties, but specifically to the defense of individual Communists and the Communist Party, that the organization is controlled by individuals who are either members of the Communist Party or openly loyal to it, and that in carrying out its defense aims, the organization has at the same time engaged in a campaign of vilification against the American Government.

Beginning on page 40 of House Report No. 1115, Eightieth Congress, First Session, a list of contributions and expenditures of the Civil Rights Congress and its New York branch, as submitted to the Clerk of the House of Representatives in accordance with the Lobbying Act.

These figures show the enormous financial income which this organization defending the Communist Party and its officials, whose activities are clearly directed against the interests of the United States, has been able to accumulate. In some cases this income has been drawn from sources frankly in sympathy with the Communist Party such as the International Fur and Leather Workers Union (CIO), the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America (CIO), the Communist Party of the United States, George Marshall, Dashiell Hammett, Louise Bransten, Lement Harris, Paul Crosbie, and others. In some cases they have been secured on the basis of a spurious appeal in behalf of civil liberty. The report further shows the maintenance of a huge legal and administrative staff including persons with known Communist records.

VI. CONGRESS OF AMERICAN WOMEN

In 1944 the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship created a Committee of Women. The chairman of this committee was Mrs. Muriel Draper and the vice chairman was Mrs. Elinor S. Gimbel. The committee held a conference at the Hotel Commodore in New York City on November 18, 1944.

The occasion was billed as a Conference of Women of the U.S.A., and the U.S.S.R., in the postwar world. The call announcing the conference stated, in effect, that since the women of the world played such important parts in the war, they demanded to have an equally important role in shaping postwar economy. The call appealed to other women's organizations to send delegates to the conference.

The signers of the call were Marjorie Post Davies (Mrs. Joseph Davies), acting national honorary chairman, and Muriel Draper, head of the Women's Committee of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. Mrs. Ruth W. Russ, Executive Secretary of the Women's Committee, was secretary of the conference.

The conference held three sessions. The principal topics of discussion were American-Soviet women's issues and postwar rights for women in the United States.

Among the sponsors of the conference were the following: Henrietta Buckmaster, Mrs. Bella Dodd, Mrs. Katherine Earnshaw, Mrs. Sidonie M. Gruenberg, Josephine Timms, Ruth Young, Muriel Draper, Elinor S. Gimbel, Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, Mrs. Sherwood Anderson, Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, Mrs. Jo Davidson, Mildred Fairchild, Mrs. Frederick V. Field, Cornelia Goldsmith, Mrs. Sophie Gropper, Mrs. Sidney

Hillman, Mrs. Stanley Isaacs, Mrs. Julia Church Kolar, Dorothy Kenyon, Rosalie Manning, Rose Maurer, Clarina Michelson, Eleanor Neilson, Mrs. David De Sola Pool, Mrs. W. Jay Schieffelin, Margaret Schlauch, Mrs. Frederick L. Schuman, Vida D. Scudder, Mrs. Gilbert Seldes, Lisa Segio, Mary K. Simkhovitch, Irena Skariatina, Charlotte Stern, Anna Louise Strong, Genevieve Taggard, Katherine Terrill, Mrs. Albert Rhys Williams, Ella Winters, Mrs. Ellen S. Woodward, Ruth Young, and Leane Zugsmith.

Prior to 1944 there had been a number of Communist fronts for women and there were some established as out-and-out Communist sections. Some of these had been directly affiliated with the International Congress of Women, with headquarters in Moscow. Others were affiliated with the Women's International Congress Against War and Fascism.

Active in the leadership of these congresses were Ann Pauker, Rumanian Bolshevik head; Mme. Kollantai of Russia; Clara Zetkin; Ella Reeve Bloor; Dolores Ibarruri, better known as "La Passionarra," chairman of the Communist Party in Spain; Anna Mai of Bulgaria; Mme. Eugenie Cotton; Mme. Marie-Claude Vaillant-Couturier (Communist) of France; and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn; and others, all Communists.

Like many other Communist internationals these congresses were inactive during World War II because of the complications involved in travel, the holding of meetings, and the transmission of correspondence.

Among sponsors of the Committee of Women of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship were the following: Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, Mrs. Jo Davidson, Mrs. Joseph E. Davies, Miss Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Mrs. Arthur Garfield Hays, Mrs. Sidney Hillman, Miss Edith Hurley, Mrs. Stanley M. Isaacs, Miss Dorothy Kenyon, Miss Rose Maurer, Miss Lisa Sergio, Miss Anna Louise Strong, Miss Katherine Terrill, Miss Genevieve Taggard, Mrs. Albert Rhys Williams, Dr. Mary Woolley, and Miss Ruth Young.

The Communist Party began reorganizing its international organizations and fronts as soon as the war ended. Again the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship called its female fellow-travelers into action. The International Congress of Women convened in Paris November 26 to December 1, 1945, at the call of international Communist forces.

Mme. Eugenie Cotton and Mme. Marie-Claude Vaillant-Couturier, Communist members of the French House of Deputies, were co-chairmen of the International Congress of Women.

Dolores Ibarruri, Communist of Spain, was the keynote speaker.

Mme. Nina Popova, leader of the Communist women of Russia, took a leading part in the program.

The delegates from the United States were Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Chairman of the Women's Commission of the Communist Party in the United States; Dr. Gene Weltfish; Thelma Dale, a member of the New York State Committee of the Communist Party; Susan B. Anthony II, active in many Communist fronts; Eleanor Vaughan; Ann Bradford; Mrs. Frederic March; Mrs. Gifford Pinchot; Henrietta Buckmaster; Dr. Beryl Parker; Charlotte Hawkins Brown; Vivian Carter Mason; Jeanette Stern; Muriel Draper; and Elinor S. Gimbel.

Eight hundred delegates were reported in attendance, claiming to represent a hundred million women in 40 countries.

Early in 1946 a continuing committee of the International Congress of Women was set up in the United States. Among the members of this committee were Elinor S. Gimbel, Dr. Gene Weltfish; Susan B. Anthony II, Secretary; Dr. Beryl Parker, Treasurer; Mrs. Grace Allen Bangs, Clara Bodian, Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, Henrietta Buckmaster, Thelma Dale, Frances Damon, Dr. Bella V. Dodd, Muriel Draper, Katherine Earnshaw, India Edwards, Thyra Edwards, Mary L. Fledderus, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Daisy George, Esther Gilwarg, Dorothy Gottlieb, Sidonie M. Gruenberg, Mrs. Shippen Lewis, Mrs. Frederic March, Vivian Carter Mason, Helen Phillips, Mrs. Gifford Pinchot, Anna Center Schneiderman, Natalie Sherman, Josephine Timms, Jeanette Stern Turner, Mary Van Kleeck, Eleanor T. Vaughan, Mrs. Stephen S. Wise, and Ruth Young.

This continuations committee eventually became the Congress of American Women. The international movement is called the International Democratic Women's Federation.

Muriel Draper, Vivian Carter Mason, Mrs. Frederic March, and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn were the regular delegates to the Communist International Democratic Women's Federation appointed by the Congress of American Women. Dr. Gene Weltfish, Dr. Beryl Parker, and Ann Bradford were the alternate delegates to the International.

Ann Bradford has been secretary of the C. I. O. Women's Auxiliary of Los Angeles.

The Congress of American Women was incorporated in January of 1947. The incorporators were Gene Weltfish, Helen Phillips, Muriel Draper, Josephine Timms, Susan B. Anthony II, and Elinor S. Gimbel. Bella Dodd, formerly a teacher and Communist leader, notarized the incorporation documents and Benjamin M. Zelman was the attorney for the organization.

March 8th has been selected by the Congress of American Women as International Day, and November 29th has been selected as Women's Day for annual celebrations. March 8th was first celebrated as Communist Women's Day in Moscow.

The Congress of American Women announced that it intends to be active in the political action field in both national and local campaigns. Its representatives marched on Washington, D. C., storming Congress and the State Department in opposition to American aid to Greece and Turkey, and participated in many other mass demonstrations.

The chairman of the Committee of Action for Peace and Democracy of the Congress of American Women is Muriel Draper. Anna Lee is secretary of this committee. Chairman of the Commission of the Status of Women of the organization is Susan B. Anthony II. Mary Murphy is the secretary. The Child Care and Education Commission is headed by Elinor S. Gimbel. Its secretary is Dorothy Gottlieb.

The national headquarters of the Congress of American Women was located at 55 West Forty-second Street, New York City. The national president was Gene Weltfish. The executive vice president was Muriel Draper. Helen Phillips was the treasurer and Josephine Timms was the secretary. Thyra Edwards was the recording secretary. The following were vice presidents: Susan B. Anthony II, Ann Bradford, Charlotte Hawkins Brown, Henrietta Buckmaster, Dorothy Connolly, Thelma Dale, Mildred Fairchild, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Elinor S. Gimbel,

Mrs. Frederic March, Vivian Carter Mason, Beryl Parker, Mrs. Gifford Pinchot, Ann Center Schneiderman, Mrs. Jeanette Turner, Eleanor Vaughan, and Ruth Young.

Members of the editorial board of the Congress of American Women were Eleanor Vaughan and Bert Sigrid.

The Congress of American Women issued a call to Mrs. Rosalind Lindsmith (Oakland), and to Miriam Brooks (Los Angeles), former organizer for the Young Communist League, to organize chapters in their local communities.

The Los Angeles headquarters of the Congress of American Women was located at 3410½ West Ninth Street. Pamphlets distributed in Los Angeles (copies of which are in the Senate committee's files) give the national headquarters as 144 Bleecker Street, New York City, and indicate that Elinor S. Gimbel was replaced by Helen Wortis as the chairman of the Child Care and Education Commission. The pamphlet reads, in part, as follows:

"WE ARE THE CONGRESS OF AMERICAN WOMEN

"* * * a national organization of American women. We are the American arm of the Women's International Democratic Federation, organized in Paris in 1945 by women from 44 countries, to work for a lasting peace and a world free from Fascism. Today the WIDF numbers 81,000,000 women the world over, and has consultant status with the Economic and Social Commission of the United Nations.

"* * * CAW has active chapters in New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Pittsburgh, Detroit, and other cities. Find out if the CAW exists in your town, and if not, remember that Ten Women Anywhere Can Start Anything, including a new CAW branch.

"WHAT WE ARE AGAINST * * *

"Fascism in any form at home or abroad.

"Discrimination because of race, color, sex, creed or beliefs.

"High prices.

"Universal military training.

"Manufacturing atom bombs as a threat to world peace."

The Senate Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities in California finds this organization one of the most potentially dangerous of the many active Communist fronts.

The *People's Daily World* for October 26, 1946 reports a Los Angeles Conference of the Congress of American Women. The issue of March 12, 1947 of the *People's Daily World* reports the launching of an intensive campaign by the Congress of American Women to obtain 100,000 votes for three candidates for the Los Angeles Board of Education. The candidates, Dr. H. Claude Hudson, Walter Turner, and Raphael Koenigsburg, were left-wing supported candidates, also backed by the Citizens' Committee for Better Education. The *People's Daily World* for the same issue also reported that the organization had voted to "end the current 'lockout' of Herb Sorrell's Conference of Studio Unions" and called for a halt to the "aid to Greece" program.

The issue of the *People's Daily World* for July 30, 1947, reports that the Congress of American Women went on record urging the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and condemned the sentencing to jail of members of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee for contempt of the congressional committee.

The *People's Daily World* for February 4, 1948, reports that the Congress of American Women will act as joint sponsors with the

American-Russian Institute of a meeting in the First Unitarian Church in Los Angeles on February 9th honoring Elizabeth A. Popova, and Evdokia I. Uralova, of Russia.

The *People's Daily World* for March 12, 1947, reported that the previous Saturday's meeting of the Congress of American Women had been chaired by Mrs. Albert Dekker and that Xenia Zytomirska, Cultural Attache of the Polish Embassy (Stalinist) for the West Coast was the guest speaker. The meeting voted to stop the United States' plan to send supplies, arms and men to Greece. Dr. Sanford Goldner, California CIO Research Director is also reported as having spoken.

The *People's Daily World* for July 29, 1947, reports that the Congress of American Women in Los Angeles hailed the leaders of the Communist front for assistance to Communist refugees, the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, as "men who have courageously worked for liberty." (Dr. Edward Barsky, Chairman of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, Howard Fast, and 14 members of the national board of this organization had been sentenced to jail for refusing to obey subpoenas of the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities calling for records of the organization.)

The Congress of American Women is affiliated with an international Communist movement, spawned in Moscow, and it is an important and dangerous front, which also serves to create temporary fronts in the Stalinist activity supporting the *Anti-Imperialist War Line* in the Seventh Period of Communist strategy in America.

VII. FEDERATED PRESS

In addition to completely Communist controlled and dominated publications, there also is a long list of trade-union, racial, minority, liberal and special-interest publications into which Communists have infiltrated as editors, correspondents and contributors.

Communist influenced propaganda is circulated to these publications through such news services as Federated Press, Economic Notes, Allied Labor News Service, Associated Magazine Contributors, Inc., Trade Union Service, Inc., and Labor Research Association.

The most important of these services is Federated Press, which was launched in 1919, with funds from the Communist fronts, American Fund for Public Service and the Robert Marshall Foundations, and with a large string of Communists in control. The Stalinist influence has continued to this day. (For details, see Report of Congressional Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944, pp. 76, 143 and 147.)

Federated Press consistently has propagandized the Stalinist line and successfully infiltrates into non-Communist labor and liberal publications because there is not a competitive strongly anti-Communist labor news service that provides nationwide extensive news reports and picture mat service.

Communists and frontiers have moved in on publications circulated in labor circles, taking over editorial columns, and publishing articles contributed in many instances by outright Communists. Approximately 600 publications are served by the Federated Press or the Allied Labor News Service, both of which have long been infiltrated if not actually controlled by the Communists.

Trade Union Service, Inc., with offices in New York City, owned and published 15 trade union papers for various leftist CIO unions. Officers of the service include Corliss Lamont, Frederick V. Field, William Osgood Field, and James Waterman Wise. Lamont is active in many front organizations in our Country. Frederick Field is equally notorious, and has been on the editorial board of the *Daily Worker*. Wise and William Field also have Red front backgrounds.

Allied Labor News Service is an international Communist service. It has correspondents in foreign countries, and it services Communist publications. It augments, rather than competes with Federated Press, which deals with local and national events. Correspondents for the ALN Service include William Peters, Bob Travis, Remo Marletta, and Israel Epstein.

Labor Research Association, 80 East Eleventh Street, New York, N. Y., publishes monthly the *Economic News*, sold and distributed through Communist bookshops. The Communist press frequently quotes from it.

The association occasionally issues books which are published and distributed by the International Publishers of New York, the Communist publishing house. Its releases, service, and books are consistently along the Communist Party line and they are, as a rule, timed with the party's agitation and pressure moves.

The service is received and widely read by leftwing labor-union leaders, since it is considered a Marxist-Leninist guide to economic and labor issues. Heading the association is Robert W. Dunn, widely known in Communist ranks. He was prominent in the International Labor Defense, of which he was treasurer for many years. He was also active in the American League for Peace and Democracy and the Anti-Imperialist League. He was connected with Soviet Russia Today and the Workers' (Communist) Schools. His wife, Russian-born, has been a columnist for the *Daily Worker*.

Federated Press and its satellite and companion news services are vital links in the Communist conspiracy and consistently agitate, propagandize and publicize the strategy and tactics of the Anti-Imperialist War line of the Seventh Period of Communist strategy in the United States.

VIII. MARXIST-LENINIST PUBLISHING HOUSES

The Agit-Prop (agitation and propaganda) Division of the Communist Party is the most important division to the Communist movement in the United States of America. It, its fronts and fronters, operate many publishing houses and issue 122 publications, millions of pamphlets, bulletins, and books which are circulated throughout the Country. Most of this material brazenly advocates and teaches Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism. (*See Illustrations, Pages 615-636.*)

As an example of the rapidity with which extensive coverage can be attained by the Communist Party, in a "Don't Tread on Me" campaign waged against the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities by the party and its fronts, the party printed and circulated 4½ million leaflets and 2 million pamphlets. It carried 150 advertisements, many full-page ads in 125 newspapers with a total circulation of 10 million, and

"If, in this decisive year of 1948, we are to avoid vacillation, sectarianism, and opportunist mistakes, we—all of us—must live and breathe the science of Marxism."

—EUGENE DENNIS

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832 Broadway, New York 3, N. Y.

Re-entered as second class matter January 4, 1945, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. POLITICAL AFFAIRS is published monthly by New Century Publishers, Inc., at 832 Broadway, New York 3, N. Y., to whom subscriptions, payments and correspondence should be sent. Subscription rate: \$2.50 a year; \$1.25 for six months; foreign and Canada, \$3.00 a year. Single copies 25 cents.

PRINTED IN U.S.A.

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PLATE 3. Advertisement in *Political Affairs* for 1948 Marxist study course, now on sale in Communist book stores. Note the plain statement by Eugene Dennis, Secretary of the CPUSA, quoted in the advertisement.

it made 110 local broadcasts. In addition, the campaign was given publicity in the Communists' own 122 publications. All this propagandizing covered a period within two months.

The largest of the Communist publishing firms is New Century Publishers, Inc., 832 Broadway, New York. It was incorporated December 8, 1944. The incorporators were Joseph Felshin, 832 Broadway, New York City; Isidore Greenbaum, 207 Fourth Avenue, New York City; and Betty Greenbaum, of the same address. Morris Greenbaum served as its agent.

Two other publishing houses are International Publishers, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y., of which Alex Trachtenberg is president; and the Workers' Library Publishers, also of New York.

The current catalog of New Century Publishers, Inc., lists some 320 publications for distribution.

New Century Publishers, Inc., International Publishers, and the Workers' Library Publishers distribute their own publications, as well as other literature. For this purpose book stores are maintained in every large city in the Country.

Other Red publishing houses are the Four Continent Book Corporation, 253 Fifth Avenue, and Universal Distributors, 38 Union Square, both in New York City. The Reds also operate a book-of-the-month club, known as the Book Find Club. They have organized children's book clubs and youth record clubs in recent months, which are advertised in Communist publications.

In the field of newspapers, magazines, and bulletins, the Communists, fronts, and fellow-travelers also have an extensive propaganda network. (See also, the preceding item VII.)

These Communist publishing houses print, sell and promote the basic literature of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism, which openly teaches, advocates and demands the revolutionary overthrow of our government by force and violence as an agent of the world conspiracy of Communism, directed by the Soviet government. They are the indispensable sources of the official Communist literature and directives on strategy and tactics in the Seventh Period of Communist activity in America.

IX. INTERNATIONAL WORKERS ORDER

This Communist-front has been investigated by the California legislative committees investigating un-American activities on a number of occasions. (See committee's 1943, 1945, 1947, and 1948 reports.)

The International Workers Order claims over 19,000 branches in the United States. Max Bedacht, former general secretary of the organization, testified before a Congressional Committee that the income of the organization exceeded \$1,000,000 a year. He also testified that the organization operates in 44 states, the District of Columbia, and Canada.

Max Bedacht was general secretary of the Communist Party of the United States in 1929. He was a former editor of the *Communist*, the official theoretical organ of the Communist Party. He has been a delegate to various congresses of the Communist International. He has been a member of the executive committee of the Communist International. He is a former editor of *Soviet Russia*, a pictorial, official organ of the Friends of Soviet Russia. He was a Communist Party candidate for United States Senate in New York. He has been a member of the national

executive committee of the American League for Peace and Democracy. He has been a member of the national committee of the International Labor Defense.

In his testimony before the congressional committee, Max Bedacht admitted his belief in the superiority of the Soviet Constitution over the American Constitution and refused to declare whether he would support the United States in the event of a war with the Soviet Union. He stated that he emphatically believed "that the decision of the Communist International must be executed loyally."

The IWO has followed the Communist Party line without deviation and has supported all Communist causes in the United States. It has stood behind the foreign policy of Soviet Russia and followed the treacherous twists of Communist diplomacy during the Stalin-Hitler Pact. The organization has openly supported Communist candidates for public office and openly and actively supports the Communist press.

Among those affiliated with the IWO are William Weiner, Max Bedacht, R. Saltzman, Louise Thompson, Sam Pevzner, Joseph Foster, Paul Duchon, Petrus Deseu, D. Kasustchick, Elvira Mingroni, Winko Ujoich, Sadie Doran, Joseph Brodsky, Peter Shipka, J. H. Federman, L. Gukowsky, S. F. Stone, Juanita Johnson, M. Torchenko, Jesse Smith, S. Davidson, C. Rosselle, J. Brier, Paul Stukovsky, George E. Powers, George Primoff, Hank Johnson, Samuel C. Patterson, Ann Richards, N. Honig, Aaron Bloom, Arnold Stanley, Nathan Shaffer, Charles Kellner, Phil Rosengarten, Rubin Salzman, Jerry Trauber, Emanuel Levin, and Anthony Gerlach.

The International Workers Order is very active in California and is supported by many Communists and Communist fellow-travelers.

During the Stalin-Hitler Pact the IWO sponsored a public rally at 111 Jones Street in San Francisco. Carey McWilliams endorsed the "rally" and leaflets invited the public to "come and hear true people's representatives tell why" San Francisco didn't want "Mr. Dies" or his committee. Among those who were to speak were Ellis E. Patterson, Edward D. Gallagher, Germain Buleke, Ellsworth Replogle, and Philip Gardner, organizer for the International Workers Order. The "New World Quartette" was scheduled to sing Mike Quinn's "The Yanks Are Not Coming" song.

The IWO, with national headquarters located at 80 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y., is one of the main sources from which emanate the largest sums of money for the propagation and organization of Communist activities and publications in the United States.

The IWO is set up as a fraternal life insurance movement, with state and local branches operating throughout the country. These are organized under the assumption that the movement is purely an insurance movement, and it operates, therefore, under state insurance charters. It is connected with practically every Communist and front group, in one way or another, which springs up in our country.

The IWO was first incorporated in New York in March 1930. Its incorporators were Abraham Epstein, Nathan Shaffer, Meyer Loonin, Rubin Saltzman, Joseph R. Brodsky, Elias Wattenberg, Max Steinberg, Paul Novick, Hyman I. Costrell, Hyman Grossman, Morris Korofsky, William Weiner, and Samuel Almazoff. The notary in this instance was

Fay Siegartel. The order was at the time declared a benefit and membership organization with an insurance feature.

The principles and purposes of the IWO were enumerated in a printed pamphlet issued shortly after its incorporation:

Overthrow Capitalist System

The International Workers Order maintains that capitalism is bankrupt * * *. The International Workers Order realizes that the workers must organize to advance against capitalism * * *. The International Workers Order realizes there is no way out for capitalism * * *. The International Workers Order views with pride and joy the Soviet Union, which is the only country where there is no crisis * * *. The International Workers Order realizes that only under a system similar to the Soviet system there is no exploitation of the working class * * *. The International Workers Order therefore appeals to the workers to join the struggle against capitalism and for a system where all power belongs to the working class * * *.

The International Workers Order realizes that the only party that leads the working class in the struggle against capitalism is the Communist Party, which unites the best and proven members of the working class, and which is bound to become even stronger until the moment will come when the workers under its leadership will overthrow the capitalist system and establish soviets. It follows, therefore, that the International Workers Order is part of the battle front of the working class * * *.

We find that the Communist is the only party that fights for the workers' interests. We therefore endorse the Communist Party. We appeal to all workers to vote for the Communist Party. We aid the party in its struggles * * *. It (International Workers Order) aids in strikes conducted against the bosses. The International Workers Order supports such strikes both with money and sympathy and with appeals to its members for aid. We have just said that the International Workers Order is part of the battle front of the working class * * *.

Struggle to Defend Soviet Union

Still another struggle on the calendar of the working class is the struggle to defend the Soviet Union. Soon we may be called to fight against the Bolsheviks under one pretext or another. It is the task of the International Workers Order to offer the most powerful resistance to these plans * * *. (Walter S. Stule testimony, House Committee on Un-American Activities, July 21, 1947, p. 121.)

The first president of the IWO was William Weiner, an alias for Welwel Warzover, former treasurer of the Communist Party, who was born in Russia. He was charged at about the time of the arrest of Earl Browder with passport violations, but his case never came to trial. He paid Sam Carr, head of the Soviet atom spy ring in Canada, considerable sums of money.

Weiner resigned his position as president of the IWO in favor of Rockwell Kent. According to the IWO, Kent was formerly a member of the IWW. He has had many Red front connections. Kent was previously a vice president of the IWO under Weiner.

The following are state office locations of the IWO: 184 West Washington Avenue, Chicago, Ill.; 5 Harrison Avenue, Boston, Mass.; 139 South Tenth Street, Philadelphia, Pa.; 326 Fourth Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa.; 942 Prospect Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio; 2111 Woodward Avenue, Detroit, Mich.; 429-431 North Eutaw Street, Baltimore, Md.; 830 Market Street, San Francisco, Calif.; 40 Clinton Street, Newark, N. J. Locals are scattered from coast to coast.

The paid membership of the IWO is estimated at 160,000, with a youth membership of approximately 26,000. Its assets are listed at \$2,774,841.05. Receipts from January 1, 1940, to January 1, 1944, amounted to \$7,180,832.36. Its disbursements for the same period amounted to \$6,029,369.15, \$1,828,351.55 of this representing traveling, special subsidies, sectional organizers, literature, publicity, and conventions totaled \$2,315,529.87. The money raised in special campaigns waged

by the IWO among its members for the benefit of various Communist and Communist-front movements is not listed, of course, in its official report.

The IWO is set up on a national and racial basis. It maintains the following branches: American-Russian Fraternal Society, Carpatho Russian-American Mutual Aid Society, Cervantes Fraternal Society, Croatian Benevolent Fraternity of America, Finnish-American Mutual Aid Society, Garibaldi American Fraternal Society, Hellenic-American Fraternal Society, Jewish People's Fraternal Order, Hungarian Brotherhood, Polonia Society, Rumanian-American Fraternal Society, Serbian-American Federation, Slovak Workers' Society, and Ukrainian-American Fraternal Union. Through these momentum is given the Communist movement among nationality groups in the United States.

Membership in the Baltimore-District of Columbia branch is approximately 1,500; Massachusetts branch, 4,000; Connecticut, 3,500; Michigan, 10,000; Los Angeles, 4,000; midwestern states, 20,000; lower New York State, 42,000; upper New York State, 3,900; Ohio, 18,000; eastern Pennsylvania, 14,500; Pittsburgh, 19,000; San Francisco, 1,400; and West Virginia, 1,500.

Members of the IWO are of all nationalities: Greek, 1,500; Hungarian, 11,300; Ukrainian, 16,300; Slovakian, 14,000; Italian, 10,400; Russian, 16,600; Carpatho-Russian, 5,600; Polish, 10,056; Finnish, 1,226; Serbian, 3,000; Croatian, 9,400; Rumanian, 2,500; Spanish, 2,500; Jewish, 44,600; and general, 16,000.

The IWO maintains summer camps, schools, and meeting places throughout the Country. The nucleus of many Red front movements is composed of members of the organization. The IWO carries on an agitational and propaganda campaign in behalf of Russian and Communist expansion policies in Europe and the Far East.

The IWO cooperates in every conceivable manner with the Communist Party, its publications, its fronts, and activities. In practically every issue of Communist dailies one can find a paid advertisement of the order, and in all other party organs as well. This is one way of helping finance the Communist movement. On the other hand, the order's publications invariably endorse the Communist Party and its fronts. Its members, particularly the leaders, take an active part in Communist Party affairs and activities.

On July 21, 1941, Walter S. Steele told the House Committee:

I submit as evidence of the close cooperation of the IWO with Communist fronts, several letters written by the officials of the order to its members. You will note that one is addressed to "all district secretaries" of the IWO, calling for the extensive distribution of the *American Review on the Soviet Union*, a pro-Soviet publication. This carried glowing articles, according to the letter, concerning the Red Army, speeches by Stalin and Molotov, biographies of various Red generals and so forth.

The second letter is addressed to "all language and district secretaries—all executives," and it asks for complete cooperation with the American Peace Mobilization which at the time was waging "The Yanks Are Not Coming" and "Fight Against Imperialist War" campaigns, and picketing the White House at the time of the Stalin-Hitler break.

The third letter, addressed to "district and national group secretaries," asks for cooperation with the Veterans of Abraham Lincoln Brigade and Farm Research.

The fourth letter is even more inclusive. It acknowledges the IWO offer to distribute printed materials for the following fronts: International Labor Defense, National Lawyers' Guild, American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, Council for Inalienable Rights, Labor Research, Inc., American-Russian Institute,

Institute for Propaganda Analysis, Survey Associates, Inc., and National Negro Congress. I previously called attention to the fact that the order cooperates wholeheartedly with the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

I also submit an interoffice memo which outlines the plan to use feature articles on the *Daily Worker* and the *People's Daily World*, two Communist organs, in IWO publications in an effort to interest its members in subscribing to them. I submit a folder circulated among members of the order, asking for subscriptions to the *Daily Worker* and the *Worker* (Sunday issue). In addition, I will present, as evidence, a "call" to the Fourth American Writers' Congress, issued by the IWO.

The November, 1946, issue of *Fraternal Outlook* (official IWO organ) carried a number of endorsements. These included all major publications of the Communist Party and those of several national front groups, *Daily Worker*, *the Worker*, *People's Daily World*, *Freiheit*, *Russky Golos*, *Eteenpain*, *Tyomies*, *Glos Ludowy*, *Greek-American Tribune*, *Karpatska Rus*, *Ludovy Dennik*, *L'Unita del Popolo*, *Magyar Herald*, *Narodni Glasnik*, *Rumanian American* and *Slobodna Rech Narodna Wola*. In connection with these recommendations, *Fraternal Outlook* made this observation:

No other newspaper in America devotes as much space to IWO activities as the *Daily Worker*. The papers above have helped build the IWO; that's why thousands of IWO members are supporting their subscription and circulation campaigns.

The IWO publications for some time have been given over to national front movements, which are organized to agitate and propagandize in behalf of Russia and Communist expansion efforts in the old hemisphere. They devote a great deal of space to the American Slav Congress. They also publicize extensively for the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, the American Association for Reconstruction of Yugoslavia, the American Artists Group, the Council for Russian Relief, the National Committee To Win the Peace, ICOR, National Negro Congress, American Youth for Democracy, People's Mobilization, and other similar groups.

The IWO conducted campaigns, in conjunction with the Communists, agitating for the return of American boys from the Far East. They circulate Communist Party campaign platforms, support their candidates, raise money for their publications, recruit members for the party, and publish and circulate party literature.

The order raised \$50,000 for the Spanish Red forces. It works with party sections, has party leaders address its groups, holds joint meetings with party sections, names its locals in honor of Communists—John Reed Club, Lenin Club, Lincoln Steffens Club, Paul Robeson Club, and Henry Barbusse Club.

Its members participate in Communist parades and attend Communist mass meetings and demonstrations.

Communist party leaders who have addressed its conventions include Earl Browder, William Z. Foster, Freddy Meyers, Robert Minor, William Gropper, Fred Ellis, and John L. Spivak.

The IWO established a national training school for its organizers. Its members join the picket lines with Reds involved in strikes.

The IWO maintains a large staff of left-wing doctors and opticians. It carries on a persistent campaign against Congressional and State investigations of Communist activities. Its state sections are divided into many local lodges. For example, there are 36 lodges in Chicago, and some 48 in New York. One branch in Washington, D.C., is known as Lodge 136, with headquarters at 4402 Georgia Avenue NW.

Before World War II the IWO carried on campaigns against conscription, alien registration, lend-lease, "war mongering" movies, and "imperialist" war. There is evidence to prove the statement that during the war it carried on propaganda campaigns among soldiers through messages secreted in packages and cigarettes which escaped the attention of the government censors.

The IWO celebrates the anniversaries in the U.S.A. of the Red revolution in Russia, and it sends delegates to Moscow to join in its celebrations. Numerous advertisements of the IWO which have appeared in Communist organs refer to it as the "Class Struggle Fraternal Organization."

The Call for the Seventh Annual Convention of the IWO appeared in numerous Communist publications in full-page advertisements. The convention was held in New York City on June 16, 1947. Full-page advertisements also appear in Communist publications in connection with its campaign for socialized medicine.

The International Workers Order is beyond any question one of the most important Communist organizations in the U.S.A., and one which meticulously follows the Communist Anti-Imperialist War Line in the Seventh Period of Communist strategy and tactics in America.

X. JOINT ANTI-FASCIST REFUGEE COMMITTEE

The Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee was formed in March of 1942 through the merger of the American Committee to Save Refugees, the Exiled Writers Committee of the League of American Writers, and the United American Spanish Aid Committee.

Directly related, organizationally or historically, with the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, are the following Communist-front organizations: American Committee to Save Refugees, Exiled Writers Committee of the League of American Writers, American Committee for Spanish Freedom, American Rescue Ship Commission, Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo, Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy, Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, and Spanish Refugee Appeal.

The sponsors and officers of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, with a few exceptions, are admitted Communists and fellow-travelers. The policy of this group, and its associated Spanish organizations, is in concert with the foreign policy of the Soviet Union.

The Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee maintains national offices at 425 Fourth Avenue in New York City. Doctor Edward K. Barsky is National Chairman and Helen R. Bryan is National Executive Secretary.

National sponsors have been: Comfort A. Adams, Benjamin Algase, Rabbi Michael Alper, Professor Joseph Warren Beach, Dr. Henry Lambert Bibby, Professor G. A. Borgese, Jean L. Bowie, James L. Brewer, Professor Harold Chapman Brown, Professor J. F. Brown, Dr. Walter B. Cannon, Rufus E. Clement, Professor Richard T. Cox, Kyle Crichton, Rev. Theodore De Luca, Martha Dodd, Muriel Draper, Julien Duvivier, Dr. Frederick May Eliot, Dr. Henry Pratt Fairchild, Lion Feuchtwanger, Professor Irving Fisher, Professor Mitchell Franklin, Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman, Dr. Rudolph Ganz, Professor Marion Hathway, Kenneth Leslie, Princess Helgo zu Loewenstein, Rev. Donald G. Lothrop, Dr. Robert Morss Lovett, Helen M. Lynd, Heinrich Mann, George

Marshall, Professor Kirtley F. Mather, Louis F. McCabe, Philip Merivale, Harvey O'Connor, Rt. Rev. Edward L. Parsons, Dr. Max Pinner, Professor Renato Poggioli, F. M. Pottenger, Bertha C. Reynolds, Professor William Gorham Rice, Jr., Ralph Roeder, Dr. Annette T. Rubenstein, Professor Edwin P. Ryland, Professor Rudolph Schevill, Georges Schreiber, Dean Vido O. Scudder, Professor Harlow Shapley, Professor L. J. Stadler, Dalton Trumbo, Rev. Charles C. Webber, Professor F. W. Weymouth, Dame May Whitty, Dr. Mary E. Woolley, Dr. Max Yergan, and Art Young.

Another Communist front in this field is the Action Committee to Free Spain. This organization is headed by Milton Wolff, formerly of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. Its offices are at 55 West 42d Street in New York City. It maintains branches throughout the country.

The Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee maintained offices at 192 Lexington Avenue in New York City. Walter Rautenstrauch is honorary chairman. The Hollywood headquarters was located at 8505 Sunset Boulevard and an office was maintained at 206 South Spring Street, Los Angeles, in charge of Helen M. Fisher. The San Francisco address was 68 Post Street, in charge of Mrs. Marion Owens. The Oakland address was 1615 Broadway, in charge of Mrs. Inez Schuyten.

Much of the financing of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee is undertaken by the Communist front, the International Workers Order.

It should be unnecessary to add that the only refugees in whom this front has shown interest are Communist refugees.

XI. (INDEPENDENT) PROGRESSIVE PARTY

One of the familiar complaints against antisubversive legislation is that it will drive the Communist Party underground and thus make it even more difficult to keep treasonable Red activity under surveillance.

There are two very obvious reasons why this theory is entirely false.

One answer is that counter-intelligence against a secretive and conspiratorial organization requires highly skilled police methods; and our Federal Bureau of Investigation competently is performing this duty as evidenced by a number of recent startling disclosures that numerous Communist Party officials actually were F.B.I. agents. Antisubversive legislation would not affect this type of counter-intelligence one way or another.

The other reason is that the Communist Party actually went underground of its own volition during 1948. The Communist Party completely reorganized and streamlined its combination of legal and illegal activity. In the field of political and legislative activity the Communist Party became the controlling caucus of the Henry Wallace third party movement, now known as the (Independent) Progressive Party.

The Legislature and the people of California were warned of the Communist inspiration behind the (Independent) Progressive Party in our 1949 Fourth Report, on page 62:

Wherever Red Fascism has snuffed out liberty and freedom, the first things to go were civil rights, capitalism and parliamentary government. Just as the Communists in America sneeringly and cynically take advantage of our freedoms and liberties, so do they pervert and corrupt our political and legislative process wherever possible.

The history of Communist front organizations in politics discloses a record of fine causes corrupted, perverted, destroyed or damaged by the Communist Party's

fanatical insistence on bending "daily struggle" to advance the program of "eventual overthrow of capitalism."

The committee has discovered and reported repeatedly, that the Communists work incessantly to pervert and destroy every institution that does not fit into their pattern of revolutionary conspiracy. Nowhere has this Communist strategy been pursued more consistently and relentlessly than in the fields of politics and legislation.

The most recent consolidation of this Communist program of legislative and political activity through front organizations, has been the recent coalition of a series of Communist front organizations under the banner of the Third Party Movement to elect Henry Wallace President of the United States.

In California, the basic Communist front organizations in this coalition are the Progressive Citizens of America, Independent Progressive Party, California Legislative Conference, Communist-Controlled Trade Unions in the C. I. O., the "Wallace Democrats" Caucus in the Democratic Party, Progressive A. F. of L., and a student movement for Wallace, sponsored by American Youth for Democracy.

Behind a facade of specious promises of "peace, progress and prosperity," the Third Party movement has proceeded with mechanical precision, following every twist and turn of the Communist Party line on foreign affairs and domestic issues. It has conducted its activities in such a manner as to stamp itself as an American tool of the international Communist conspiracy. Its policies, tactics and appeals fit the specifications for every type of Communist front organization described and classified in the entire report of this committee, and it follows the party "line" meticulously.

The Third Party movement to elect Henry Wallace is the creature of the Communist Party. Its policies, programs, organization, structure, public relations, personnel and directing leadership all have followed and now follow the Communist Party pattern with unbroken monotony. Its key personnel are known Communists, fellow-travelers and veteran apologists for Soviet Russia and American Communism.

Hugh Bryson, state chairman of the Independent Progressive Party in California is a Communist and a veteran of Communist conspiratorial activity in the Marine Cooks and Stewards Union, C. I. O.

Among I. P. P. and Wallace leaders in California, are Robert W. Kenny, Harry Bridges, Philip M. Connelly, James Burford, James Daugherty, vice-chairman; A. B. Goolsby, Treasurer; Elinor Kahn, state director; Harper W. Poulson, Ruth Slade, Mrs. Tiba Willner, Howard de Silva, Charles Gladstone, William Elconin, Edward L. Barnes, Maurice Howard, Bernard Lusher, Antonio Lucio, Lloyd Seeliger, Joe Heilbrun, John Huhn, Katie Brooks, A. J. Richardson, John Allard, Frank Green, Judge Stanley Moffatt, and Reuben W. Borough.

The committee has in its possession a huge file of documentary evidence, all of which confirms that without deviation or break the (Independent) Progressive Party, both nationally, and in California, has followed the Communist Party line with complete subservience since it was organized in 1948 by the merger of the Progressive Citizens of America, and a number of other Red fronts into a third party movement. For a detailed report on Progressive Citizens of America and its predecessor fronts, see the 1947 Report, pages 236-240, and the 1949 Report, pages 353-357.

Without exception its national officers, candidates and committee-men have been Communists or notorious fellow-travelers. In California its principal officers and paid functionaries are Communists or fellow-travelers and most of the candidates it has endorsed in 1948 and 1949 elections have been Communists, fellow-travelers or conspicuous left-wingers.

The (Independent) Progressive Party never has criticized, disagreed with, condemned or opposed Communism, the party line or Soviet Russia. It conspicuously has been a basic organization in the propaganda and agitation activities of the Seventh Period of Communist strategy

and it has followed the Communist line of The Struggle Against Imperialist War with military precision.

It is the considered opinion of this committee, based upon confidential information and also on a tremendous mass of conclusive documentation that the (Independent) Progressive Party is the above-ground organization of the Communist Party, which reorganized and went underground in 1949 with the exception of a few publicly active functionaries.

Operating in conjunction with the other 20 key fronts cited in this section, the (Independent) Progressive Party is one of the most important Communist-front activities in our Nation and one that is dedicated uncompromisingly to oppose and sabotage our foreign policy and preparedness programs whenever and wherever it can.

XII. LEAGUE OF AMERICAN WRITERS

This Communist front has been covered in detail in the Committee's 1945 and 1948 Reports. The Communist character of this organization has been proved by overwhelming evidence.

The Committee, in its 1947 Report, pointed out that the call for the first Writers' Congress (out of which came the League of American Writers), stated that the Congress was intended for writers "who have clearly indicated their sympathy for the revolutionary cause; who do not need to be convinced of the decay of capitalism, of the inevitability of revolution."

Joseph Freeman, former editor of the *New Masses*, stated that "the Communist says frankly: art, an instrument in the class struggle, must be developed by the Proletariat as one of its weapons."

Edwin Seaver, speaker for the League of American Writers, and writer for the *Daily Worker* and *New Masses*, said:

"I believe the time is fast approaching when we will no longer classify authors as Proletarian writers and fellow-travelers, but as party writers and non-party writers."

Among those who have been affiliated with the League of American Writers and its congresses are Louis Adamic, William Rose Benet, Ben Hecht, Langston Hughes, Max Lerner, Frances J. McConnell, Carey McWilliams, George Soule, J. Raymond Walsh, Orson Welles, James Welterman Weiss, Alan Calmer, Matthew Josephson, Walt Carmon, Agnes Smedley, Theodore Dreiser, Waldo Frank, William N. Jones, Eugene Gordon, Countee Cullen, Malcolm Cowley, John Hermann, Michael Gold, Scott Nearing, Earl Browder, Newton Arvin, Granville Hicks, Kyle S. Crichton, Elmer Rice, John Spivak, Robert Morss Lovett, Emjo Basshe, Jack Conroy, Ed Falkowski, Kenneth Fearing, Joseph Freeman, Horace Gregory, Josephine Herbst, Joseph Kalar, J. Kunitz, Melvin P. Levy, Mary Heaton Vorse, Fielding Burke, Edwin Seaver, Paul Peters, Manuel Gomez, Grace Lumpkin, Albert Maltz, George Sklar, Ben Field, Nathaniel West, Edward Newhouse, Leane Zugsmith, Edward Dahlberg, Herbert Kline, Oakley Johnson, Corliss Lamont, Anna Louise Strong, Erskine Caldwell, Louis Zara, Josephine Johnson, Albert Halper, Myra Page, Eugene Clay, Sterling Brown, Richard Wright, Harold Clurman, Paul Strand, H. H. Lewis, Edwin Wolfe, Isaidor Schneider, Alfred Hayes, Stanley Burnshaw, Ruth Lechlitner, John Howard Lawson, Samuel Ornitz, Michael Blankfort, Ford Maddox Ford, Tillie

Lerner, Alexander Trachtenberg, Bob Brown, Nelson Algren, Meridel Le Seuer, Wallace Phelps, Earl Sydnor, Kenneth Burke, Alfred Kreymborg, Genevieve Taggard, Merle Colby, Robert Herrick, Orrick Johns, Clifford Odets, William Rollins, Maxwell Bodenheim, Joseph Opatoshu, Leonard S. Mins, John Wesley, and Lester Cole.

This Communist organization plays a very important role in the operation of Stalinist strategy and tactics in the writing, art and cultural fields.

Much of its activity, and that of its temporary split-off front groups, is secret and conspiratorial and directed toward infiltration into and control of other organizations in the writing and cultural fields.

The League of American Writers is an important Communist front, closely tied to the underground activity of the party and to its propaganda and agitation system, and it has followed meticulously the Communist Anti-Imperialist War Line of the Seventh Period of strategy in the United States.

XIII. LABOR UNION CAUCUS

With the Communist Party in a state of organizational flux, going underground, and revising its strategy and tactics to meet the needs of its Anti-Imperialist War Line, many of its major functional activities temporarily are without big, open front organizations.

For the purpose of providing the Legislature and the people with a clear understanding of this activity, the committee has chosen the term caucus to describe such activity, where a key front is not now active.

The principal caucuses of this type are in labor unions, racial, professions, veterans, and youth affairs, although the youth wing of the Progressive Party, Young Progressives, now is emerging as the above-ground successor to American Youth for Democracy, which in turn was successor to the Young Communist League, and which went underground early in 1949.

A major caucus of the Communist Party is that in the labor union field. A network of Communists spreads out from the trade-union section of the party into CIO, AFL, and independent unions.

At the present time, the Communist Party is engaged in a major "support and defense" operation to preserve its positions of influence in the trade-unions by promotion of rank-and-file dissatisfaction and dissension against the leaders of the AFL and CIO and of the big unions in the two major labor bodies.

REDS SUSTAIN LOSSES

The most important development in the past year in the trade-union field has been the open split inside the CIO between the Americans and the Communists, in which the Reds have sustained severe losses.

The cause of this split was the conflict generated inside the CIO over the Marshall Plan and the Henry Wallace third party movement, and more recently, the Atlantic Pact, and the withdrawal of the CIO from the Communist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions.

An essential feature of the Communist revolutionary conspiracy is the promotion of revolutionary industrial trade-unionism.

International Communism never has made a secret about its intention to use trade-unions as the springboard for its revolutionary plotting.

Alert and patriotic United States trade-union leaders have known this fact from the beginning. The most aggressive, well-informed and practical enemies of Communism will be found among such trade-union leaders.

The committee reiterates what it has said in previous reports, that America is fortunate that such a reservoir of sanity and vigilance exists at the very spot Communists consider to be the Nation's weakest point.

The committee commends those leaders and members of organized labor who oppose Communism and its bloody tyranny over workers. The committee urges every responsible leader of business, church, fraternal, veteran, and patriotic organizations, that he acquaint himself with the problems and philosophies of responsible trade-union leadership in dealing with the menace of Communism.

The committee cites the statement of policy toward organized labor, from the First Manifesto of the Communist Party of the United States, adopted at the Communist Party's organizing convention, September 1-7, 1919, in Chicago, Illinois:

The Communist Party is the conscious expression of the class struggle of the workers against capitalism. Its aim is to direct this struggle to the conquest of political power, the overthrow of capitalism and the destruction of the bourgeois state * * * It brings to the workers a consciousness of their oppression, of the impossibility of improving their conditions under capitalism * * *.

The Communist Party shall make the great industrial struggles of the working class its major campaign, in order to develop an understanding of the strike in relation to the overthrow of capitalism.

(a) The Communist Party shall participate in mass strikes, not only to achieve the immediate purposes of the strike, but to develop the revolutionary implications of the mass strike.

* * * The Communist Party must engage actively in the struggle to revolutionize the trade unions. As against the unionism of the American Federation of Labor, the Communist Party propagandizes industrial unionism and industrial union organization, emphasizing their revolutionary implications. Industrial unionism is not simply a means for the everyday struggle against capitalism; its ultimate purpose is revolutionary, implying the necessity of ending the capitalist, parliamentary state. Industrial unionism is a factor in the final mass action for the conquest of power * * * *The Communist Party recognizes that the A. F. of L. is reactionary and a bulwark of capitalism* * * * It shall be the major task of the Communist Party to agitate for the construction of a general industrial union organization, embracing the I. W. W., W. I. I. U., independent and secession unions, militant unions of the A. F. of L., and the unorganized workers on the basis of the revolutionary class struggle * * * *The United States is developing an aggressive militarism. The Communist Party will wage the struggle against militarism as a phase of the class struggle to hasten the downfall of capitalism.*

This is the blueprint for the use of trade-unions as instruments for violent revolution and as instruments of a foreign power laid down by the organizing meeting of the Communist Party of the United States. Since that time in 1919 when the Communists organized to betray their own country, Communist policy never has deviated from this fundamental policy.

The incessant struggle and conflict within American trade-unions, between Communist conspirators and honest and patriotic members of organized labor is explained in light of the foregoing.

Knowing, and resenting, the fact that the Communists seek to use their unions to pervert them to the cause of revolution, the overwhelming majority of American union men and women are the targets of abuse,

character assassination, slander and physical violence, whenever they oppose the Communist plotters in their midst.

The committee has found that one of the major battlegrounds in the struggle against Communism will be in the trade-unions of the world.

This committee has no power or authority to investigate or report on relations between management and labor except where the question of Communist activity is raised.

The committee warns that free American trade-unions will not have freedom from Communist disruption until Communism is completely defeated. All workers everywhere are entitled to enjoy the freedoms and opportunities that the American way of life provides more abundantly than any other political system known to history.

The committee commends patriotic and alert American trade-unionists who oppose Communism despite personal abuse, slander, vituperation and threats on their lives and persons. *The committee urges all responsible citizens to assist such patriotic trade-union leaders and members in their determination to protect their organization from Communist infiltration and destruction.*

COMMUNIST TRADE-UNION DUPLICITY

The committee has been impressed in its many investigations and studies with the unvarying persistence of a distinct pattern of Communist strategical and tactical attitudes toward trade-unions in the United States, and particularly in California. This pattern is one that the committee has noticed in many fields, but it is most pronounced with regard to trade-unions.

It is a simple and brutal policy.

The Communist Party regards all union organizations as falling into two simple classifications:

Either an instrument to be controlled, dominated and used to serve the interests of the foreign policy of Soviet Russia and the preparation for violent revolution at home; or an enemy, to be disrupted, attacked and destroyed.

A substantial number of individuals in the trade-union movement are known Communists, or fellow-travelers, who consistently follow the pattern of Communist activity outlined in this report in their own trade-unions and in numerous front groups.

Pursuing their stated purpose of infiltrating union organizations in order to twist and pervert them to the interests of the Communist conspiracy, the Communists have infiltrated and now control and dominate a number of important trade-unions in the United States, and particularly in California.

The committee refers to its documented analysis of Communist technique in penetrating and corrupting trade-unions in its 1943, 1945, 1947, and 1948 reports.

The present struggle inside the trade unions of America is developing events so rapidly that it is impossible accurately to cite in an annual report the exact or approximate status of Stalinist influence in individual unions with any assurance that such a report would be accurate within a few months.

THE LOS ANGELES CIO CASE

Your committee cites as an instance the Los Angeles Industrial Union Council of the CIO, which for more than a decade has been under the domination and control of a Stalinist gang of potential traitors, under the public leadership of Philip M. Connelly, whose Communist activities have been cited in detail in the committee's previous reports.

Just as this report was prepared to go to press, an anti-Communist majority group, which had rebelled against the tricky Communist control of their council through "paper unions" and other Stalinist devices, forced an election under fair rules and defeated the Communist administration of Connelly by a two to one majority.

Your committee is pleased to report that for the first time in a decade, the Los Angeles CIO Council is in control of patriotic Americans and that the howls of anguish from the Communists and fellow-travelers are reflected in the columns of the *People's Daily World* from one end of the State to the other.

Your committee commends Irwin De Shetler and "Tim" Flynn, the Regional Directors of the CIO in Southern California and Northern California, and all members of CIO unions who have supported them in their aggressive campaign against Communistic treachery inside their organization.

Communist domination continues most prominently in the CIO in the following unions:

- American Communications Association;
- Food, Tobacco, Agricultural and Allied Workers;
- Inland Boatmen's Union of the Pacific;
- International Federation of Architects, Engineers and Technicians (now in the United Office and Professional Workers);
- International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union;
- International Union of Fishermen, and Allied Workers of America;
- International Union of Fur and Leather Workers;
- International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers;
- Marine Cooks and Stewards Association of the Pacific Coast;
- United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing, and Allied Workers of America;
- United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America;
- United Farm Equipment and Metal Workers of America;
- United Furniture Workers;
- United Office and Professional Workers of America, and
- United Public Workers.

The California CIO Council is dominated by Communists and fellow-travelers, but has been deserted and repudiated by important and numerically large CIO unions. The Communist character of the CIO California Council and leadership has been so brazen that the big CIO unions have sent special representatives to Sacramento to impress upon the Legislature that the Stalinists do not have the right to speak for them.

In the AFL, which traditionally has been anti-Communist since its early conflicts with the predecessor radical groups that formed the original Communist Party of the U. S. A., particular anti-Stalinist activity has been noted in California in the Building Trades, especially

in the Teamster and Carpenter unions, the Culinary, I. A. T. S. E., Screen Actors Guild, Musicians and Garment Workers unions.

LABOR-MANAGEMENT RESPONSIBILITY

Your committee has been impressed repeatedly with the importance of the union labor organizations in the conflict with the Communist conspiracy.

We strongly urge that a continuing and particular investigation be devoted to the problem of Communist activity in trade unions and that extended public hearings be conducted for the purpose of presenting to the people as vitally necessary information a clearcut and definitive compilation of evidence and testimony that will draw a line between the anti-Communists and the potential traitors in our state's large and important trade union movements.

It is the considered opinion of the committee that despite any normal and logical conflicts of opinion and policy on other matters that may exist between business and management and our State's trade unions, that each has a vital and common stake in preserving our freedoms and liberties from Communist treachery and sabotage.

We urge that California business and union labor recognize this common bond and that they cooperate together to protect their State and Nation from the Communist strategy and tactics of the Seventh Period of Communist activity in America as outlined in this report.

The Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist concept of the class struggle is alien to our institutions and traditions. Common sense patriotism, as well as self interest, demands that California business and labor understand the danger of disunity, conflict, strife and confusion which the Communists boast they will capitalize on to destroy us.

XIV. NATIONAL COUNCIL OF ARTS, SCIENCES AND PROFESSIONS

On March 23, 1949, your committee made the following partial report to the Senate, which was published in the Senate Journal:

RED PEACE CONFERENCE

On March 25th, 26th, and 27th, at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, in New York City, there will be held a so-called Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace.

The conference is sponsored by one of the important Communist-front organizations in this Country, the Arts, Sciences and Professions Council, headed by Dr. Harlow Shapley, director of the Harvard College observatory, and the chairman of the conference.

Reports to this committee and information available in the committee's extensive files establish beyond any question that this is an international Communist-front activity, growing out of a Communist sponsored Congress of Intellectuals, held in Poland, in August, 1948.

The state department has granted visas to a number of notorious world Communists to attend this Communist affair, including the composer, Dmitri Shostakovich, and the vicious anti-American propagandist, A. A. Fadayev, secretary of the Union of Soviet Writers.

The state department has served public notice that the New York conference should be watched closely for pro-Soviet and anti-American

propaganda; and in some instances it has denied visas to international Communist figures, who desired to attend.

Emboldened by their initial publicity and to bolster the Communist cause in California, this Communist front, Arts, Sciences and Professions Council, now announces that the visiting Moscow propagandists and a number of the American potential traitors will come to Los Angeles to stage a second propaganda show on behalf of the Kremlin on April 16th-20th.

The California agitation is headed by Dr. Linus Pauling, director of the Crellin and Gates Laboratory, at Cal. Tech., Pasadena.

As is customary with Communist-front activities, the names of many prominent individuals have been publicized by this Communist front as sponsoring the events. Your committee is informed that many persons have had their names used without permission and that others who were deceived into sponsoring the affairs are withdrawing upon learning the truth about it. The committee, therefore, withholds publication of a list of sponsors pending determination of the accuracy of the Communist front's version of who is sponsoring the events.

Your committee finds that Dr. Harlow Shapley and Dr. Linus Pauling have long and notorious records, carefully and substantially documented in the committee's files as speakers, sponsors, officers, donors, participants and signers of Communist petitions, in a number of Communist fronts and causes.

Your committee also finds that the Arts, Sciences and Professions Council is a basic Communist front, with a long record of succession from other Communist fronts.

GENEALOGY OF A RED FRONT

The council was formed in the summer of 1948 as a split-off from the Progressive Citizens of America, which at that time dissolved and merged into the Communist created and controlled Independent Progressive Party, the Henry Wallace third party movement.

Progressive Citizens of America, in turn, was the product of a merger in Chicago, September 28 and 29, 1946, of the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions and the National Citizens Political Action Committee, both of which have been cited by this committee as Communist fronts and the citations documented in detail in the committee's 1947 and 1948 reports.

In California, Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, the western unit of ICCASP, was in turn successor in a series of Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist reversals of policy and change of name that consistently followed the Moscow Communist line of the moment, to the Hollywood Democratic Committee, the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League, the Hollywood League for Democratic Action and the Hollywood Motion Picture Democratic Committee, all of which have been cited by this committee as Communist fronts, and the facts completely and carefully documented.

This series of Communist fronts followed the Communist line with meticulous and subservient precision through the 1935 to 1939 Communist line of a "united front from below against Fascism" into the August, 1939 to June, 1941 antipreparedness line during the period of the Hitler-Stalin Pact; made the switch to all out "people's war" policies as ordered

by Moscow when the Kremlin was attacked; and finally switched again to the "united front against the U. S." which was ordained by the Comintern from Moscow in 1945.

This is the organization (Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions) which provided the backbone and finances for the famous so-called "Patterson slate," which ran during the Hitler-Stalin Pact in the 1940 California Democratic primary election against President Franklin D. Roosevelt on the slogan: "No Arms, No Aid to Britain and France—Down with Imperialist War"; and which denounced President Roosevelt as an imperialist warmonger.

Members of this slate were: Ellis E. Patterson, who headed it; Carey McWilliams; Philip M. Connelly, the notorious Communist official of the Los Angeles Committee of Industrial Organization Council; Frank Scully, Reuben W. Borough, long-time Communist frontman and former Los Angeles public works commissioner; and Herbert K. Sorrell, notorious Communist leader of the 1945-1947 bloody film studio strikes.

Other notorious Stalinists who have consistently followed the twists and turns of the Stalinist line in these fronts that led up to the present Arts, Sciences and Professions Council, are:

Dr. Murray Abowitz, Larry Adler, Mrs. Charlotta A. Bass, Alval Bessie, Herbert Biberman, Edward Biberman, Lester Cole, Edward Dymytryk, Edward E. Elliott, Augustus Hawkins, Rose Hobart, Charles Katz, John Howard Lawson, Robert W. Kenny, Howard Koch, Raphaela Konigsberg, Albert Maltz, Samuel Ornitz, Dr. Harold Orr, Irving Pichel, Paul Robeson, Edward G. Robinson, Earl Robinson, Adrian Scott, Dalton Trumbo, and many others, all of whose names and records are cited in the committee's 1943, 1945, 1947, and 1948 reports.

The committee finds that the individuals now involved in the Arts, Sciences and Professions Council, have a long record of duplicity and betrayal of the interests of labor, minority and liberal groups, whom they attempt to speak for with typical Stalinist effrontery. *Particularly callous was their betrayal of Jewish victims of Nazi persecution during the Hitler-Stalin pact.*

The committee warns that organizations and individuals who would join hands with Hitler at the beck of a finger in Moscow cannot be trusted to speak on behalf of any American political, cultural or intellectual freedoms; and the committee predicts that this Communist front will brazenly refuse to permit any free speech or honest debate at any of its proceedings. The only purpose of these conferences is to provide a sounding board for Kremlin-inspired propaganda against the United States which is the defender of freedoms and liberties everywhere from murderous, brutal, totalitarian, antireligious Communism.

Through the courtesy of the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, your committee is able to include in this report a comprehensive analysis and documentation of the Scientific and Cultural Conference, which launched the revival of the anti-United States Communist line of a decade ago.

THE PROPAGANDA CONFERENCE

Under the imposing title of the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace the gathering at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City on March 25, 26, and 27, 1949, was actually a supermobilization

the inveterate wheelhorses and supporters of the Communist Party and its auxiliary organizations. It was in a sense a glorified pyramid club, pyramiding into one inflated front the names which had time and again been used by the Communists as decoys for the entrapment of innocents.

The Communist-front connections of these sponsors, as reflected by the tabulation in this report, are very extensive.

One person has been affiliated with at least 85 Communist-front organizations.

Three persons have been affiliated with from 71 to 80 Communist-front organizations; 4 have been affiliated with from 51 to 60 Communist-front organizations; 8 have been affiliated with from 41 to 50; 10 have been affiliated with from 31 to 40; 28 have been affiliated with from 21 to 30; and 234 have been affiliated with from 1 to 10 Communist-front organizations.

At least 20 of these sponsors are either avowed members of the Communist Party of the United States of America, or their membership cards or party affiliations have been made part of a sworn public record. In election campaigns, at least 49 have given their open support to Communist Party candidates.

The purpose of the Scientific and Cultural Conference can be briefly summarized as follows:

(1) To provide a propagandist forum against the Marshall plan, the North Atlantic Defense Pact, and American foreign policy in general.

(2) To promote support for the foreign policy of the Soviet Union.

(3) To mobilize American intellectuals in the field of arts, science, and letters behind this program even to the point of civil disobedience against the American Government.

(4) To prepare the way for a later World Peace Congress to be held in Paris on April 20 to 23, 1949, with similar aims in view on a world scale and under similar Communist auspices.

(5) To discredit American culture and to extol the virtues of Soviet culture.

Because this 1949 Fifth Report of the California Senate Committee on Un-American Activities is not indexed, your committee publishes herewith for the information of legislators and researchers an alphabetical list of the sponsors of the New York World Peace Conference.

Immediately following this list there will be found an analysis of the membership of these individuals in Communist fronts. Researchers will find that the Communist fronts are presented in alphabetical order and that the individual sponsors of the New York World Peace Conference, who also were participants in the fronts listed, are cited also in alphabetical order, under each front group name.

SPONSORS OF THE WORLD PEACE CONFERENCE [From the *New York Times*, March 24, 1949]

The following list of sponsors of the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace, said to be correct as of yesterday, was given out by the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, sponsor of the conference.

Certain persons included in the published list withdrew their affiliations from the conference. All such names which have come to the attention of the committee have been omitted from this list.

A number of sponsors whose affiliation with the conference was published after the compilation of this report are not included under the various Communist-front organizations.

Berenice Abbott	Hans Blumenfeld	Fannie Cook
Rev. Charles B. Ackley	Dr. Ernst P. Boas	Peter Copeland
Louis Adamie	Aaron Bohrod	Aaron Copland
Dr. Charles Christopher Adams	B. A. Botkin	Paul Corey
Rev. Stacy Adams	Richard O. Boyer	Norman Corwin
Dr. Thomas Addis	Kay Boyle	Prof. Frederick A. Counts
Stella Adler	Joseph Brainin	Thomas Creighton
Cecelia Ager	Prof. Theodore Brameld	Kyle Crichton
Gregory Ain	Millen Brand	Prof. Abraham Cronbach
Robert E. Alexander	Jocelyn Brando	Dr. Ralph Crowley
Oliver S. Allen	Marlon Brando	Rev. John W. Darr, Jr.
Prof. Ethel J. Alpenfels	Prof. Dorothy Brewster	Howard Da Silva
Ralph Alswang	J. Edward Bromberg	Jules Dassin
Kurt Anderson	Lucy Brown	Dr. Leo M. Davidoff
George Antheil	Rev. Thoburn T. Brumbaugh	Jo Davidson
Robenia Anthony	Lucile Bruner	Hallie Flanagan Davis
Herbert Aptheker	Henrietta Buckmaster	Dr. Jerome Davis
Bruno Aron	Richard Burgin	Dr. Percy M. Dawson
James Aronson	Prof. Edwin Berry Burgum	Prof. John J. De Boer
Simon Asen	Paul Burlin	Adolf Dehn
Edith Atwater	Richard G. Burlingame	Roger de Koven
Prof. Marston Balch	David Burliuk	Jacob Deschin
William Bales	Prof. E. A. Burt	Stephen Deutch
W. W. Ballard	Adolph Busch	Albert Deutsch
Zlatko Balokovic	Dr. Allan M. Butler	Earl B. Dickerson
Josephine C. Barbour	Witter Bynner	Dr. Albert C. Dieffenbach
Rev. Wade Crawford Barclay	Angus Cameron	Dr. Hedley S. Dimock
S. L. M. Barlow	Antoinette Cannon	Dr. Marshall E. Dimock
Prof. Cyrus P. Barnum, Jr.	Dr. George D. Cannon	Edward Dmytryk
Alice Prentice Barrows	Rabbi Jonah E. Caplan	Martha Dodd
Dr. Edward K. Barsky	Rabbi D. A. Jessurun Cardozo	Anton Dolin
Prof. Bernard Baum	Prof. A. J. Carlson	Prof. Dorothy W. Douglas
Mordecai Bauman	Prof. Rudolf Carnap	Prof. Harl R. Douglass
Howard Bay	Morris Carnovsky	Olin Downes
Prof. Irwin R. Beller	Saul Carson	Muriel Draper
Thomas Bell	Alan Carter	Paul Draper
Elmer Bendiner	Norman Cazden	W. E. B. DuBois
Aline Bernstein	Dr. Robert C. Challman	Jane Dudley
Leonard Bernstein	Rev. Mark A. Chamberlin	James Dugan
Victor Bernstein	Charles Chaplin	Barrows Dunham
Walter Bernstein	Allan Chase	Arnaud D'Usseau
Herbert J. Berman	Prof. M. N. Chatterjee	Richard Dyer-Bennett
Father Shelton Hale Bishop	Serge Chermayeff	Prof. Abraham Edel
Dr. Algernon D. Black	Edward Chodorov	Prof. Stuart Edie
Boris Blai	Jerome Chodorov	Prof. Albert Einstein
Betsy Blair	Henry S. Churchill	Dr. Robert H. Ellis
Henry Blankfort	Rev. Karl M. Chworowsky	Dr. Haven Emerson
Michael Blankfort	Nicolai Cikovsky	Prof. Thomas I. Emerson
Marc Blitzstein	Dr. Rufus E. Clement	Guy Endore
Dr. Joshua Bloch	W. G. Clugston	Lehman Engel
Kermit Bloomgarden	Robert M. Coates	Philip Evergood
Dr. E. M. Bluestone	Lee J. Cobb	Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild
Prof. Henry Blumberg	Dr. Stanley Cobb	Fyke Farmer
	Rabbi J. X. Cohen	Howard Fast
	Lester Cole	Prof. Robert D. Field
		Jose Ferrer
		Lion Feuchtwanger

Sidney Finkelstein	Rev. Charles A. Hill	Harry C. Lamberton
Irving H. Flamm	Dr. Cecil E. Hinshaw	Corliss Lamont
Rev. Joseph Fletcher	Carmelita Hinton	Millard Lampell
Prof. Frederick Wilhelm	Joseph Hirsch	John Lardner
Foerster	Ira A. Hirschmann	Ring Lardner, Jr.
Prof. Joseph K. Folsom	Rose Hobart	Prof. Oliver Larkin
Clark Foreman	Dr. W. Ernest Hocking	Rev. John Howland
Lukas Foss	Rev. Chester E. Hodgson	Lathrop
Sidney Fox	Syd Hoff	Sidney Laufman
Elizabeth Frazier	Judy Holliday	Arthur Laurents
Prof. Frank S. Freeman	Libby Holman	Jacob Lawrence
Joseph Gaer	Carroll Hollister	John Howard Lawson
Arthur Gaeth	Prof. Eugene C. Holmes	Dr. Warner Lawson
Will Geer	Prof. Lee Elbert Holt	James Lechay
Louis Gelders	Charles P. Howard	Ruth Lechitner
Rev. Dr. Louis C. Gerstein	John N. M. Howells	Emil Lengyel
Beatrice Joy Gilbert	Leo Huberman	Kenneth Leslie
Barbara Giles	Rev. Kenneth de P. Hughes	Ray Lev
Joshua W. Gitt	Langston Hughes	S. Lev-Landau
Vincent Glinsky	Kim Hunter	Beatrice Levey
Max Goberman	Mary Hunter	Julian Levi
Rabbi Herbert S. Goldstein	Dr. W. A. Hunton	Jack Levine
Vladimir Golschmann	Arthur Hurwich	Rabbi Felix A. Levy
Henrietta L. Gordon	Leo T. Hurwitz	Joseph H. Levy
Ray Gorney	Guy Hutchins	Prof. Ronald B. Levy
Harry Gottlieb	Alfonso Iannelli	Brenda Lewis
Morton Gould	Charles Irving	Prof. William H. Lichte
James Gow	Leon E. Janney	Jose Limon
Charles Graham	Werner Janssen	Dr. Robert M. Lindner
Shirley Graham	Prof. Otto T. Jelinek	Rt. Rev. S. Harrington
William Gropper	Dr. Charles S. Johnson	Littell
Chaim Gross	Crockett Johnson	Jacob Little
Paul Grotz	Edna Ruth Johnson	Alice F. Liveright
Sidonie Gruenberg	Reginald D. Johnson	Prof. Bert James Loewen-
Ernest A. Grunsfeld, Jr.	Dr. David D. Jones	berg
Jack Guilford	Matthew Josephson	Alan Lomax
Robert Gwathmey	Robert Josephy	Dr. Herman W. Long
Uta Hagen	Robert Joyce	Michael Loring
Ernst Halberstadt	Dr. Elvin A. Kabat	Joseph Losey
David Hall	Albert E. Kahn	Rev. Donald G. Lothrop
Margaret Halsey	Prof. George Kalnitsky	Prof. Oliver S. Loud
Prof. Talbot Hamlin	Garson Kanin	Prof. Robert Morss Lovett
Dashiell Hammett	Paul Katz	Katharine Dupre Lumpkin
E. Y. Harburg	Nora Kaye	Harry L. Lurie
Minna Harkavy	Philip O. Keeney	Helen M. Lynd
Prof. Georgia Harkness	Arthur Kennedy	Prof. Robert S. Lynd
Prof. Frederick P. Harris	Stetson Kennedy	Annabelle Lyon
Dr. Roy E. Harris	Robert W. Kenny	Louis F. McCabe
Shelby M. Harrison	Rockwell Kent	Elizabeth McCausland
Pearl M. Hart	Prof. T. J. Kent, Jr.	Prof. John C. McGalliard
Frank E. Hartung	George R. Kernodle	John T. McManus
Prof. David Hawkins	Hilde Kiang	Rev. Jack R. McMichael
Prof. Marion Hathway	Michael Kidd	Prof. Wayne McMillen
Rev. Edler G. Hawkins	Dr. John A. Kingsbury	Carey McWilliams
Jane L. Hayford	Alexander Kipnis	Prof. Curtis D. Mac-
Prof. Michael Heidelberger	Prof. Philip Klein	Dougall
Prof. Karl F. Heiser	George Kleisinger	Dr. Duncan A. MacInnes
Lillian Hellman	Howard Koch	Luther K. Macnair
Edna Wolff Henner	Prof. Isaac M. Kolthoff	A. B. Magil
Hermann Herrey	Pauline Koner	Norman Mailer
Stefan Heym	Alfred Kreymborg	Albert Maltz
Sammy Heyward	Leon Kroll	Erika Mann
Nat Hiken	Dr. Joshua Kunitz	Ruth Z. S. Mann
Dr. Ernest R. Hilgard	Fredell Lack	Thomas Mann

Prof. Grace F. Marcus	Abraham L. Pomerantz	Rev. Carl D. Soule
Dr. F. L. Marcuse	Arthur Upham Pope	Raphael Soyer
Dr. Judd Marmor	Martin Popper	Kenneth Spencer
John Martin	Prof. Walter Rautenstrauch	Rev. Frederick K. Stamm
Lawrence Martin	Callman Rawley	Johannes Steel
Sylvia Martin	Anton Refregier	Alfred K. Stern
Sophie Maslow	Dr. Ira De A. Reid	Prof. Bernhard J. Stern
Prof. F. O. Matthiessen	Ad Reinhardt	Isaac Stern
Prof. Wesley H. Maurer	Regina Resnik	Donald Ogden Stewart
Albert Mayer	Bertha C. Reynolds	Marc Stone
Dr. Leo Mayer	Vernon Rice	Paul Strand
Eve Merriam	Wallingford Riegger	Prof. Dirk J. Struik
Dr. Willis B. Merriam	Lynn Riggs	Prof. Edward A. Suchman
Prof. Otto Meyerhof	Martin Ritt	Howard Edwin Sweeting
Peter Michael	Dr. Dean W. Roberts	William M. Sweets
Arthur Miller	Holland Roberts	Paul M. Sweezy
Dr. Benjamin F. Miller	Prof. Walter Orr Roberts	Earl Sydnor
Dr. Clyde R. Miller	Paul Robeson	Prof. Florence Sytz
Michell Miller	Dr. E. I. Robinson	Arthur Szyk
Lisette Model	O. John Rogge	George Tabora
Prof. William P. Montague	Harold Rome	Helen Tamiris
Bucklin Moon	Dr. Theodor Rosebury	Prof. Leland H. Taylor
Sam Moore	Jonas Rosenfield, Jr.	Rev. Dr. Sidney S. Tedesco
Dr. Philip Morrison	Norman Rosten	Studs Terkel
Jacob Moscovitz	Muriel Rukeyser	Dr. Milton Terris
Rev. J. Edward Moseley	Rose Russell	Prof. Randall Thompson
Willard Motley	Robert St. John	Rev. T. K. Thompson
Rt. Rev. Arthur W. Moulton	Victor Samrock	Ernest Thurn
Mrs. Stuart Mudd	Dr. Pedro Sanjuan	Prof. Ralph B. Tower
Prof. Kenneth B. Murdock	Alexander Saxton	Prof. Charlotte Towle
Dr. Gardner Murphy	Dr. Bela Schick	Dr. Charles Trinkaus
Dr. Henry A. Murray	Prof. Margaret Schlauch	Dalton Trumbo
Dr. Otto Nathan	Artur Schnabel	Prof. Ralph H. Turner
Scott Nearing	Dr. Julius Schreiber	Louis Untermyer
Prof. Edward G. Nelson	Budd Schulberg	Olive Van Horn
Dr. Peter B. Neubauer	Prof. Frederick L. Schuman	Mary Van Kleeck
Prof. Mabel Newcomber	Dr. Lawrence W. Schwartz	Prof. Thurman William Van Metre
Rabbi Louis I. Newman	Rev. John R. Scotford	Hilda Vaughn
Edouard Nies-Berger	Edwin Seaver	Prof. Oswald Veblen
Michael M. Nisselson	Dr. Howard Selsam	Nym Wales
Eliot Noyes	Lisa Sergio	Henry A. Wallace
Clifford Odets	Ben Shahn	Bishop W. J. Wals
Elizabeth Olds	Dr. Harlow Shapley	Dr. J. Raymond Walsh
Prof. Frank Oppenheimer	Wesley Sharer	Prof. Eda Lou Walton
Eugene Ormandy	Artie Shaw	Sam Wanamaker
John O'Shaughnessy	Henry Wood Shelton	Prof. Harry F. Ward
Ruth Page	Dr. Guy Emery Shippler	Theodore Ward
Rev. George L. Paine	Herman Shumlin	Prof. Colston E. Warne
Aubrey Pankey	Eva Sikelianos	Dr. Alfred H. Washburn
Prof. Erwin Panofsky	Samuel Sillen	Fredi Washington
Dr. Edwards A. Park	Prof. Louis L. Silverman	Max Weber
Father Clarence Parker	Edith W. Simester	Charles Weidman
Dorothy Parker	Lee Simonson	Dan Weiner
Dr. Linus Pauling	Mitchell Siporin	Sid Weiss
I. Rice Pereira	John Sloan	Mary Welch
Jennings Perry	Nicholas Slonimsky	Prof. Gene Weltfish
Dr. John P. Peters	Dr. Maud Slye	Prof. F. W. Went
Oscar Pettiford	Agnes Smedley	Edward Weston
Helen Phillips	Leo Smit	Prof. Frank W. Weymou
Prof. Melber Phillips	Jessica Smith	Dr. Philip R. White
Elias Picheny	Rev. F. Hastings Smythe	Prof. Paul L. Whitely
Prof. Seymour M. Pitcher	Rabbi Elias L. Solomon	Rev. Owen Whitfield
Dr. Isidore Pomerance	Miriam Solovieff	Prof. Norbert Wiener
	Gale Sondergaard	

Henry Willcox	James H. Wolfe	Rev. Evans A. Worthley
Ray Williams	Ira Wolfert	Frank Lloyd Wright
Hitchell Wilson	Martin Wolfson	William Wyler
ella Winter	Clement Wood	Dr. Edward L. Young
James Waterman Wise	Maxine Wood	Dr. Gregory Zilboorg
Prof. H. A. Witkin	Prof. Thomas Woody	Ben Zion

The following were listed as panel moderators or chairmen:

Dr. Allan M. Butler, Harvard University	W. E. B. DuBois
George Chermayeff	Rev. J. Howland Lathrop
Herbert J. Davis, President, Smith College	Prof. Philip Morrison, Cornell University
Marshall E. Dimock, Northwestern University	Harlow Shapley, Harvard
Lin Downes, New York Times	Louis Untermeyer
Clifford Durr	Dr. Edward Young

The following were listed as panel speakers:

Victor Bernstein	Grace E. Marcus
Rev. Shelton Hale Bishop	F. O. Matthiessen, Harvard
Richard O. Boyer	Albert Mayer
Dorothy Brewster, Columbia University	Dr. Donovan J. Mc Cune, Columbia
Allan M. Butler, Harvard	Prof. Philip Morrison
Carson Copland	Rt. Rev. Arthur W. Moulton, retired
Prof. Herbert John Davis, President, Smith College	bishop of Utah
Prof. John J. De Boer, University of Illinois	Rabbi Louis Newman
Marshall E. Dimock, Northwestern University	Clifford Odets
Lin Downes, New York Times	Anton Refregier
W. E. B. Du Bois	Prof. Ira De A. Reid, Haverford College
Clifford Durr	Walter Orr Roberts, Harvard
Phillip Evergood	O. John Rogge
Howard Fast	Theodore Roseburg, Columbia University
Henry Pratt Fairchild, New York University	Rose Russell, United Public Workers of America
Arthur Gaeth, radio commentator	Dr. Julius Schreiber
Dr. John Gillen, University of North Carolina	Prof. Frederick L. Schuman, Williams College
Morton Gould	Prof. Harlow Shapley, Harvard
Whitley Graham	Guy Emery Shipler
V. A. Higinbotham, Brookhaven National Laboratory	Henry T. Shotwell, American Institute of Architects
Hayward Keniston, Michigan University	Agnes Smedley
Rev. John Howard Lathrop	I. F. Stone
John Howard Lawson, screenwriter	Paul Sweezy
Jacob Lawrence	Helen Tamiris
Ray Lev	T. O. Thackrey, New York Post
Rt. Rev. S. Harrington Littell, retired	Allan A. Twichell
bishop of Honolulu	Louis Untermeyer
Bert James Loewenberg, Sarah Lawrence College	Henry A. Wallace
David M. Lubbock	Sam Wanamaker
Charles A. Madison	Theodore Ward
Norman Mailer	Prof. Colston W. Warne, Amherst College
	Prof. Gene Weltfish, Columbia University
	Henry Willcox
	Ira Wolfert
	Dr. Edward Young

SPONSORS' FRONT AFFILIATIONS

National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions

The meeting was sponsored by a Communist-front organization known as the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions. The National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions is a descend-

ant of the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions which was repudiated in 1946 by Harold L. Ickes, its chairman because of its Communist character.

In August, 1945, June Hoffman, representing the cultural section of the Communist Party at its New York State convention, declared proudly:

We built the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, and it is a great political weapon.

At that same meeting Lionel Berman, husband of Louise Branster, a known contact of Soviet espionage agents, was praised by the cultural commission of the Communist Party for his role in setting up the ICCASP—Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions.

On August 2, 1948, Louis F. Budenz, former managing editor of the *Daily Worker*, testified before the Senate sub-committee of the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Department as follows:

The Independent [Citizens] Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions was worked out originally in my office in the *Daily Worker*. It was worked out by the cultural commission of the *Daily Worker*, of which Lionel Berman, of the cultural section organizer of the party, was a member, and he was entrusted not only by the meeting but by the political committee, as the result of these discussions with the task of forming the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions.

The following sponsors of the New York conference have been affiliated with the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, which has been cited as subversive by the California Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities:

Louis Adamic	Paul Draper	Thomas Mann
Gregory Ain	Albert Einstein	John McManus
Samuel L. M. Barlow	Philip Evergood	Linus Pauling
Leonard Bernstein	Henry Pratt Fairchild	John P. Peters
Henry Blankfort	Howard Fast	Walter Rautenstrauch
Kermit Bloomgarden	Jose Ferrer	Paul Robeson
Ernst P. Boas	E. Y. Harburg	Harold Rome
Theodor Brameld	Lillian Hellman	Artur Schnabel
Milan Brand	Ira Hirschmann	Artie Shaw
Henrietta Buckmaster	Langston Hughes	Harlow Shapley
Rufus F. Clement	Crockett Johnson	Herman Shumlin
Aaron Copland	Robert W. Kenny	John Sloan
Norman Corwin	I. M. Kolthoff	Donald Ogden Stewart
Leo Davidoff	Leon Kroll	Dalton Trumbo
Jo Davidson	John Howard Lawson	Max Weber
Olin Downes	Ring Lardner	

World Congress of Intellectuals

This conference was held as a follow-up of a similar gathering hailed by the Communist press and radio, which pompously styled itself the World Congress of Intellectuals. It was held at Wroclaw (Breslau) Poland, August 25 to 28, 1948. One of the delegates to the Wroclaw meeting was Bryn J. Hovde, head of the New School for Social Research. He described his experiences as follows, giving an illuminating picture of its tenor and purposes:

Every speaker insulting the United States and glorifying the Soviets was wildly applauded. * * * After the first speech by the Soviet novelist, Fadiejew, a speech which for vituperation was never excelled and which set the tone for the Congress. * * * I wound up with a strong statement of democracy as the only basis for peace. No speaker at the Congress got a colder reception. * * * Speaking was like throwing flat stones on an icy lake.

Dr. Julian Huxley, director general of UNESCO, who attended the Wroclaw meeting, summed up his impression of the proceedings as follows:

The Congress from the outset took a political turn; there was no real discussion of the great majority of speeches were either strictly Marxist analyses of current events, or else polemical attack on American or western policy and culture.

Among the international guests listed on the program of the March 26, and 27 conference was the same A. A. Fadeev (Fadiejew) secretary general of the secretariat of the Union of Soviet Writers.

Among the sponsors of the New York meeting are the following participants in the Wroclaw Congress: Jo Davidson, Harlow Shapley, Bert Kahn, and Howard Fast.

Who is this Alexander Fadeyev, who sounded the keynote of the New York Conference in his attack upon the North Atlantic Pact? He is general secretary of the Union of Soviet Writers. He owes his elevation to this post in 1946 to his role of official axman for the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, when on August 14 that year it attacked all representatives of culture from humor to science who could be suspected of any friendliness toward the West.

His fury against American writers, who ply their craft freely and independently beyond the confines of the Soviet dictatorship, furnishes a sharp contrast with his servility toward the Communist Party leaders. The *Moscow Pravda* of August 29, 1948, quotes his speech at Wroclaw in which he referred to Eugene O'Neil, Henry Miller, John Dos Passos, and other American writers as members of the "motley literary crew of reactionaries" of the warmongers.

He was accepted for this role only after the *Moscow Pravda* had rebuffed him of heresies and after he had given due evidence of his humility by pledging that he would "attentively and lovingly" rewrite his novel, "Young Guardsman" to make it correspond to the "high demands of the party."

German Fascists needed beasts—

added.

American monopolists find beasts indispensable for the realization of their plans for world domination. Reactionary writers, scientists, philosophers, and artists are ready to serve their masters. They place on a pedestal schizophrenics and drug addicts, gangsters and pimps, provocateurs and monsters, spies and gangsters. These beast-like creatures fill the pages of novels, volumes of poetry, casts of moving pictures.

He compared them to "jackals" who "learn to use the typewriter" and "hyenas" who "master the fountain pen."

Referring to the United States, whose air of freedom he was recently rebuffed to enjoy, Fadeyev declared:

The imperialists of that country, whose facade by the irony of fate is adorned by the Statue of Liberty, have taken upon themselves in great haste the role of conspirators and organizers of a new war.

Choosing to ignore Soviet-Communist imperialist aggression in Poland, Rumania, Hungary, Albania, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Lithuania, Latvia, Esthonia, Korea, and China, the ruthless violation of treaties and the vanguard activities of its fifth column in other countries including the United States, and flying in the face of the fact that the

United States has appropriated for itself not one foot of foreign soil as a result of World War II, Fadayev continued:

After the Second World War, the entire world was divided into two camps: the democratic, antifascist, anti-imperialist camp led by the Soviet Union, and the antidemocratic, reactionary, imperialist camp led by the ruling circles of the United States of America.

This man who was responsible for the purging of countless Soviet writers, now either in prison camps or in their graves, went on to comment on the "cold terror" confronted by the "American intelligentsia," declaring that "a writer who writes anything dissenting from the official policy of the Government of the United States is also threatened with 10 years in prison." He denounced "this rude violence" as a "mad effort to impose fascism on America by legal means."

Among the sponsors of the New York Conference who attended the meeting at Wroclaw were: Saul Carson, writer; Norman Corwin, writer; Jo Davidson, sculptor; Clifford Durr, attorney; William Gropper, artist; Albert E. Kahn, coauthor of *The Great Conspiracy; the Secret War Against Soviet Russia*; Freda Kirchewy, editor; O. John Rogge, attorney; Donald Ogden Stewart, writer; Colston E. Warne, consultant for the President's Economic Advisory Council, and Ella Winter. The following participants at Wroclaw were not in the publicly announced New York group: George Abbe, writer; Yaroslav Chyz, journalist; Catherine Corwin, actress; Leta Cromwell, professor; Florence Davidson, painter; G. S. Delatour, professor; Virginia Durr, active in the Wallace movement and the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, a Communist front; Jacques Ferrand; Bryn J. Hovde, historian; Edita Morris, writer; J. V. Morris, writer; E. T. Prothro, psychologist; Colin D. Kopp, clergyman; Nathan D. Sachs, businessman and Wallace supporter; James Sheldon; J. H. Smith, a social worker; Juri Suhl, writer for Communist publications; and Dr. and Mrs. Jack Paradise.

The *Moscow New Times* thought so well of the remarks made by delegate Albert E. Kahn at Wroclaw that it commented favorably as follows:

Albert E. Kahn, member of the American Progressive Party and a well-known publicist, agreed with those delegates who compared modern American policy to the policy of Hitlerite Germany, which had unleashed the Second World War. The Hitlerites started off in the same way as America's ruling circles are now proceeding.

In a vivid speech, replete with factual material, Albert E. Kahn stressed that power in America had been seized by a small but extremely powerful group of financiers and industrialists.

The Truman doctrine and Marshall plan, he said, were not the brainchild of the American people, but the monstrosity of Washington and Wall Street.

Broadcasting from Moscow on April 4, 1949, Doctor of Philosophy Chernov explained in detail the Soviet Government's attitude toward literature, science, and art in all its full significance. Inveighing against the "cosmopolitan" teachings of "world citizenship," he declared that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has—

revealed the antipatriotic bourgeois cosmopolitan meaning of the subservience to the capitalist West, has shown that admiration for all things foreign leads to national treason, to the betrayal of the interests of the Soviet people and the Socialist fatherland.

This bitter hatred for all western culture and the attempt to divorce writers, scientists, and artists from their own native land and win their

allegiance for the Soviet Union is the underlying aim and theme of these scientific and cultural conferences for world peace, of which the New York meeting was a sample.

We must also consider as a part of this Communist world-wide "peace" offensive the statement of Maurice Thorez, leader of the French Communist Party, calling upon the French people to welcome the Red Army on French soil in the event of an invasion and the fact that this treasonable declaration was echoed by the leaders of the Communist Parties of Italy, Great Britain, Norway, Denmark, Mexico, Canada, Finland, Argentina, Australia, Colombia, Austria, Japan, Cuba, and Uruguay. It was openly supported by William Z. Foster and Eugene Dennis, speaking in behalf of the Communist Party of the United States of America. The New York Conference did not take issue with these pronouncements. In fact some Communist Party leaders, like John Gates and Alexander Trachtenberg, participated in the conferences.

Earlier Communist "Peace" Movements

It will be remembered that prior to the launching of the American League Against War and Fascism in this country in 1933, there was a World Congress Against War held in Amsterdam in August 1932, under the chairmanship of Henri Barbusse, the well-known French Communist. By strange coincidence the following delegates to the recent New York Conference were also delegates in Amsterdam: Minna Harkavy, Scott Nearing, Margaret Schlauch, and Bernard J. Stern.

The American League Against War and Fascism, formed as a result of the Amsterdam meeting, was characterized by Attorney General Francis Biddle as an organization—

established in the United States in an effort to create public sentiment in behalf of a foreign policy adapted to the interests of the Soviet Union.

Its program adopted in New York City at a United States Congress Against War on September 29-October 1, 1933, sounds strangely similar to the pronouncements of the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace and the Wroclaw Congress of Intellectuals.

The black cloud of imperialist war hangs over the world * * *

Only in the Soviet Union has this basic cause of war been removed * * * therefore the Soviet Union pursues a positive and vigorous peace policy and alone among the governments proposes total disarmament * * *

The Government of the United States in spite of peaceful professions is more aggressively than ever following policies whose only logical result is war.

In line with this outlook the program was implemented with demands for outright treasonable activity which again are a forecast of the present and future trend of the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace and the subsequent World Peace Congress. The objectives to which the American League Against War and Fascism was pledged were—

Win the Armed Forces, Stop Production

To work toward the stopping of the manufacture and transport of munitions and all other materials essential to the conduct of war, through mass demonstrations, picketing, and strikes * * *

To support the peace policies of the Soviet Union * * *

To win the armed forces to the support of this program.

The 31 former supporters of the American League Against War and Fascism who sponsored the New York Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace were—

Theodore Brameld	Hayward Keniston	Ad Reinhardt
Edwin Berry Burgum	Corliss Lamont	Wallingford Riegger
Morris Carnovsky	John Howard Lawson	Margaret Schlauch
Aaron Copland	Felix Levy	Frederick L. Schuman
Jerome Davis	Robert Morss Lovett	Herman Shumlin
Dorothy Douglas	Robert Lynd	Johannes Steel
Barrows Dunham	Albert Maltz	Bernard J. Stern
Guy Endore	Wayne McMillen	Harry F. Ward
Henry Pratt Fairchild	Elias Picheny	Colston E. Warne
William Gropper	Anton Refregier	Ella Winter
Langston Hughes		

In the light of Soviet fear of the growing threat of Nazism, the international Communist line changed after the Seventh Congress of the Communist International in the summer of 1935, to one of demanding a united front of the peace-loving nations against the Fascist aggressors. An appropriate front organization was built to carry out this line, calling itself the American League for Peace and Democracy, which was sponsored by the following names to be found supporting the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace:

AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY

Cited as subversive by the Attorney General (total 43):

Alice Barrows	Langston Hughes	Walter Rautenstrauch
Benjamin A. Botkin	Leo Hurwitz	Anton Refregier
Millen Brand	Rockwell Kent	Muriel Rukeyser
E. B. Burgum	Harry Lambertson	Margaret Schlauch
Kyle C. Crichton	Oliver Larkin	Guy Emery Shipler
Jerome Davis	Felix A. Levy	Herman Shumlin
Adolf Dehn	Mrs. Alice Liveright	Lee Simonson
Muriel Draper	Allen Lomax	Agnes Smedley
Jane Dudley	Donald G. Lothrop	Johannes Steel
Mordecai Ezekiel	Robert Morss Lovett	Donald Ogden Stewart
Dorothy Canfield Fisher	Louis F. McCabe	Paul Strand
William Gropper	Jack McMichael	Harry F. Ward
Marion Hathaway	Dorothy Parker	Colston E. Warne
Stephen Heym	Helen Phillips	Ella Winter
Eugene Holmes		

Following the signing of the Stalin-Hitler Pact in August 1939, the American League for Peace and Democracy was liquidated and a new organization was formed, called the American Peace Mobilization, which gained notoriety by picketing the White House in protest against lend-lease, conscription, and the national defense program. The following sponsors of this organization recently supported the New York Scientific and Cultural Conference:

AMERICAN PEACE MOBILIZATION

Cited as subversive by the Attorney General (total 27):

Howard Bay	Minna Harkavy	Carey McWilliams
Herbert Biberman	Pearl Hart	Walter Rautenstrauch
Marc Blitzstein	Langston Hughes	Paul Robeson
Millen Brand	Alpheus Hunton	Margaret Schlauch
Morris Carnovsky	Rockwell Kent	Artie Shaw
Lee Cobb	John H. Lathrop	F. Hastings Smyth
John DeBoer	Herman Long	Donald Ogden Stewart
Will Geer	Robert Morss Lovett	Eda Lou Walton
Philip Evergood	Jack McMichael	Henry F. Ward

After VJ-day, when the United States was no longer needed as an ally, the Kremlin dictated an anti-American policy which is operative today, finding its expression in the "cold war" against the United States. In accordance with this approach a new front organization was spawned, which proclaimed itself as the Win-the-Peace Conference (Congress). Sponsors of this movement included the following supporters of the New York cultural and scientific meeting:

WIN-THE-PEACE CONFERENCE (CONGRESS)

Cited as subversive by the Attorney General (total 28) :

Louis Adamic	Sidonie M. Gruenberg	Jack McMichael
Edward K. Barsky	Uta Hagen	Dorothy Parker
Walter Bernstein	Leo Huberman	Dr. Melber Phillips
Edward Chodorov	Albert E. Kahn	Paul Robeson
Rabbi J. X. Cohen	Robert W. Kenny	Frederick L. Schuman
Norman Corwin	Millard Lampell	Rev. Guy Emery Shipley
Jo Davidson	Ring Lardner	Johannes Steel
W. E. B. DuBois	Ray Lev	Dr. J. Raymond Walsh
Rev. Joseph F. Fletcher	Thomas Mann	Ella Winter
Clark Foreman		

The Win-the-Peace Conference (Congress) was expanded into the movement behind the candidacy of Henry A. Wallace for President, which crystallized into the Progressive Citizens of America and the Progressive Party. Thus, the California Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities, in its 1948 report, states that—

The Southern California Committee to Win the Peace became inactive on June 17, 1947. In its final appeal, this branch requested that its units go over as a body into the Progressive Citizens of America. * * *

the forerunner of the Progressive Party.

From its inception this movement had the active approval and support of Moscow and the Communist Party of the United States. Among the sponsors of the New York Cultural Conference were the following Wallace supporters (total 221) :

Rev. Charles B. Ackley	David Burliuk	Olin Downes
Louis Milford Adamic	Dr. Allan Butler	Muriel Draper
Dr. Thomas Addis	Angus Cameron	Paul Draper
Oliver S. Allen	Dr. George Cannon	W. E. B. DuBois
George Antheil	Rabbi Jonah Caplan	James Dugan
Robenia Anthony	Morris Carnovsky	Armand D'Usseau
Herbert Aptheker	Edward Chodorov	Richard Dyer-Bennett
Edith Atwater	Jerome Chodorov	Albert Einstein
Zlatko Balokovic	Nicolai Cikovsky	Dr. Robert H. Ellis
Dr. Cyrus P. Barnum, Jr.	W. G. Clugston	Thomas I. Emerson
Alice Barrows	Robert Coates	Guy Endore
Dr. Edward Barsky	Lee J. Cobb	Philip Evergood
Thomas Bell	Faunie Cook	Henry Pratt Fairchild
Leonard Bernstein	Aaron Copland	Howard Fast
Walter Bernstein	Norman Corwin	Jose Ferrer
Betsy Blair	Kyle Crichton	Sidney Finkelstein
Henry Blankfort	Rev. John Darr	Irving Flamm
Marc Blitzstein	Howard Da Silva	Joseph Fletcher
Kermit Bloomgarden	Dr. Leo Davidoff	Clark Foreman
Ben Botkin	Mrs. Leo Davidoff	Henry Willcox
Richard O. Boyer	Jo Davidson	Lucas Foss
Millen Brand	John J. DeBoer	Will Geer
Dorothy Brewster	Albert Deutsch	Barbara Giles
Edward Bromberg	Earl Dickerson	Josiah W. Gitt
Henrietta Buckmaster	Marshall E. Dimock	Max Goherman
Richard Burgin	Prof. Dorothy M. Douglas	Jay Gorney

Morton Gould	Alice Liveright	Budd Schulberg
James Gow	Alan Lomax	Frederick L. Shuman
Charles Graham	Dr. Oliver S. Loud	Edwin Seaver
Shirley Graham	Harry L. Lurie	Ben Shahn
William Gropper	Curtis MacDougall	Dr. Harlow Shapley
Jack Guilford	Prof. Luther K. MacNair	Artie Shaw
Robert Gwathmey	Norman Mailer	Herman Shumlin
Uta Hagen	Albert Maltz	Samuel Sillen
Dashiell Hammett	Thomas Mann	Maud Slye
E. Y. Harburg	F. O. Matthiessen	Agnes Smedley
Roy Harris	Dr. Leo Mayer	Kenneth Spencer
Pearl M. Hart	John McManus	Johannes Steele
Marion Hathaway	Carey McWilliams	Alfred K. Stern
Lillian Hellman	Eve Merriam	Bernhard J. Stern
Rev. Charles A. Hill	Arthur Miller	Donald Ogden Stewart
Cecil Hinshaw	Clyde Miller	Robert St. John
Ira Hirschmann	Bucklin Moon	Paul Strand
Chester F. Hodgson	Philip Morrison	Prof. Dirk Struik
Judy Holiday	Willard Motley	William M. Sweets
Charles P. Howard	Rabbi Louis I. Newman	Paul M. Sweezy
Leo Huberman	Michael M. Nisselson	Arthur Szyk
Langston Hughes	Clifford Odets	Helen Tamiris
Mary Hunter	John O'Shaughnessy	Studs Terkel
W. A. Hunton	Prof. Edwin Panofsky	T. O. Thackery
Mrs. Edna Johnson	Father Clarence Parker	Dalton Trumbo
Crockett Johnson	Dorothy Parker	Louis Untermeyer
Matthew Josephson	Dr. Linus Pauling	Mary Van Kleeck
Robert Josephy	I. Rice Pereira	Prof. Oswald Veblen
Albert E. Kahn	Jennings Perry	Nym Wales
Garson Kanin	Helen Phillips	J. Raymond Walsh
Robert W. Kenny	Elias Picheny	Sam Wanamaker
Rockwell Kent	Seymour Pitcher	Dr. Harry F. Ward
Alfred Kreymborg	Abe Pomerantz	Theodore Ward
Ray Lev	Walter Rautenstrauch	Prof. Colston E. Warne
Robert Morss Lovett	Callman Rawley	Max Weber
Donald Lothrop	Anton Refregier	Charles Weidman
Libby Holman	Bertha C. Reynolds	Gene Weltfish
Kenneth de P. Hughes	Wallingford Riegger	Dr. Frits W. Went
Dr. W. A. Hunton	Paul Robeson	Edward Weston
Nora Kaye	O. John Rogge	Dr. Frank Weymouth
Stetson Kennedy	Harold Rome	Prof. Norbert Wiener
Harry Lamberton	Prof. Theodor Rosebury	Jay Williams
Corliss Lamont	Norman Rosten	Ella Winter
Millard Lampell	Muriel Rukeyser	James W. Wise
Ring Lardner	Alexander Saxton	Prof. Thomas Woody
John Howard Lawson	Dr. Bela Schick	William Wyler
Joseph A. Levy	Margaret Schlauch	Gregory Zilboorg
Robert Lindner	Artur Schnabel	

WORLD PEACE CONGRESS

The New York Conference of March 25, 26, and 27 was a forerunner of a World Peace Congress to be held in Paris on April 20 to 23, headed by Frederic Joliot-Curie, an avowed French Communist.

Similar "peace" conferences have been organized under Communist initiative in various countries throughout the world as part of a campaign against the North Atlantic Defense Pact. Hailing this movement, the publication, *For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy*, the official organ of the Cominform (formerly the Communist International), in its issue of March 15, 1949, declared:

Men of science, art, and literature and the progressive intelligentsia of all countries are actively joining the struggle for peace and have welcomed the convening of a world congress by the supporters of peace.

A Moscow broadcast in Spanish to Latin America on April 3, 1949, announced a projected "Western Hemisphere Peace Congress" which will coincide with "preparations for the World Congress of Peace," and which is called by the Communist-controlled Latin American Federation of Labor in opposition to the Western Hemisphere Defense Pact and the North Atlantic Pact.

The Bulgarian Congress in Defense of Peace held in Sofia on April 3, 1949, announced its purpose in participating in what it called "a powerful front of peoples who are against war * * * the front of peace and democracy headed by the hope of humanity, the great Soviet Union." Its resolution declared that it welcomed "the initiative for convening of an international congress for the defense of peace," and that it would "send its delegates to this congress" in order "to express its admiration to the Soviet Union, bulwark of peace and democracy in the world, and its leader, the man of genius and the conscience and hope of millions of humble people throughout the world, Generalissimo Stalin," and to "raise firmly its voice against the hysteria of war in the United States."

A similar Congress for Peace and Culture was to be held at Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, in mid-April, sponsored by Brazilian Communists and their fellow travelers.

A Moscow broadcast of April 2, 1949, announced that a—
people's movement for peace against the warmongers is gaining ground in the new democracies. More public, social, and cultural organizations of Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Albania express a strong desire to partake in the World Congress of Partisans of Peace.

Any strong desire contrary to the wishes of the Communist dictators in these states, would, of course, receive the penalty of a firing squad or a concentration camp.

Frederick Joliot-Curie, the French Communist and atomic scientist, who is in charge of arrangements for the Paris Conference, has announced that among the American delegates would be Charles Chaplin, O. John Rogge, Rockwell Kent, Louis Untermeyer, Howard Fast, Johannes Steel, Artie Shaw, and Rabbi J. X. Cohen.

The list of sponsors available at time of printing this publication also includes:

AMERICANS SPONSORING WORLD CONGRESS FOR PEACE IN PARIS

Bishop Arthur W. Moulton, Dr. Wm. E. B. DuBois,
O. John Rogge, listed as cochairmen

Elmer Benson	Daniel S. Gillmor	Clifford Odets
Richard O. Boyer	Shirley Graham	Martin Popper
Joseph Brainen	Donald Henderson	Raymond Robins
Dr. Charles Hawkins	Ada Bell Jackson	Maud Russell
Brown	Sam Jaffe	Rose Russell
Angus Cameron	Albert E. Kahn	Prof. Frederick L.
Rabbi J. X. Cohen	Rockwell Kent	Schuman
Prof. Henry W. Longfellow	Dr. John A. Kingbury	Artie Shaw
Dana	Leo Krzycki	Dr. Maud Slye
Olin Downes	John Howard Lawson	Louis Untermeyer
Muriel Draper	Prof. John Marsalka	Dr. Mary Van Kleeck
Prof. Henry Pratt	Prof. Francis Otto	Max Weber
Fairchild	Matthiessen	Dr. Gene Weltfish
Howard Fast	Arthur Miller	Lenore Sophie Stewart
Lion Feuchtwanger	Prof. Philip Morrison	(Ella Winter)

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE CONFERENCE

Certain outstanding features of the Waldorf-Astoria Conference of March 25, 26, and 27 are worthy of note in revealing its nature and aims. First and foremost was its Communist character. From the outset Secretary of State Dean Acheson referred to the gathering as "a sounding board for Communist propaganda." The State Department pointed out that "none of the cultural leaders of eastern Europe" who attended "were free to express any view other than that dictated by the political authorities in Moscow," and expressed no doubt "as to the manner in which the Communists will attempt to use the manipulate" the conference.

It is significant that one of the unpublicized participants was Alexander Trachtenberg, head of the International Publishers, Communist publishing house, the "Fadaye" of the Communist Party of the United States, in other words its cultural commissar. He was the reporter on Communist literature at the Communist Party conventions of 1936 and 1937, brain truster of such cultural fronts as the Workers Cultural Federation, the Jefferson School of Social Science, the Book Union, the Workers School, and the League of American Writers, who at one time was in charge of the mass distribution of Stalin's statement on the Soviet Constitution. Accompanying him were John Gates, member of the national board of the Communist Party, United States of America, now under grand jury indictment, and Claudia Jones, member of the national committee of the Communist Party, United States of America, now being held for deportation.

Referring to this conference, Henry Kassyanowicz, broadcasting from Warsaw on March 30, 1949, declared:

Notably it testified to the fact that the Communists are the vanguard of the world peace movement.

Elsewhere we have stated in detail the number of outright members of the Communist Party who participated as well as those who have supported the Communist Party at one time or another.

In keeping with the general tone of the conference, a resolution was adopted defending the Communist leaders now on trial for teaching and advocating the overthrow of our government by force and violence and condemning the proceedings as "heresy trials of political philosophies and attempts to limit and destroy the right of association." Present on the dais at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel were the three professors dismissed from the University of Washington after their Communist Party membership had been established.

Civil Disobedience

A member of the Communist Party struck the main chord of the conference in his outright advocacy of civil disobedience. Chosen for this role was Richard Boyer, who spoke openly as a member of the Communist Party.

Just as the party speaks in the name of Jefferson, Paine, and Lincoln to disguise its character as a Soviet fifth column, Boyer enunciated his Kremlin-inspired message in the name of such outstanding American literary figures as Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry D. Thoreau.

It would be well to give serious consideration to the insidious intent behind his carefully chosen words. "The writer," he declared, "cannot

safely surrender his conscience * * * to Truman." He did not comment on those like Fadayev and Shostakovich who had openly surrendered their souls to Joseph Stalin and the Communist Party.

Defending these men and himself against the charge that they are merely "regimented automatons bereft of free will," he insisted that "Communist loyalty and Communist discipline is based on individual conscience and individual understanding." In the first place, Fadayev and Shostakovich, who chose to capitulate to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union rather than go to a concentration camp or a firing squad, certainly had scant freedom of choice. As for those like Boyer in the free air of the United States who voluntarily choose to place themselves within the Communist straitjacket, who choose to commit mental hara-kiri, it would seem to us more a mark of degradation rather than any occasion for personal pride.

Those who have thoughtlessly lent their names to the so-called Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace, should weigh carefully the motive behind his remark that "the very heart of American thought was that no act or policy of the government is binding on the individual unless it meets the requirements of his conscience," and that "it is the duty of Americans to defy an American Government intent on imperialist war." *The conscience which Boyer prefers as a guide is, of course, the type which justified the Stalin-Hitler Pact, the purge trials, slave-labor camps, and Soviet lust for conquest. And then this docile vassal of Stalin had the effrontery to demand that "We should be men first and subjects afterwards."*

In a similar vein, Ladislav Stoll, dean of the Academy of Political and Social Science in Communist-dominated Prague, Czechoslovakia, bluntly declared that "*it is simply not possible not to take sides in the struggle between the old, dying world of capitalism and the new socialist world;*" adding that "*we must unite for the destruction of the old order and the bringing on of the new.*"

Debasement of Culture

What could be more debasing than the spectacle of Shostakovich, a talented young composer, ousted from his chair at the Moscow Conservatory of Music, at the behest of men in the Soviet politburo who do not know the difference between a G clef and a hammer and sickle, bowing to their decree to produce music to "which workers can beat time and hum as they try to accelerate production?" What could be more degrading to such an artist than his humble avowal at the Scientific and Cultural Conference that "I know the [Communist] Party is right"?

Bewailing the charge that he had lost "contact with the people," he bowed abjectly and publicly before the "well-known decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party concerning music," which by some curious process of Communist chicanery, reflected "the demands of the people." *It was not made clear whether this decision represented also the demands of 15,000,000 unhappy inmates of Soviet slave labor camps.*

By their presence at the conference, their sponsorship and/or their failure to express their disapproval, the following musical figures in

the United States gave their tacit confirmation of this fantastic doctrine: Zlatko Balokovic, Leonard Bernstein, Marc Blitzstein, Aaron Copland, Olin Downes, Morton Gould, Ray Lev, Alan Lomax, Aubrey Pankey, Wallingford Riegger, Paul Robeson, and Artur Schnavel.

"For the first time in history," Shostakovich announced, "the state took upon itself responsibility for the level and development of the musical culture of the people."

In answer to this totalitarian philosophy of dragooning culture Norman Cousins, editor of the *Saturday Review of Literature*, declared amid a good deal of hissing and booing, that—

democracy must mean intellectual freedom, that it must protect the individual against the right of the state to draw political and cultural blueprints for its painters and writers and composers, or to castigate them, or to enter into those matters of the mind in which the individual is sovereign.

In an *Open Letter to the Conference* signed by Prof. George S. Counts, of Teachers' College, Columbia University, and Sidney Hook, well-known philosopher, they pointed out the plight of culture under Soviet system represented by Fadayev and his associates. We quote the letter in part:

Over the last three decades, the Soviet dictatorship has mercilessly imprisoned, exiled, or executed distinguished men of letters in that country. These were not just ordinary individuals of mediocre attainment. They were men of stature and renown throughout the civilized world to those who know literature and poetry.

Not one of these men is to be found anywhere in the Soviet Union. They have disappeared without a trace. Some we know are dead. Some are perhaps dragging out their last days in a Siberian prison camp.

Addressing themselves to Dr. Harlow Shapley, the conference chairman, the writers asked:

when the delegates from the Soviet Union appear at your conference, to make inquiry of them as to what has happened to the purged artists, writers, and critics of the Soviet Union. What has happened to Kornilov, Kyrilov, Boris Pasternak, Babei Ivan Katayev, Orlov and Pilnyak?

There was no answer to this inquiry.

Anti-American, Pro-Soviet Tone

Throughout the sessions the underlying theme was pro-Soviet and anti-American. Clifford Odets, author of a number of pro-Communist propaganda plays, assailed what he called:

one of the greatest frauds ever perpetrated against the American people; the fraud that the Soviet Union is making a war against the United States.

He had only to tune in his radio to Moscow on any day of the week to hear a sample of the type of vilification and slander directed against the United States by the Soviet Government in its ideological warfare against this country for purposes that are obviously hostile and warlike.

While Sergei A. Gerasimov, president of the Soviet Academy of Art, and chief purger of Soviet films, declaimed on the lofty ideals of the Soviet "conception of life," of its "happy creativeness," of its "manifestation of good will toward the friendship of nations," Clifford Odets, son of a wealthy Philadelphia mattress manufacturer, who has

accepted munificent royalties from Hollywood and Broadway, declared passionately:

I cannot blame the Soviet Union because an apocalyptic beast is running loose in our world today and its name is MONEY, MONEY, MONEY. As an American, in the tradition of all American artists of the past, the moral values of my world are in question, not Russia's.

At the same New York session at which A. A. Fadayev eulogized the Soviet Union and its desire "for peace and friendship among peoples," Paul M. Sweezy, writer on economics for Communist publications, added that—

The real threat to peace comes from the utter and complete inability of the rulers of the United States to devise a nonwarlike program for dealing with the overwhelming problems that are pressing in on them from all sides.

Simultaneously he denounced the Marshall plan as devised to "block the real revolution in the economic institutions of western Europe." Meanwhile Colston E. Warne, who has defended the Communist Party in the past, claimed that our basic national pattern is fast becoming that of a war economy. I. F. Stone, left-wing columnist who has defended the Communist Party and its leaders repeatedly, announced that he came to the Conference because he believed that "the machinery of the American Government is set for war." Previously he had written that every Soviet effort at peace had been rejected by the United States.

These gentlemen chose to ignore the stubborn facts of current history which have convinced even such an ardent advocate of Soviet-American friendship as Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, that—

Russia, while professing a desire for peace, has actually shown by its actions that it intended to control as many nations as possible by imposing on them Communist ideas and in some cases, Communist economy, as well as the same type of police state which at present governs Russia itself.

Whether through sheer ignorance or wilfulness, they have arbitrarily overlooked Russia's responsibility for the present tension by her numerous vetoes at UN meetings, by her refusal to participate in international economic, social, and cultural conferences, by her imposition of an iron curtain around her own people, by her refusal to exchange cultural information and students, and by her recently initiated campaign of extreme nationalism reminiscent of the regime of Adolf Hitler.

scientists

It is not accidental that Richard Boyer's appeal for civil disobedience was directed to an audience which included the following atomic scientists: Harlow Shapley, of Harvard University; William A. Higginbotham, of the Brookhaven National Laboratory, Upton, Long Island; William Orr Roberts, High Altitude Observatory, Colorado; Philip Morrison, of Cornell University; Victor Weiskopf, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Oswald Veblen and Albert Einstein, of Princeton. *If the Communists could succeed, by playing upon the notorious political avarice of physical scientists, in inciting scientists to a "strike" against their own Government, or sabotage, it would be a real achievement for the Soviet fatherland.* They would like nothing better than a repetition in the United States of the cases of the Canadian atomic scientists, Raymond Boyer and Allan Nunn May, who divulged atomic secrets to the

Soviet Military Intelligence. Such is the main purpose of this international movement, which is headed by Frederick Joliot-Curie French Communist and atomic scientist, who has attacked the United States for keeping the atomic bomb secret, a tactic he called "dangerous." Echoing the Soviet position, he has also demanded the United States halt its production of atomic bombs.

The ease with which ideological confusion, such as promoted by the doctrines of Richard Boyer and Frederick Joliot-Curie, may pass over into outright treason, is graphically demonstrated by the case of Raymond Boyer, wealthy Canadian chemist, sentenced to two years in prison on February 1, 1948, for his share in revealing the secret of RDX, a deadly World War II explosive, to Fred Rose, leading Canadian Communist and a former member of Parliament. Rose was an operative for the Soviet Military Intelligence. We quote from Professor Boyer's testimony before the Canadian Royal Commission:

Question. You were handing over to somebody, who was obviously an emissary of the Russians, information which your oath of secrecy forbade you to give?

Answer. That is correct.

Question. Would you like to tell the Commission what moved you to do that, why you did it? * * *

Answer. * * * I felt throughout the work that it was unfortunate that the Russians, that there was not closer scientific liaison in connection with such information between the Russian war effort and ours * * *.

Question. You realized, Dr. Boyer, that what you were doing was contrary to the oath you had taken?

Answer. Yes.

The Canadian Royal Commission added the following comment regarding Dr. Boyer's attitude:

Professor Boyer had not apparently inquired about the operations in practice of the various official organizations engaged in attempting to organize exchanges of military and other information with the Soviet Union, nor about the degree of reciprocity or relative balance developed in such official exchanges. * * * We see however no reason to doubt the sincerity of his motives as stated by himself. This sincerity was played on successfully by an unscrupulous and more sophisticated agent.

Inconceivable as it may seem, these scientists who are allowing themselves to become the pawns of trained conspirators versed in the art of subversion, are wittingly or unwittingly giving their support to a cause which stands for the negation and destruction of true science and what it stands for. Dr. Ernest P. Boas, of the Columbia College of Physicians and Surgeons, who for some unexplained reason sponsored the conference, admitted nevertheless that in the Soviet Union—

Science has become the servant of the state to such an extent that the only true science is that approved by the leaders of the state.

Under such circumstances, he declared, pure science cannot flourish.

Describing Soviet terrorism in the field of science, Dr. H. S. Muller, Nobel prize winner in genetics, and professor of zoology at Indiana University, said:

About seven months ago the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union officially repudiated the entire science of genetics and approved in its stead a group of superstitions that hark back to ancient times.

He described how some of the Russian scientists under Communist pressure had "confessed" their "guilt." Others were banished. In 1940, N. I. Vavilov, famous geneticist and former head of the Lenin Academy

of Agricultural Science, was arrested. In 1942 he died in Siberia and his most important papers were destroyed.

Moscow Approval

At all stages Moscow has been outspoken in its approval of the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace. The fact that the following representatives of Soviet culture had been permitted to attend the conference is one indication :

Alexander A. Fadeev, secretary general of the secretariat of the Union of Soviet Writers.

Sergei A. Gerasimov, writer, motion-picture director, producer ; president, Soviet Academy of Art.

Alexander I. Oparin, acting secretary, Biological Sciences Section, Academy of Sciences of the U. S. S. R.

Piotr A. Pavlenko, writer, Stalin prize winner.

D. D. Shostakovich, composer.

I. D. Rujansky, interpreter.

Mikhail E. Chiaurely, film director and producer.

The fact that the following representatives of Communist-controlled Czechoslovakia were designated, is another indication :

Ferdinand Heroik, dean, at Masaryk University.

Jan Boor, member, Slovak Cultural Organization.

Ladislav Stoll, rector, Academy of Political and Social Science in Prague.

Jiri Hronek, secretary general, International Union of Journalists.

Similarly the sending of the following from the Soviet puppet state of Poland is a mark of Moscow approval :

Stanislaw Ossowski, professor of sociology, Warsaw University.

Pawel Hoffman, journalist.

Leon Kruczkowski, novelist and playwright.

The Moscow press and radio was eloquent in its approval of the Scientific and Cultural Congress for World Peace, inflating its significance for its own propagandistic purposes.

The Literary Gazette, appearing in Moscow in the latter part of March 1949, carried an article by Boris Lavrenev, the playwright, called the participants in the conference the "real leaders of America." He described the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel gathering as meeting—

in the living gloomy jungles of Wall Street where the sinister plans of a new world war are being nurtured.

He predicted that the Congress would—

lay the foundation for the creation of an active and effective front for peace and struggle against the groups of frenzied cannibals who dream of throwing the planet into the nightmare inferno of general war and extracting superprofits from the rivers of blood.

He told his Moscow readers that the "dungeons of the anti-American committee" are filling up with opponents of the North Atlantic Pact.

On April 1, 1949, Ilya Ehrenburg, Soviet publicist and novelist, hailed the "Congress of the American Intellectuals in Defense of Peace" as the voice of "truly progressive, noble America." Yet one week later his two early novels were castigated in the magazine, *October*, official organ of the Soviet Writers Union, on the ground that his characters were not motivated by Communist conscience. In other words the most

stalwart guardians of Soviet cultural purity are not immune from unexpected blows of the party's literary ax.

On April 2, 1949, Soviet commentator Vladimirov announced that—

At this Congress the voice of progressive intelligentsia made itself heard against the ruling circles of the United States—

adding that—

The Congress is a serious warning to the provokers and instigators of a new war—they will not be supported by the masses.

But Comrade Vladimirov made it plain that this movement would not confine itself merely to speeches and the adoption of resolutions.

The masses—

he declared—

do not confine themselves to the moral support of the promoters of peace; they wage a daily and active fight against the instigators of war.

By way of example he cited:

The statement by Sharkey, leader of the Australian Communist Party, that the Australian workers * * * fully support the Soviet Union in case an imperialist war being launched against it, caused approval among the workers of Australia.

More specifically he pointed out that—

A wave of strikes broke over the entire country in protest against those who persecute the upholders of peace * * * against those who help the instigators of war. At the same time a strike occurred in the opposite part of the world in the Belgian town of Antwerp, where the dockers ceased work in protest against the North Atlantic Pact.

TABULATION OF COMMUNIST AFFILIATIONS OF SPONSORS

A tabulation of the numerous Communist-front affiliations of the sponsors of the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace shows the following interesting figures:

One, Rockwell Kent, has been affiliated with at least 85 Communist-front organizations.

Three, Langston Hughes, Robert Morss Lovett, and Donald Ogden Stewart, have been affiliated with from 71 to 80 Communist-front organizations.

Four, Paul Robeson, Mary Van Kleeck, James Waterman Wise, and Harry F. Ward, have been affiliated with from 51 to 60 Communist-front organizations.

Eight have been affiliated with from 41 to 50 Communist-front organizations. These include—

Jerome Davis	Corliss Lamont	Walter Rautenstrauch
William Gropper	John Howard Lawson	Margaret Schlauch
Dashiell Hammett	Carey McWilliams	

Ten have been affiliated with from 31 to 40 Communist-front organizations, and include—

Louis Adamic	Henry Pratt Fairchild	Clifford Odets
Edwin Berry Burgum	Lillian Hellman	Herman Shumlin
Jerome Davis	Albert Maltz	Bernard J. Stern
Muriel Draper		

Twenty-eight have been affiliated with from 21 to 30 Communist-front organizations, and include—

Thomas Addis	Robert S. Lynd	Guy Emery Shipler
Marc Blitzstein	Louis F. McCabe	Raphael Soyer
Millen Brand	Jack R. McMichael	Alfred K. Stern
Aaron Copland	Clyde R. Miller	Paul Strand
Kyle Crichton	Henry A. Murray	Dirk J. Struik
Pearl M. Hart	Dorothy Parker	Eda Lou Walton
John A. Kingsbury	Bertha C. Reynolds	Colston E. Warne
Alfred Kreymborg	Frederick L. Shuman	Max Weber
Joshua Kunitz	Edwin Seaver	Ella Winter
Kenneth Leslie		

Forty-nine have been affiliated with from 11 to 20 Communist-front organizations, and include:

Zlatko Balokovic	Philip Evergood	Wayne McMillen
S. L. M. Barlow	Lion Feuchtwanger	Gardner Murphy
Edward K. Barsky	Dorothy Canfield Fisher	Scott Nearing
Herbert J. Biberman	Minna Harkavy	John P. Peters
Algernon D. Black	Marion Hathway	Arthur Upham Pope
Ernest P. Boas	Leo Huberman	Anton Refregier
Dorothy Brewster	Leo T. Hurwitz	Wallingford Riegger
Henrietta Buckmaster	Matthew Josephson	Harold Rome
Morris Carnovsky	Robert Josephy	Muriel Rukeyser
Adolf Dehn	Robert W. Kenny	Howard Selsam
Albert Deutsch	Oliver Larkin	Harlow Shapley
Earl B. Dickerson	John Howland Lathrop	Johannes Steel
Martha Dodd	Emil Lengyel	I. F. Stone
Dorothy W. Douglas	Donald G. Lothrop	Oswald Veblen
W. E. B. DuBois	Harry L. Lurie	J. Raymond Walsh
Albert Einstein	Thomas Mann	
Guy Endore	F. O. Matthiessen	

Two hundred and seventy have been affiliated with from 1 to 10 Communist-front organizations, and include—

Berenice Abbott	J. Edward Bromberg	Norman Corwin
Charles B. Ackley	Thoburn T. Brumbaugh	Thomas Creighton
Charles C. Adams	Paul Burlin	John W. Darr, Jr.
Stella Adler	David Burliuk	Howard Da Silva
Cecilia Ager	E. A. Burt	Jules Dassin
Gregory Ain	Adolph Busch	Leo M. Davidoff
George Anthiel	Allan M. Butler	Jo Davidson
Robenia Anthony	Angus Cameron	John Herbert Davis
Herbert Aptheker	Antoinette Cannon	John De Boer
James Aronson	George D. Caunon	Albert C. Dieffenbach
Edith Atwater	Jonah E. Caplan	Hedley S. Dimock
Alice P. Barrows	Anton J. Carlson	Anton Dolin
Mordecai Bauman	Saul Carson	Harl R. Douglass
Howard Bay	Norman Casden	Olin Downes
Thomas Bell	Robert C. Challman	Paul Draper
Aline Bernstein	Allan Chase	Jane Dudley
Leonard Bernstein	M. N. Chatterjee	James Dugan
Victor Bernstein	Serge Chermayeff	Barrows Dunham
Walter Bernstein	Edward Chodorov	Arnaud D'Usseau
Michael Blankfort	Jerome Chodorov	Stuart Edie
E. M. Bluestone	Henry S. Churchill	Irwin Edman
Henry Blumberg	Nicolai Cikovsky	Robert M. Ellis
Aaron Bohrod	Rufus E. Clement	Haven Emerson
B. A. Botkin	Robert M. Coates	Thomas I. Emerson
Richard O. Boyer	Lee J. Cobb	Lehman Engel
Kay Boyle	J. X. Cohen	Howard Fast
Theodore Brameld	Lester Cole	Jose Ferrer
Marlon Brando	Fannie Cook	Robert D. Field

Sidney Finkelstein	Howard Koch	Rose Russell
Irving Flamm	Isaac M. Kolthoff	Robert St. John
Joseph Fletcher	Pauline Koner	Victor Samrock
Clark Foreman	Leon Kroll	Alexander Saxton
Elizabeth Frazier	Harry C. Lamberton	Bela Schick
Joseph Gaer	Millard Lampell	Artur Schnabel
Arthur Gaeth	Ring Lardner, Jr.	Budd Schulberg
Will Geer	Sidney Laufman	Ben Shahn
Barbara Giles	Jacob Lawrence	Wesley Sharer
Josiah W. Gitt	James Lechay	Artie Shaw
Vincent Glinsky	Ray Lev	Eva Sikelianos
Max Goberman	Julian Levi	Samuel Sillen
Robert Gordis	Joseph H. Levy	Lee Simonson
Henrietta L. Gordon	Jose Limon	Mitchell Siporin
Jay Gorney	Jacob Little	John Sloan
Harry Gottlieb	Alice Liveright	Nicholas Slonimsky
Morton Gould	Alan Lomax	Maud Slye
James Gow	Joseph Losey	Agnes Smedley
Charles Graham	Oliver S. Loud	Leo Smith
Shirley Graham	Helen M. Lynd	Jessica Smith
Chaim Gross	Curtis D. MacDougall	F. Hastings Smythe
Sidonie Gruenberg	A. B. Magil	Gale Sondergaard
Ernest A. Grunsfeld	Norman Mailer	Kenneth Spencer
Jack Guilford	Erika Mann	William M. Sweets
Robert Gwathmey	Grace F. Marcus	Paul M. Sweezy
Uta Hagen	F. L. Marcuse	Earl Sydnor
Margaret Halsey	John Martin	Arthur Szyk
Talbot Hamlin	Sophie Maslow	Helen Tamiris
E. Y. Harburg	Albert Mayer	T. O. Thackrey
Georgia Harkness	Elizabeth McCausland	Randall Thompson
Ray E. Harris	John T. McManus	Ernest Thurn
Shelby M. Harrison	Eve Merriam	Charles Trinkhaus
Frank Hartung	Otto Meyerhof	Dalton Trumbo
Elder G. Hawkins	Arthur Miller	Ralph H. Turner
Michael Heidelberg	Benjamin F. Miller	Louis Untermeyer
Edna Wolff Henner	Bucklin Moon	Olive Van Horn
Stefan Heym	Sam Moore	Thurman W. Van Metre
Ernest R. Hilgard	Philip Morrison	Henry A. Wallace
Charles A. Hill	Jacob Moscovitz	W. J. Walsh
Joseph Hirsch	Willard Motley	Sam Wanamaker
Ira A. Hirschmann	Arthur W. Moulton	Theodore Ward
Chester E. Hodgson	Michael M. Nisselson	Fredi Washington
Syd Hoff	Elizabeth Olds	Charles Weidman
Judy Holliday	John O'Shaughnessy	Sid Weiss
Carroll Hollister	George L. Paine	Gene Weltfish
Libby Holman	Aubrey Pankey	F. W. Went
Eugene C. Holmes	Clarence Parker	Frank W. Weymouth
Lee Elbert Holt	Linus Pauling	Philip R. White
Charles P. Howard	I. Rice Pereira	Henry Willcox
Kenneth De P. Hughes	Jennings Perry	Jay Williams
W. Alpheus Hunton	Helen W. Phillips	James H. Wolfe
Crockett Johnson	Melber Phillips	Ira Wolfert
Edna Ruth Johnson	Isidore Pomerance	Martin Wolfson
David Jones	Abraham Pomerantz	Henry Shelton Wood
Robert Joyce	Callman Rawley	Maxine Wood
Albert E. Kahn	Ira De A. Reid	Thomas Woody
Garson Kanin	Ad Reinhardt	Evans A. Worthley
Heyward Keniston	Holland Roberts	Frank Lloyd Wright
Stetson Kennedy	O. John Rogge	William Wyler
Alexander Kipnis	Theodor Rosebury	Edward L. Young
Philip Klein	Jonas Rosenfield, Jr.	Gregory Zilboorg
George Kleinsinger	Norman Rosten	Ben Zion

At least 49 have given their open support to Communist candidates in election campaigns:

Herbert Aptheker	Olin Downes	Matthew Josephson
Howard Bay	Muriel Draper	Rockwell Kent
Leonard Bernstein	Arnaud D'Usseau	Alfred Kreymborg
Marc Blitzstein	Guy Endore	John Howard Lawson
Richard O. Boyer	Philip Evergood	Ray Lev
J. Edward Bromberg	Howard Fast	Paul Robeson
Milen Brand	Jose Ferrer	Edwin Seaver
Henrietta Buckmaster	Will Geer	Howard Selsam
Edward Chodorov	James Gow	Kenneth Spencer
Jerome Chodorov	Shirley Graham	William M. Sweets
Robert M. Coates	William Gropper	Helen Tamiris
Lester Cole	Minna Harkavy	Dalton Trumbo
Aaron Copland	Syd Hoff	Mary Van Kleeck
Kyle Crichton	Leo Huberman	Fredi Washington
Howard Da Silva	Langston Hughes	Max Weber
Adolf Dehn	Crockett Johnson	Ella Winter
Anton Dolin		

The sponsors include at 131 individuals who have publicly defended or supported the Communist Party, United States of America. A minimum of 225 of these sponsors have at one time or another defended or supported individual Communists. In connection with organizations, statements, or activities in support of the Soviet Union, we find not less than 193 names of these as the following tabulation will show. Furthermore, fully 137 of these persons have in one way or another supported Communist publications.

MISCELLANEOUS FRONT AFFILIATIONS OF SPONSOR

Abraham Lincoln Battalion Banquet

Cited as subversive by the Committee on Un-American Activities (total 1):

Donald Lothrop

Abraham Lincoln Brigade

Cited as subversive by the Committee on Un-American Activities (total 1):

Norman Corwin

Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade

Cited as subversive by the Committee on Un-American Activities (total 21):

B. Baum	Muriel Draper	Robert Morss Lovett
Marc Blitzstein	Paul Draper	Clifford Odets
Ernest P. Boas	Will Geer	Dorothy Parker
Millen Brand	Morton Gould	Wallingford Reigger
J. Edward Bromberg	Lillian Hellman	Guy Emery Shipley
Kyle Crichton	Langston Hughes	Herman Shumlin
Jerome Davis	Alfred Kreymborg	Donald O. Stewart

Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade

Cited as subversive by the Attorney General (total 8):

Dr. Edward Barsky	Muriel Draper	Carey McWilliams
Edward Bromberg	Langston Hughes	Dr. Gene Weltfish
Allen Chase	Kenneth Leslie	

International Brigade

See Abraham Lincoln Brigade (total 2) :

Jennings Perry
Paul Robeson

American Committee on Democracy and Intellectual Freedom

Cited as subversive by the Committee on Un-American Activities (total 28) :

J. X. Cohen	Lillian Hellman	Margaret Schlauch
Dorothy Brewster	Matthew Josephson	Harlow Shapley
A. J. Carlson	Robert Josephy	Herman Shumlin
Morris Carnovsky	Emil Lengyel	Alfred K. Stern
Aaron Copland	Robert Lynd	D. J. Struik
Jerome Davis	Rockwell Kent	Randall Thompson
Martha Dodd	Clyde R. Miller	Oswald Veblen
Olin Downes	John P. Peters	Henry A. Wallace
Lehman Engel	Walter Rautenstrauch	Eda Lou Walton
Henry Pratt Fairchild		

American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born

Cited as subversive by the Attorney General (total 71) :

Louis Adamic	Uta Hagen	Anton Refregier
Thomas Addis	Dashiell Hammett	Bertha C. Reynolds
Millen Brand	Pearl Hart	Paul Robeson
Dorothy Brewster	Garson Kanin	Wallingford Riegger
Edwin Berry Burgum	Rockwell Kent	Bela Schick
Anton J. Carlson	Oliver W. Larkin	Margaret Schlauch
Edward Chodorov	John Howard Lawson	Budd Schulberg
Rufus E. Clement	Emil Lengyel	Frederick L. Schuman
Aaron Copland	Kenneth Leslie	Howard Selsam
Kyle Crichton	Ray Lev	Guy Emery Shipler
Herbert Davis	Robert Morss Lovett	Herman Shumlin
Jerome Davis	Robert S. Lynd	Bernhard J. Stern
John W. Darr, Jr.	Curtis D. MacDougall	Donald Ogden Stewart
Howard Da Silva	Albert Maltz	Oswald Veblen
John J. DeBoer	Thomas Mann	Arthur Szyk
Earl B. Dickerson	F. O. Matthiessen	Dirk J. Struik
Marshall E. Dimock	Louis F. McCabe	Henry Wallace
Martha Dodd	Wayne McMillen	Harry F. Ward
W. E. B. DuBois	Carey McWilliams	Theodore Ward
Dorothy Douglas	Arthur W. Moulton	Max Weber
Harl R. Douglass	Gardner Murphy	Gene Weltfish
Muriel Draper	Dorothy Parker	F. W. Weymouth
Albert Einstein	Arthur Upham Pope	Frank Lloyd Wright
Guy Endore	Walter Rautenstrauch	

American Council for a Democratic Greece

Cited as subversive by the Attorney General (total 25) :

Louis Adamic	Henry Pratt Fairchild	Jennings Perry
Leonard Bernstein	Uta Hagen	Eva Sikelianos
Edwin Berry Burgum	Albert Kahn	Johannes Steel
Rabbi J. X. Cohen	John H. Lathrop	Donald Ogden Stewart
John W. Darr	Kenneth Leslie	Mary Van Kleeck
Martha Dodd	Thomas Mann	Harry F. Ward
Muriel Draper	Michael M. Nisselson	Gene Weltfish
W. E. B. DuBois	Dorothy Parker	James Waterman Wise
Albert Einstein		

American Labor Party

Cited as subversive by the Committee on Un-American Activities
(total 48) :

Edward K. Barsky	Elder Hawkins	Harold Rome
Victor Bernstein	Lillian Hellman	Norman Rosten
Marc Blitzstein	Ira Hirschman	Rose Russell
J. Edward Bromberg	Libby Holman	Herman Shumlin
John W. Darr, Jr.	Langston Hughes	Kenneth Spencer
Albert Deutsch	Albert Kahn	Alfred K. Stern
Muriel Draper	Rockwell Kent	Bernhard J. Stern
Paul Draper	Millard Lampell	Donald Ogden Stewart
W. E. DuBois	John H. Lathrop	Louis Untermeyer
Arnaud D'Usseau	Kenneth Leslie	Mary Van Kleeck
Philip Evergood	Alan Lomax	Henry A. Wallace
Howard Fast	Dorothy Parker	Sam Wanamaker
Sidney Finkelstein	Anton Refregier	Gene Weltfish
Jay Gorney	Ad Reinhardt	Ella Winter
James Gow	Paul Robeson	James Waterman Wise
Robert Gwathmey	O. John Rogge	Maxine Wood

American Slav Congress

Cited as subversive by the Attorney General (total 25) :

Louis Adamic	Emil Lengyel	Bernhard J. Stern
Zlatko Balokovic	Kenneth Leslie	Donald Ogden Stewart
Thomas Bell	Albert Maltz	Dirk J. Struik
Dorothy Brewster	Carey McWilliams	Arthur Szyk
Muriel Draper	Michael M. Nisselson	Mary Van Kleeck
Henry Pratt Fairchild	Arthur Upham Pope	Henry A. Wallace
Clark Foreman	Frederick L. Schuman	J. Raymond Walsh
Robert W. Kenny	Johannes Steel	Gene Weltfish
Rockwell Kent		

The Slavic American

Published by American Slav Congress (total 7) :

Louis Adamic	Norman Corwin	Johannes Steel
Zlatko Balokovic	Paul Draper	Henry A. Wallace
Thomas Bell		

American Youth for Democracy

Cited as subversive by the Attorney General (total 34) :

Zlatko Balokovic	Howard Fast	Arthur Upham Pope
Edward K. Barsky	Charles A. Hill	Paul Robeson
Leonard Bernstein	Langston Hughes	O. John Rogge
Henrietta Buckmaster	Corliss Lamont	Harold Rome
Edward Chodorov	John Howard Lawson	Rose V. Russell
Norman Corwin	Robert S. Lynd	Margaret Schlauch
John Whitter Darr, Jr.	Albert Maltz	Guy Emery Sipler
Howard Da Silva	F. O. Matthiessen	Paul Strand
Albert Deutsch	John T. McManus	Henry A. Wallace
Paul Draper	Jack McMichael	Harry F. Ward
Philip Evergood	Arthur Miller	Gene Weltfish
Henry Pratt Fairchild		

Artists' Front to Win the War

Cited as subversive by the Committee on Un-American Activities
(total 49) :

Edith Atwater	J. Edward Bromberg	Serge Chermayeff
Howard Bay	Henrietta Buckmaster	Aaron Copland
Aline Bernstein	Paul Burlin	Kyle Crichton
Kermit Bloomgarden	Adolph Busch	Jules Dassin
Millen Brand	Morris Carnovsky	Herbert Davis

Martha Dodd	Roy Harris	Albert Maltz
Muriel Draper	Lillian Hellman	F. O. Matthiessen
Guy Endore	Sidney Hoff	John T. McManus
Philip Evergood	Rockwell Kent	Dorothy Parker
Henry Pratt Fairchild	John A. Kingsbury	Isidore Pomerance
Jose Ferrer	George Kleinsinger	Anton Refregier
Jay Gorney	Alfred Kreymborg	Harold J. Rome
Morton Gould	Leon Kroll	Margaret Schlauch
Chaim Gross	Ring Lardner, Jr.	Herman Shumlin
Jack Guilford	Oliver Larkin	Donald Ogden Stewart
Uta Hagen	John Howard Lawson	Dalton Trumbo
Minna Harkavy		

Citizens' Committee for Harry Bridges

Cited as subversive by the Committee on Un-American Activities (total 1):

Robert M. Coates

Defends Harry Bridges

See Citizens' Committee for Harry Bridges (total 1):

Dalton Trumbo

Attorney for Harry Bridges

See Citizens' Committee for Harry Bridges (total 2):

Pearl M. Hart

Carey McWilliams

Open letter on Harry Bridges, 1942

See Citizens' Committee for Harry Bridges (total 54):

Thomas Addis	Joseph F. Fletcher	Walter Rautenstrauch
Robenia F. Anthony	Ernest A. Grunsfeld, Jr.	Callman Rawley
Aline Bernstein	Marion Hathaway	Anton Refregier
Algernon D. Black	Charles A. Hill	Bertha C. Reynolds
Marc Blitzstein	Chester E. Hodgson	Holland Roberts
Richard O. Boyer	Leo Huberman	Margaret Schlauch
Millen Brand	W. Alpheus Hunton	Budd Schulberg
Dorothy Brewster	Robert Josephy	Edwin Seaver
Edwin Berry Burgum	Rockwell Kent	Donald Ogden Stewart
Edwin A. Burt	Philip Klein	Paul Strand
Morris Carnovsky	Alfred Kreymborg	Dirk J. Struik
Robert C. Challman	Corliss Lamont	Oswald Veblen
Robert M. Coates	Kenneth Leslie	Harry F. Ward
Aaron Copland	Donald G. Lothrop	Theodore Ward
Hedley S. Dimock	Albert Maltz	Max Weber
Olin Downes	F. O. Matthiessen	Frank Weymouth
Guy Endore	George L. Paine	Ella W. Winter
Henry Pratt Fairchild	John P. Peters	Martin Wolfson

California Labor School

Cited as subversive by the Attorney General (total 16):

Thomas Addis	Albert Maltz	Al Saxton
Herbert Biberman	Clifford Odets	Howard Selsam
W. E. B. DuBois	Anton Refregier	Dalton Trumbo
Lillian Hellman	Holland Roberts	Edward Weston
Robert W. Kenny	Muriel Rukeyser	Frank Weymouth
John Howard Lawson		

China Aid Council

Cited as subversive by Committee on Un-American Activities
(total 26) :

Thomas Addis	Harry Gottlieb	Anton Refregier
Nicolai Cikovsky	Chaim Gross	Paul Robeson
Norman Corwin	Robert Gwathmey	Guy Emery Shipler
Jo Davidson	Minna Harkavy	Herman Shumlin
Adolph Dehn	Rockwell Kent	John Sloan
Stuart Edie	Robert Morss Lovett	Raphael Soyer
Haven Emerson	Benjamin F. Miller	Harry F. Ward
Philip Evergood	Clyde Miller	Max Weber
Vincent Glinsky	John P. Peters	

Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy

Cited as subversive by California Committee on Un-American
Activities (total 44) :

Thomas Addis	Dorothy C. Fisher	Anton Refregier
Zlatko Balokovic	William Gropper	Paul Robeson
Aline Bernstein	Uta Hagen	Rose Russell
Leonard Bernstein	Leo Huberman	Artie Shaw
Millen Brand	Langston Hughes	Herman Shumlin
Angus Cameron	Albert E. Kahn	Agnes Smedley
Edward Chodorov	Philip O. Keeney	Johannes Steel
Norman Corwin	Rockwell Kent	Bernard J. Stern
John Darr, Jr.	John A. Kingsbury	Donald Ogden Stewart
Martha Dodd	F. O. Matthiessen	Dirk J. Struik
Muriel Draper	Jack McMichael	Mary Van Kleeck
Paul Draper	Carey McWilliams	Henry A. Wallace
W. E. B. DuBois	Michael M. Nisselson	J. Raymond Wash
Henry P. Fairchild	Arthur Upham Pope	Gene Weltfish
Howard Fast	Walter Rautenstrauch	

National Conference on American Policy in China and the Far East

Arranged by Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, cited
as subversive by the California Committee on Un-American Activities
(total 40) :

Louis Adamic	Leo Huberman	Guy Emery Shipler
Thomas Addis	Philip O. Keeney	Maud Slye
S. L. M. Barlow	John H. Lathrop	Agnes Smedley
Algeron Black	Albert Maltz	Johannes Steel
Henrietta Buckmaster	Jack R. McMichael	Bernhard J. Stern
Angus Cameron	Clyde R. Miller	Paul Strand
Rufus E. Clement	Arthur W. Moulton	Olive Van Horn
John W. Darr	Holland Roberts	Mary Van Kleeck
Muriel Draper	Arthur Upham Pope	Nym Wales
W. E. DuBois	Walter Rautenstrauch	Harry F. Ward
Barrows Dunham	Paul Robeson	Charles Weidman
Henry Pratt Fairchild	Rose Russell	Gene Weltfish
Dorothy Canfield Fisher	Frederick L. Schuman	Ella Winter
Uta Hagen		

Congress of American Women

Cited as subversive by the Attorney General (total 13) :

Henrietta Buckmaster	Melber Phillips	Mary Van Kleeck
Dorothy Douglas	Rose Russell	Henry A. Wallace
Muriel Draper	Harlow Shapley	Gene Weltfish
Sidonie Gruenberg	Kenneth Spencer	Ella Winter
Helen Phillips		

Consumers Union

Cited as subversive by the Committee on Un-American Activities (total 14) :

Thomas Addis	Matthew Josephson	Dorothy Parker
Herbert Biberman	Thomas Mann	Theodor Rosebury
Anton J. Carlson	Carey McWilliams	Donald Ogden Stewart
Jerome Davis	Clyde Miller	Colston E. Warne
Dashiel Hammett	Gardner Murphy	

Contemporary Writers

Successor to League of American Writers, cited as subversive by the Attorney General (total 18) :

Henrietta Buckmaster	Alfred Kreymborg	Dorothy Parker
Jerome Chodorov	Millard Lampell	Vernon Rice
Arnaud d'Usseau	John Howard Lawson	Norman Rosten
Howard Fast	John McManus	Louis Untermeyer
Barbara Giles	Eve Merriam	Theodore Ward
James Gow	Arthur Miller	Maxine Wood

Civil Rights Congress

Cited as subversive by the Attorney General (total 69) :

Thomas Addis	Charles A. Hill	Jennings Perry
Herbert Aptheker	Ira Hirschman	Walter Rautenstrauch
Wade C. Barclay	Chester E. Hodgson	Anton Refregier
Edward K. Barsky	Kenneth Hughes	Bertha C. Reynolds
Leonard Bernstein	Alphaeus Hunton	Paul Robeson
Marc Blitzstein	David Jones	O. John Rogge
Henrietta Buckmaster	Albert Kahn	Harold J. Rome
Lester Cole	Stetson Kennedy	Rose Russell
John W. Darr	Millard Lampell	Margaret Schlauch
Howard DaSilva	John Howard Lawson	Frederick L. Schuman
Earl Dickerson	Kenneth Leslie	Artie Shaw
Olin Downes	Ray Lev	Guy Emery Shipler
W. E. B. DuBois	Joseph Levy	Agnes Smedley
Arnaud d'Usseau	Robert Morss Lovett	Donald Ogden Stewart
Albert Einstein	Norman Mailer	Dirk Struik
Guy Endore	Louis McCabe	Louis Untermeyer
Philip Evergood	John T. McManus	Henry A. Wallace
Henry Pratt Fairchild	Jack B. McMichael	Harry F. Ward
Howard Fast	Carey McWilliams	Colston E. Warne
Lion Feuchtwanger	Arthur Miller	Max Weber
Clark Foreman	Clifford Odets	Gene Weltfish
Dashiell Hammett	Clarence Parker	Frank Weymouth
Pearl M. Hart	Dorothy Parker	James Waterman Wise

Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo

Cited as subversive by the Committee on Un-American Activities (total 35) :

Louis Adamic	Henry Pratt Fairchild	Clifford Odets
Thomas A. Addis	Dorothy Canfield Fisher	Dorothy Parker
Edward K. Barsky	Morton Gould	John P. Peters
Algernon D. Black	William Gropper	Bertha C. Reynolds
Marc Blitzstein	Margaret Halsey	Paul Robeson
Ernest P. Boas	Lillian Hellman	Wallingford Rieger
Anton J. Carlson	Langston Hughes	Bela Schick
Jerome Davis	Rockwell Kent	Edwin Seaver
Olin Downes	John A. Kingsbury	Guy Emery Shipler
Irwin Edman	Emil Lengyel	Harry F. Ward
Haven Emerson	Ray Lev	Colston Warne
Lehman Engel	Gardner Murphy	

Joint Committee to Lift the Embargo

See Coordinating Committee to Lift the [Spanish] Embargo, cited as subversive by the Committee on Un-American Activities (total 1):

Morris Carnovsky

Appeal to Lift Spanish Embargo

See Coordinating Committee to Lift the [Spanish] Embargo (total 1):

K. B. Murdock

Conference to Lift the Embargo

See Coordinating Committee to Lift the [Spanish] Embargo (total 1):

Thomas Mann

Committee of Welcome for "Red" Dean of Canterbury

(Total 27):

Charles B. Ackley	Rufus R. Clement	Thomas Mann
Thomas Addis	Leo M. Davidoff	F. O. Matthiessen
Wade Crawford Barclay	Olin Downes	Wayne McMillen
Algernon D. Black	Lion Feuchtwanger	Arthur Miller, Jr.
T. T. Brumbaugh	Joseph F. Fletcher	Arthur W. Moulton
Edwin Berry Burgum	Crockett Johnson	Louis I. Newman
Allan M. Butler	John Howland Lathrop	Guy Emery Shipler
Angus Cameron	Donald G. Lothrop	Louis Untermeyer
Jonah E. Caplan	Chester E. Hodgson	Oswald Veblen

Praises "Red" Dean of Canterbury

(Total 1):

Henry A. Wallace

Appeals in Behalf of "Red" Dean of Canterbury

(Total 1):

Henry Pratt Fairchild

Public Relations Representative to "Red" Dean of Canterbury

(Total 1):

John W. Darr

Equality

Cited as subversive by the Committee on Un-American Activities (total 12):

Robert C. Challman	Lillian Hellman	Dorothy Parker
Albert Deutsch	Emil Lengyel	Guy Emery Shipler
Dorothy Canfield Fisher	Albert Maltz	Donald Ogden Stewart
Dashiell Hammett	Jack R. McMichael	Henry A. Wallace

Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights

Cited as subversive by the Committee on Un-American Activities (total 13):

Samuel L. M. Barlow	Leo Huberman	Gardner Murphy
Algernon D. Black	Philip Klein	Walter Rautenstrauch
J. X. Cohen	John Howland Lathrop	Margaret Schlauch
Haven Emerson	Emil Lengyel	Guy Emery Shipler
Henry Pratt Fairchild		

New York Conference for Inalienable Rights

Cited as subversive by the Committee on Un-American Activities (total 3) :

Kenneth Leslie	John P. Peters	Alfred K. Stern
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In Defense of the Bill of Rights

Defending the Communist Party (total 8) :

Thomas Addis	Lillian Hellman	Clifford Odets
Aaron Copland	Matthew Josephson	Herman Shumlin
Dashiell Hammett	Gardner Murphy	

International Labor Defense

Cited as surversive by the Attorney General (total 29) :

Marc Blitzstein	William Gropper	Scott Nearing
Millen Brand	Pearl M. Hart	Clifford Odets
E. B. Burgum	Langston Hughes	Harold J. Rome
Lee J. Cobb	Robert W. Kenny	Johannes Steel
Jerome Davis	Rockwell Kent	Donald Ogden Stewart
Earl B. Dickerson	John A. Kingsbury	Dirk J. Struik
Martha Dodd	Robert Morss Lovett	Eda Lou Walton
Muriel Draper	Erika Mann	Harry Ward
Henry Pratt Fairchild	Louis F. McCabe	Charles Weidman
Will Geer	Carey McWilliams	

International Workers Order

Cited as subversive by Attorney General (total 35) :

Edward K. Barsky	Leo Hurwitz	Dorothy Parker
Herbert Biberman	Albert E. Kahn	John P. Peters
J. Edward Bromberg	Paul Katz	Paul Robeson
Antoinette Cannon	Rockwell Kent	O. John Rogge
Morris Carnovsky	Joshua Kunitz	Edwin Seaver
John W. Darr	Ray Lev	Kenneth Spencer
Adolph Dehn	A. B. Magil	Johannes Steel
Jane Dudley	Albert Maltz	Dalton Trumbo
James Dugan	Jack McMichael	Max Weber
Will Geer	Carey McWilliams	Ella Winter
William Gropper	Scott Nearing	Maxine Wood
Langston Hughes	Aubrey Pankey	

Endorse Leo Isacson

Candidate of American Labor Party, cited as subversive by Committee on Un-American Activities (total 13) :

George D. Cannon	Robert W. Kenny	John T. McManus
Howard Fast	Rockwell Kent	Paul Robeson
Robert Gwathmey	Ray Lev	Johannes Steel
Uta Hagen	Elizabeth McCausland	James Waterman Wise
Edler G. Hawkins		

Jefferson School of Social Science

Cited as subversive by the Attorney General (total 44) :

Thomas Addis	Henry Pratt Fairchild	Sophie Maslowe
Herbert Aptheker	Howard Fast	F. O. Matthiessen
Theodore Brameld	Sidney Finkelstein	John T. McManus
Dorothy Brewster	Barbara Giles	Eve Merriam
Edwin Berry Burgum	Dashiell Hammett	Clyde Miller
Norman Cazden	Ernest R. Hilgard	John P. Peters
John J. DeBoer	Eugene C. Holmes	Walter Rauntentrauch
W. E. B. DuBois	Alphaeus Hunton	Ira De A. Reid
Jane Dudley	Robert S. Lynd	Holland Roberts
Thomas I. Emerson	Curtiss MacDougall	Paul Robeson
Philip Evergood	Albert Maltz	Theodore Rosebury

Margaret Schlauch
 Frederick L. Schuman
 Howard Selsam
 Samuel Sillen

Kenneth Spencer
 Bernard J. Stern
 Dirk J. Struik
 Charles Trinkaus

Harry F. Ward
 Colston E. Warne
 F. W. Weymouth

Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee

Cited as subversive by the Attorney General (total 120) :

Charles B. Ackley
 Louis Adamic
 Thomas Addis
 Zlatko Balokovic
 S. L. M. Barlow
 Edward K. Barsky
 Thomas Bell
 Aline Bernstein
 Leonard Bernstein
 B. A. Botkin
 Kay Boyle
 Millen Brand
 Dorothy Brewster
 Henrietta Buckmaster
 Allan M. Butler
 Allan Chase
 Edward Chodorov
 Jerome Chodorov
 J. X. Cohen
 Norman Corwin
 Kyle Crichton
 Howard da Silva
 Leo M. Davidoff
 Jo Davidson
 Adolph Dehn
 Albert Deutsch
 Earl B. Dickerson
 Martha Dodd
 Olin Downes
 Muriel Draper
 Paul Draper
 Barrows Dunham
 Albert Einstein
 Philip Evergood
 Henry Pratt Fairchild
 Howard Fast
 Jose Ferrer
 Lion Feuchtwanger
 Elizabeth P. Frazier
 Robert Gordis

Shirley Graham
 William Gropper
 Chaim Gross
 Ernest Grunsfeld
 Margaret Halsey
 Dashiell Hammett
 E. Y. Harburg
 Roy E. Harris
 Marion Hathway
 Edler Hawkins
 Michael Heidelberger
 Lillian Hellman
 Ernest R. Hilgard
 Ira A. Hirschmann
 Libby Holman
 Langston Hughes
 Leon Janney
 Nora Kaye
 Robert W. Kenny
 Rockwell Kent
 Alexander Kipnis
 I. M. Kolthoff
 Pauline Koner
 Alfred Kreymborg
 Corliss Lamont
 Jacob Lawrence
 John Howard Lawson
 Kenneth Leslie
 Ray Lev
 Jose Limon
 Donald G. Lothrop
 Robert Morss Lovett
 Duncan MacInnes
 Albert Maltz
 Thomas Mann
 Sophie Maslow
 F. O. Matthiessen
 Louis F. McCabe
 John T. McManus
 Eve Merriam

Philip Morrison
 Arthur T. Moulton
 Michael Nisselson
 Aubrey Pankey
 Clarence Parker
 Dorothy Parker
 Walter Rautenstrauch
 Anton Refregier
 Paul Robeson
 O. John Rogge
 Theodore Rosebury
 Rose Russell
 Bela Schick
 Artur Schnabel
 Frederick L. Schuman
 Harlow Shapley
 Herman Shumlin
 Maude Slye
 Agnes Smedley
 Leo Smit
 Johannes Steel
 Donald Ogden Stewart
 Dirk J. Struik
 Arthur Szyk
 Studs Terkel
 Dalton Trumbo
 Louis Untermeyer
 Mary Van Kleeck
 Henry A. Wallace
 Harry F. Ward
 Colston E. Warne
 Max Weber
 Charles Weidman
 Frank W. Weymouth
 Norbert Wiener
 Jay Williams
 Mitchell Wilson
 Ella Winter
 James Waterman Wise
 Maxine Wood

League of Women Shoppers

Cited as subversive by Committee on Un-American Activities (total 8) :

Alice Barrows
 Fannie Cook
 Dorothy Douglas

Dorothy Canfield Fisher
 Lillian Hellman
 Albert Maltz

Dorothy Parker
 Eda Lou Walton.

League of American Writers

Cited as subversive by Attorney General (total, 84) :

Louis Adamic
 Thomas Bell
 Aline Bernstein
 Herbert Biberman
 Algernon D. Black

Henry Blankfort, Jr.
 Marc Blitzstein
 B. A. Botkin
 Millen Brand
 Dorothy Brewster

J. Edward Bromberg
 Henrietta Buckmaster
 Edwin Berry Burgum
 Saul Carson
 Edward Chodorov

Jerome Chodorov	Carroll Hollister	Clyde R. Miller
Robert M. Coates	Eugene C. Holmes	Clifford Odets
Lee J. Cobb	Langston Hughes	Dorothy Parker
Lester Cole	Leo Hurwitz	Walter Rantenstrauch
Norman Corwin	Matthew Josephson	Harold J. Rome
Kyle Crichton	Michael Kanin	Norman Rosten
Jerome Davis	Rockwell Kent	Muriel Rukeyser
Albert Deutsch	John A. Kingsbury	Margaret Schlauch
Martha Dodd	Alfred Kreymborg	Budd Schulberg
Olin Downes	Joshua Kunitz	Edwin Seaver
Muriel Draper	Corliss Lamont	Harlow Shapley
James Dugan	Ring Lardner, Jr.	Samuel Sillen
Arnaud d'Usseau	John Howard Lawson	Jessica Smith
Irwin Edman	Emil Lengyel	Bernhard J. Stern
Albert Einstein	Robert Morss Lovett	Donald Ogden Stewart
Guy Endore	Robert S. Lynd	Randall Thompson
Henry Pratt Fairchild	A. B. Magil	Dalton Trumbo
Lion Feuchtwanger	Albert Maltz	Louis Untermeyer
Dorothy Canfield Fisher	Thomas Mann	Henry A. Wallace
Frank S. Freeman	F. O. Matthiesson	Eda Lou Walton
Dashiell Hammett	Elizabeth McCausland	Harry F. Ward
E. Y. Harburg	Carey McWilliams	Theodore Ward
Lillian Hellman	Eve Merriam	Ella Winter

American Artists and Writers Committee Medical Bureau, American Friends of Spanish Democracy

See American Friends of Spanish Democracy (total 3):

Louis Adamic	Muriel Draper	Dorothy Parker
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American Friends of Spanish Democracy

Cited as subversive by Committee on Un-American Activities (total 14):

Marc Blitzstein	Ring Lardner, Jr.	Alfred K. Stern
E. M. Bluestone	Robert S. Lynd	Donald Ogden Stewart
J. Edward Bromberg	Arthur W. Moulton	Colston E. Warne
E. A. Burt	Gardner Murphy	William Wyler
Henry Pratt Fairchild	Bela Schick	

American Friends of Spanish Democracy, Medical Bureau

See American Friends of Spanish Democracy (total 8):

Anton J. Carlson	Matthew Josephson	Mary Van Kleeck
Saul Carson	Corliss Lamont	Max Weber
Adolph Dehn	Guy Emery Shippler	

Appeal to Lift Spanish Embargo

See Coordinating Committee to Lift the Spanish Embargo, cited as subversive by Committee on Un-American Activities (total 1):

Margaret Halsey

Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy

Cited as subversive by Committee on Un-American Activities (total 20):

Thomas Addis	Wm. Gropper	Wayne McMillen
Ernst P. Boas	Minna Harkavy	Gardner Murphy
Morris Carnovsky	Lillian Hellman	Bertha C. Reynolds
Jerome Davis	Langston Hughes	Herman Shumlin
Olin Downes	John Howard Lawson	Lee Simonson
Haven Emerson	Emil Lengyel	Ella Winter
Dorothy Canfield Fisher	Robert Morss Lovett	

Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy

See Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy (total 3) :

Philip Evergood	Clifford Odets	Anton Refregier
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Musicians' Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy

Cited as subversive by California Committee on Un-American Activities (total 2) :

Aaron Copland	Roy Harris
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North American Committee's Campaign for the Relief Ship for Spain

See North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy (total 1) :
Sid Hoff

North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy

Cited as subversive by Committee on Un-American Activities (total 4) :

Jonah E. Caplan	Rev. Donald G. Lothrop	John A. Kingsbury
Allan Chase		

Crown Heights Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy

See North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy (total 1) :
Dashiell Hammett

North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, Medical Bureau

Cited as subversive by Committee on Un-American Activities (total 3) :

Haven Emerson	John P. Peters	Donald Ogden Stewart
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North American Spanish Aid Committee

See North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy (total 4) :
Edwin Berry Burgum Wallingford Riegger Paul Strand

Michael Nisselson

Spanish Refugee Appeal (Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign)

Cited as subversive by Committee on Un-American Activities (total 13) :

Marc Blitzstein	Alexander Kipnis	Carey McWilliams
Lester Cole	Alice F. Liveright	Paul Robeson
Albert Einstein	Albert Maltz	Ben Shahn
Mordecai Ezekiel	John Martin	John Sloan
Albert Kahn		

United American Spanish Aid Committee

See North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, an affiliate (total 10) :

Dr. Thomas Addis	Kyle Crichton	Louis F. McCabe
Dr. Edward K. Barsky	Martha Dodd	Jack McMichael
Millen Brand	Kenneth Leslie	Eda Lou Walton
Edwin Berry Burgum		

National Citizens Political Action Committee

Cited as subversive by Committee on Un-American Activities
(total 15) :

Louis Adamic	Langston Hughes	Paul Robeson
Zlatko Balokovic	Carey McWilliams	Frederick L. Schuman
Ernst P. Boas	Jennings Perry	Mary Van Kleeck
Clark Foreman	Martin Popper	J. Raymond Walsh
E. Y. Harburg	Ira Reid	James Waterman Wise

National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners

Cited as subversive by Attorney General (total 15) :

Louis Adamic	Langston Hughes	John Howard Lawson
Edward Bromberg	Matthew Josephson	Robert Morss Lovett
Aaron Copland	Rockwell Kent	Herman Shumlin
Kyle Crichton	Alfred Kreymborg	Bernhard J. Stern
Guy Endore	Joshua Kunitz	Ella Wiuter

National Federation for Constitutional Liberties

Cited as subversive by Attorney General (total 100) :

Charles Break Ackley	Howard Fast	Clyde R. Miller
Louis Adamic	Joseph F. Fletcher	Gardner Murphy
Thomas Addis	Charles Graham	George L. Paine
Robenia Anthony	Ernest A. Grunsfeld, Jr.	John P. Peters
Alice Barrows	Dashiell Hammett	Prof. Walter Rautenstrauch
Edward K. Barsky	Pearl M. Hart	Callman Rawley
Thomas Bell	Marion Hathaway	Anton Refregier
Aline Bernstein	Chester E. Hodgson	Bertha C. Reynolds
Herbert Biberman	Leo Huberman	Holland Roberts
Marc Blitzstein	Kenneth De P. Hughes	Paul Robeson
Algernon D. Black	W. Alpheus Hunton	Harold J. Rome
Ernst P. Boas	Charles A. Hill	Margaret Schlauch
Richard O. Boyer	Robert Josephy	Budd Schulberg
Millen Brand	Rockwell Kent	Edwin Seaver
Dorothy Brewster	Philip Klein	Herman Shumlin
T. T. Brumbaugh	Alfred Kreymborg	Samuel Sillen
Henrietta Buckmaster	Harry Lamberton	F. Hastings Smythe
Edwin Berry Burgum	Corliss Lamont	Kenneth Speucer
Edwin A. Burt	Oliver W. Larkin	Alfred K. Stern
Angus Cameron	John Howard Lawson	Bernard J. Stern
Antou J. Carlson	Emil Lengyel	Donald Ogden Stewart
Morris Carnovsky	Kenneth Leslie	Paul Strand
Robert C. Challman	Donald G. Lothrop	Dirk J. Struik
Robert M. Coates	Robert Morss Lovett	Dalton Trumbo
Aaron Copland	Robert S. Lynd	Oswald Veblen
Earl B. Dickerson	A. B. Magil	Eda Lou Walton
Hedley S. Dimock	Albert Maltz	Harry F. Ward
Olin Downes	F. O. Matthiessen	Theodore Ward
Muriel Draper	Louis McCabe	Colston E. Warne
Arnaud D'Usseau	Elizabeth McCausland	Max Weber
Albert Einstein	Jack McMichael	Frank W. Weymouth
Guy Endore	Wayne McMillen	Ella Winter
Lehman Engel	Carey McWilliams	Martin Wolfson
Henry Pratt Fairchild		

National Negro Congress

Cited as subversive by Attorney General (total 18) :

Leonard Bernstein	Eugene C. Holmes	Paul Robeson
Henrietta Buckmaster	Charles P. Howard	Artie Shaw
Jerome Davis	Langston Hughes	Kenneth Spencer
Howard DaSilva	W. A. Hunton	Sam Wanamaker
Earl B. Dickerson	David D. Jones	Harry Ward
Charles Hill	Garson Kanin	Dr. Gene Weltfish

New Theatre League (and New Dance League) (New Theatre School)

Cited as subversive by Committee on Un-American Activities
(total 22) :

George Antheil	Will Geer	John Howard Lawson
Herbert Biberman	William Gropper	Albert Maltz
Marc Blitzstein	Langston Hughes	Clifford Odets
Millen Brand	Leo T. Hurwitz	John O'Shaughnessy
J. Edward Bromberg	Garson Kanin	Anton Refregier
Morris Carnovsky	Pauline Koner	Paul Robeson
Adolph Dehn	Alfred Kreymborg	Muriel Rukeyser
Hallie Flanagan		

People's Institute of Applied Religion, Inc.

Cited as subversive by Attorney General (total 11) :

Henrietta Buckmaster	Elizabeth P. Frazier	Rev. Jack McMichael
Rev. John Whittier Darr, Jr.	Millard Lampell	Carey McWilliams
Dr. Joseph F. Fletcher	Dr. John Howland Lathrop	Arthur Miller
	Albert Maltz	Bertha Reynolds

Peoples Radio Foundation, Inc.

Cited as subversive by Attorney General (total 24) :

Rev. Dr. Chas. B. Ackley	Muriel Draper	Corliss Lamont
Zlatko Balakovic	Dr. Henry Pratt Fairchild	Millard Lampell
Marc Blitzstein	Max Goberman	Ray Lev
Millen Brand	William Gropper	John T. McManus
Henrietta Buckmaster	Sidonie M. Gruenberg	Arthur Szyk
Rabbi Jonah E. Caplan	Langston Hughes	Martin Wolfson
Prof. Robert C. Challman	Albert Kahn	Dr. Arthur Upham Pope
Norman Corwin	Rockwell Kent	Muriel Rukeyser

Peoples Songs, Inc.

Cited as subversive by California Committee on Un-American Activities (total 21) :

Sam Barlow	Jack Guilford	Dorothy Parker
Leonard Bernstein	E. Y. Harburg	Paul Robeson
Marc Blitzstein	Judy Holliday	Harold Rome
B. A. Botkin	Langston Hughes	Artie Shaw
Norman Cazden	Rockwell Kent	Kenneth Spencer
Aaron Copland	Millard Lampell	Louis Untermeyer
Norman Corwin	Alan Lomax	Sam Wanamaker

Physicians Forum

Contributing a feature column in Daily Worker (total 4) :

Dr. Ernst P. Boas	Dr. George Cannon	Dr. Leo Davidoff
Dr. Allen Butler		

Progressive Citizens of America

Cited as subversive by California Committee on Un-American Activities (total 131) :

Louis Adamic	Marc Blitzstein	Lee Cobb
Oliver Allen	Dr. Ernst P. Boas	Lester Cole
Herbert Aptheker	Millen Brand	Mrs. Fannie Cook
Edith Atwater	J. Edward Bromberg	Norman Corwin
Alice P. Barrows	Dr. Allan M. Butler	John Darr
Dr. Edward K. Barsky	Angus Cameron	Howard DaSilva
Leonard Bernstein	Morris Carnovsky	Dr. Leo M. Davidoff
Victor Bernstein	Saul Carson	Jo Davidson
Herbert Biberman	Jerome Chodorov	Dr. John J. De Boer
Algernon D. Black	Dr. Rufus Clement	Albert Deutsch

Marshall E. Dimock
Olin Downes
Paul Draper
W. E. B. DuBois
Arnaud D'Usseau
Thomas I. Emerson
Guy Endore
Philip Evergood
Howard Fast
Jose Ferrer
Irving Flamm
Clark Foreman
Joseph Gaer
Josiah W. Gitt
Morton Gould
Charles Graham
Shirley Graham
Chaim Gross
Jack Guilford
Robert Gwathmey
Uta Hagen
Margaret Halsey
E. Y. Harburg
Minna Harkavy
Roy Harris
Pearl Hart
Lillian Hellman
Joseph Hirsch
Ira A. Hirschmann
Libby Holman
Leo Huberman
Charles P. Howard
Kenneth Hughes
Leo Hurwitz

Charles Irving
Matthew Josephson
Garson Kanin
Stetson Kennedy
Robert W. Kenny
Rockwell Kent
Leon Kroll
Corliss Lamont
Millard Lampell
Ring Lardner, Jr.
Dr. Oliver Larkin
Sidney Laufman
Arthur Laurentz
Jacob Lawrence
John Howard Lawson
Kenneth Leslie
Joseph Levy
Dr. Robert Lindner
Norman Mailer
Albert Maltz
Thomas Mann
Sophie Maslow
Prof. F. O. Matthiessen
Dr. Leo Mayer
John T. McManus
Rev. Jack McMichael
Carey McWilliams
Arthur Miller
Dr. Philip Morrison
Willard Motley
Michael Nisselson
Clifford Odets
Dorothy Parker
Dr. Linus Pauling

Jennings Perry
Dr. John P. Peters
Abraham L. Pomerantz
Anton Refregier
Dr. Walter O. Roberts
Paul Robeson
O. John Rogge, Esq.
Dr. Theodor Rosebury
Rose V. Russell
Ben Shahn
Harlow Shapley
Dr. Guy Emery Shippler
Herman Shumlin
John Sloan
Kenneth Spencer
Johannes Steel
Alfred K. Stern
Donald Ogden Stewart
Paul Strand
George Tabori
Dalton Trumbo
Louis Untermeyer
Henry A. Wallace
J. Raymond Walsh
Sam Wanamaker
Theodore Ward
Fred Washington
Max Weber
Dr. Fritz W. Went
Dr. Frank Weymouth
Henry Willcox
Ella Winter
James Waterman Wise

Salute

Cited as subversive by California Committee on Un-American Activities (total 4) :

Walter Bernstein
James Dugan

Robert Ellis

Stefan Heym

School for Democracy

Cited as subversive by Committee on Un-American Activities (total 19) :

Herbert Aptheker
Mordecai Bauman
Dorothy Brewster
Henrietta Buckmaster
Edwin Berry Burgum
Morris Carnovsky
Joseph Fletcher

William Gropper
Leo Huberman
Langston Hughes
Alfred Kreymborg
Corliss Lamont
Walter Rautenstrauch

Bertha C. Reynolds
Margaret Schlauch
Dr. Howard Selsam
Samuel Sillen
Bernhard J. Stern
Paul Strand

Southern Conference for Human Welfare

Cited as subversive by Committee on Un-American Activities (total 22) :

Leonard Bernstein
Henrietta Buckmaster
Rufus E. Clement
Albert Deutsch
Thomas I. Emerson
Mordecai Ezekiel
Dr. Clark Foreman
Kenneth DeP. Hughes

Langston Hughes
David D. Jones
Robert Josephy
Stetson Kennedy
Louis F. McCabe
Jack McMichael
Louis Newman

Michael M. Nisselson
Dorothy Parker
Jennings Perry
Ira De A. Reid
Paul Robeson
Henry A. Wallace
J. Raymond Walsh

Southern Negro Youth Congress

Cited as subversive by Attorney General (total 3) :

Dr. Rufus E. Clement

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois

Dr. Ira De A. Reid

Stage for Action

Cited as subversive by California Committee on Un-American Activities (total 18) :

Zlatko Balokovic

Will Geer

Arthur Miller

Marc Blitzstein

James Gow

Michael M. Nisselson

Edward Chodorov

Jack Guilford

John O'Shaughnessy

Norman Corwin

E. Y. Harburg

Dorothy Parker

Arnaud D'Usseau

Millard Lampell

Helen Tamaris

Howard Fast

John T. McManus

Sam Wanamaker

Stop Censorship Meeting

See Theatre Arts Committee (total 10) :

Edith Atwater

Shirley Graham

Leon Kroll

Jerome Chodorov

Judy Holliday

Albert Maltz

Morris Carnovsky

Garson Kanin

Harold Rome

Jose Ferrer

Theatre Arts Committee

Cited as subversive by California Committee on Un-American Activities (total 17) :

Howard Bay

Lehman Engel

Herman Shumlin *

Marc Blitzstein

Charles Weidman

Donald Ogden Stewart

Morris Carnovsky

Lillian Hellman

Paul Strand

Leo Cobb

John Howard Lawson

Jay Williams

Paul Draper

John Martin

Martin Wolfson

Jane Dudley

Lee Simonson

Veterans Against Discrimination of Civil Rights Congress of New York

See Civil Rights Congress (total 15) :

Dr. Edward K. Barsky

Morton Gould

Rev. Jack McMichael

Algernon Black

E. Y. Harburg

Arthur Miller

Edward Chodorov

Millard Lampell

Norman Rosten

Howard Fast

Kenneth Leslie

Herman Shumlin

Jose Ferrer

Albert Maltz

Jay Williams

Voice of Freedom Committee

Defending pro-Communist radio speakers (total 57) :

Zlatko Balokovic

Joseph Gaer

John T. McManus

Dr. Edward K. Barsky

Arthur Gaeth

Rev. Jack McMichael

Aline Bernstein

Will Geer

Arthur Miller

Leonard Bernstein

Shirley Graham

Prof. Clyde R. Miller

Algernon Black

Uta Hagen

Willard Motley

Henrietta Buckmaster

E. Y. Harburg

Dorothy Parker

Saul Carson

Minna Harkavy

Paul Robeson

Edward Chodorov

Lillian Hellman

Harold J. Rome

Rabbi J. X. Cohen

Ira Hirschmann

Dr. Guy Emery Shippler

Norman Corwin

Judy Holliday

Johannes Steel

Howard Da Silva

Libby Holman

Prof. Bernhard Stern

Jo Davidson

Charles Howard

Donald Ogden Stewart

Albert Deutsch

Langston Hughes

Robert St. John

Paul Draper

Alphaeus Hunton

Helen Tamaris

W. E. B. DuBois

Albert E. Kahn

Louis Untermeyer

Barrows Dunham

Rockwell Kent

Henry A. Wallace

Prof. H. P. Fairchild

Alfred Kreymborg

Fred Washington

Howard Fast

Ring Lardner, Jr.

Dr. Gene Weltfish

Jose Ferrer

Ray Lev

Ella Winter

Workers Alliance

Cited as subversive by Attorney General (total 2):

Louis I. Newman Fredi Washington

Supporters of Communist Bookshops

(Total 69):

Louis Adamic	Sidney Finkelstein	Carey McWilliams
Herbert Aptheker	Joseph Gaer	Arthur Miller
Alice Barrows	Barbara Giles	Bucklin Moon
Thomas Bell	Shirley Graham	Clifford Odets
Victor Bernstein	William Gropper	Arthur Upham Pope
Michael Blankfort	Margaret Halsey	Norman Rosten
Marc Blitzstein	Stefan Heym	Alexander Saxton
B. A. Botkin	Ira Hirschman	Margaret Schlauch
Richard O. Boyer	Eugene C. Holmes	Budd Schulberg
Dorothy Brewster	Leo Huberman	Frederick L. Schuman
Henrietta Buckmaster	Langston Hughes	Edwin Seaver
Edwin Berry Burgum	Ella Winter	Howard Selsam
Allan Chase	William A. Hunton	Agnes Smedley
Fannie Cook	Matthew Josephson	Jessica Smith
Aaron Copland	Albert Kahn	Johannes Steel
Norman Corwin	Rockwell Kent	Bernhard J. Stern
Jerome Davis	Alfred Kreymborg	Robert St. John
Olin Downes	Joshua Kunitz	Dirk J. Struik
W. E. B. DuBois	Corliss Lamont	Louis Untermeyer
Barrows Dunham	Emil Lengyel	Henry Wallace
Albert Einstein	Alan Lomax	Harry F. Ward
Howard Fast	Albert Maltz	Gene Weltfish
Lion Feuchtwanger	F. O. Matthiessen	Jay Williams

World Federation of Democratic Youth

Cited as subversive by Committee on Un-American Activities

(total 14):

Leonard Bernstein	Michael Kidd	Harold Rome
Robert D. Field	Thomas Mann	Kenneth Spencer
Morton Gould	Arthur Miller	Louis Untermeyer
Judy Holliday	Arthur Moulton	Mary Van Kleeck
Nora Kaye	Arthur Upham Pope	

The Panel Room (Forum), 13 Astor Place, New York City

A Communist forum (total 6):

Albert Deutsch	Ira A. Hirschmann	J. Raymond Walsh
Arthur Gaeth	Jennings Perry	Sam Wanamaker

COMMUNIST AND FELLOW-TRAVELER PARTICIPATION

Of the over 500 sponsors of the Scientific and Cultural Conference, at least 22 are either avowed members of the Communist Party, United States of America, or their membership cards or party affiliations have been made part of a sworn public record:

Herbert Biberman	Barbara Giles	A. B. Magil
Richard O. Boyer	William Gropper	Albert Maltz
Edwin Berry Burgum	Langston Hughes	Carey McWilliams
J. Edward Bromberg	Albert E. Kahn	Paul Robeson
Allan Chase	Alfred Kreymborg	Howard Selsam
Lester Cole	Ring Lardner, Jr.	Samuel Sillen
Howard Fast	John Howard Lawson	Dalton Trumbo
Will Geer		

In the light of the conspiratorial nature of the Communist Party, the current practice of concealing party membership in most cases, and

the numerous front affiliations of some of these sponsors, it is reasonable to assume that many more are secret party members.

Supporter

Signer of Communist Party nominating petition (total 12) :

Charles Adams	James Dugan	Shirley Graham
Gregory Ain	Robert Ellis	Abraham Magil
Henry Blumberg	Barbara Giles	Rose V. Russell
Stanley Cobb	Margaret Halsey	Edward Young

League of Professional Groups, supporting Communist Party elections (total 3) :

Kyle Crichton	Guy Endore	J. Edward Bromberg
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Call for the support of the Communist Party national elections and its candidates (1932), signer (total 6) :

Adolf Dehn	Matthew Josephson	Edwin Seaver
Langston Hughes	Alfred Keymborg	Ella May Winter

Open letter to President Roosevelt, protesting against attack on right of Communist Party to use ballot (1940), signer (total 2) :

Carey McWilliams	Clyde R. Miller
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American Committee for the Protection of Foreign-Born, signer of statement in defense of Communist cases (total 10) :

Zlatko Balokovic	Libby Holman	John Sloan
J. X. Cohen	Ray Lev	Gene Weltfish
Muriel Draper	Robert Morss Lovett	Maxine Wood
Pearl M. Hart		

Progressive Citizens of America; Arts, Sciences and Professions Council, signer of statement in defense of Communist cases (total 23) :

Louis Adamic	Muriel Draper	Carey McWilliams
Leonard Bernstein	Thomas I. Emerson	Dorothy Parker
Henrietta Buckmaster	Henry Pratt Fairchild	Paul Robeson
Jerome Chodorov	Howard Fast	Ben Shahn
Thomas Creighton	Robert Gwathmey	Harlow Shapley
Jo Davidson	Michael Heidelberger	Paul Strand
Martha Dodd	Libby Holman	James Waterman Wise
Olin Downes	Rockwell Kent	

Civil Rights Congress, signer of statement in defense of Communist Party or Communist cases (total 28) :

Thomas Addis	Robert Gwathmey	Arthur Miller
Samuel L. M. Barlow	Dashiell Hammett	Holland Roberts
Walter Bernstein	Kenneth de P. Hughes	Artur Schnabel
Herbert Biberman	Garson Kanin	Frederick L. Schuman
Edwin Berry Burgum	John Howard Lawson	F. Hastings Smythe
Adolf Dehn	Ray Lev	Kenneth Spencer
Arnaud d'Usseau	Joseph Levy	Harry F. Ward
Henry Pratt Fairchild	F. O. Matthiessen	Max Weber
Howard Fast	Jack R. McMichael	Frank Weymouth
William Gropper		

National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, signer of statement in defense of Communist cases (total 55) :

Louis Adamic	Aline Bernstein	Dorothy Brewster
Thomas Addis	Algernon D. Black	Henrietta Buckmaster
Robenia F. Anthony	Marc Blitzstein	Edwin Berry Burgum
Samuel L. M. Barlow	Richard O. Boyer	Edwin A. Burt
Howard Bay	Millen Brand	Angus Cameron

Robert C. Challman	W. Alpheus Hunton	Thomas Mann
Rufus E. Clement	David D. Jones	F. O. Matthiessen
Robert M. Coates	Robert Josephy	Louis F. McCabe
Aaron Copland	Rockwell Kent	John T. McManus
Olin Downes	Philip Klein	Jack A. McMichael
Guy Endore	Alfred Kreymborg	Carey McWilliams
Philip Evergood	Leon Kroll	Arthur Upham Pope
Henry Pratt Fairchild	Corliss Lamont	Paul Robeson
Howard Fast	John H. Lathrop	Artur Schnabel
Joseph Fletcher	John Howard Lawson	Harlow Shapley
Ernest A. Grunsfeld, Jr.	Kenneth Leslie	Guy Emery Shipler
Charles A. Hill	Donald G. Lothrop	Donald Ogden Stewart
Chester E. Hodgson	Albert Maltz	Max Weber
Leo Huberman		

National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, signer of statement or speaker in defense of Communist cases (total 22) :

M. N. Chatterjee	I. M. Kolthoff	Harlow Shapley
John J. DeBoer	Oliver Larkin	Bernhard J. Stern
Harl R. Douglass	F. L. Marcuse	Charles Trinkaus
W. E. B. DuBois	Otto Meyerhof	Ralph H. Turner
Barrows Dunham	Philip Morrison	T. W. Van Metre
Henry Pratt Fairchild	Walter Rautenstrauch	Colston Warne
Joseph F. Fletcher	O. John Rogge	F. W. Weymouth
Philip Klein		

National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, statement against Maryland anti-Communist legislation, signer (total 10) :

Olin Downes	O. John Rogge	Max Weber
Howard Fast	Theodore Rosebury	Henry Willcox
Shirley Graham	Alfred K. Stern	Louis Untermeyer
E. Y. Harburg		

Letter protesting ban on Communists in American Civil Liberties Union, signer (total 3) :

Henry Pratt Fairchild	Robert Morss Lovett	Carey McWilliams
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Signer of statement to the President defending the Communist Party March 5, 1941 (total 33) :

Thomas Addis	John A. Kingsbury	Bertha C. Reynolds
Marc Blitzstein	Philip Klein	Wallingford Riegger
Antoinette Cannon	Corliss Lamont	Paul Robeson
Aaron Copland	Donald G. Lothrop	Howard Selsam
Henry Pratt Fairchild	Albert Maltz	Herman Shumlin
Joseph F. Fletcher	Elizabeth McCausland	Bernhard J. Stern
Georgia Harkness	Jack R. McMichael	Dirk J. Struik
Pearl M. Hart	Clyde R. Miller	Eda Lou Walton
Ernest R. Hilgard	Clifford Odets	Harry F. Ward
W. A. Hunton	John P. Peters	Colston E. Warne
Rockwell Kent	Walter Rautenstrauch	Evans A. Worthley

Signer of statement defending Communist Party, April 16, 1947 (total 13) :

Zlatko Balokovic	John Howard Lawson	Frederick L. Shuman
Jo Davidson	Thomas Mann	Agnes Smedley
Adolf Dehn	F. O. Matthiessen	Harry F. Ward
Libby Holman	Artur Schnabel	Max Weber
Matthew Josephson		

Signer of statement defending Communist Party, April 20, 1947
(total 17) :

Zlatko Balokovic	Libby Holman	Artur Schnabel
Samuel L. M. Barlow	Matthew Josephson	Frederick L. Schuman
Jo Davidson	Garson Kanin	Agnes Smedley
Adolf Dehn	John Howard Lawson	Harry F. Ward
Henry Pratt Fairchild	Thomas Mann	Max Weber
Howard Fast	F. O. Matthiessen	

Signer of statement, "We Negro Americans * * *"—defending
Communist Party, April 26, 1947 (total 6) :

W. E. B. DuBois	Edna Johnson	Ira De A. Reid
Elder G. Hawkins	David D. Jones	Paul Robeson

Signer of statement opposing Callahan (anti-Communist) Act
(total 5) :

Kenneth Hughes	Charles Hill	Henry A. Wallace
Garson Kanin	Henry Pratt Fairchild	

Statement of American Educators defending Communist schools,
February 16, 1948 (total 5) :

Dorothy Brewster	Margaret Schlauch	Colston E. Warne
F. O. Matthiessen	Dirk J. Struik	

Supporter of Communist cases in Seattle (1948-49) (total 3) :

Edward Barsky	Norman Corwin	John Howard Lawson
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Miscellaneous activities in support of Communist Party or Young
Communist League (total 63) :

Herbert Aptheker	Dashiell Hammett	John O'Shaughnessy
Mordecai Bauman	Charles A. Hill	Dorothy Parker
Victor H. Bernstein	Ira A. Hirschmann	Linus Pauling
Marc Blitzstein	Lee Holt	Helen Phillips
Richard O. Boyer	Alphaeus Hunton	A. L. Pomerantz
George D. Cannon	David N. Jones	Bertha C. Reynolds
Jonah E. Caplan	Albert E. Kahn	Paul Robeson
Aaron Copland	Robert W. Kenny	O. John Rogge
Kyle Crichton	Rockwell Kent	Harold Rome
Jerome Davis	Alfred Kreymborg	Norman Rosten
Adolf Dehn	Jacob Lawrence	Rose V. Russell
Earl B. Dickerson	Kenneth Leslie	Alexander Saxton
Martha Dodd	Jack Levine	Howard Selsam
W. E. B. DuBois	Robert Morss Lovett	Mitchell Siporin
Jane Dudley	A. B. Magil	Kenneth Spencer
James Dugan	Albert Maltz	Ernest Thurn
Howard Fast	Francis Otto Matthiessen	Dalton Trumbo
Sid Finkelstein	Jack R. McMichael	Mary Van Kleeck
Clark Foreman	Arthur Miller	Henry A. Wallace
Will Geer	Clyde Miller	Harry F. Ward
Shirley Graham	Clifford Odets	Ella Winter

Supported by the Communist Party, United States of America
(Total 21) :

Herbert Biberman	Lillian Hellman	Paul Robeson
Lester Cole	Robert W. Kenuey	O. John Rogge
W. E. B. DuBois	Joshua Kunitz	Ben Shahn
Albert Einstein	Corliss Lamont	Agnes Smedley
Howard Fast	Ring Lardner, Jr.	Dalton Trumbo
Arthur Gaeth	John Howard Lawson	Harry F. Ward
Robert Gwathmey	Albert Maltz	Ella Winter

Supported by Individual Communists

(Total 16) :

Louis Adamic	Albert Einstein	O. John Rogge
Herbert Biberman	Howard Fast	Harlow Shapley
Lester Cole	Ring Lardner, Jr.	Agnes Smedley
Norman Corwin	Albert Maltz	Dalton Trumbo
Muriel Draper	Paul Robeson	Ella Winter
W. E. B. DuBois		

SPONSORS SUPPORT OF INDIVIDUAL COMMUNISTS

ISRAEL AMTER

Citizens Committee for Amter (total 3) :

Millen Brand	Sid Hoff	Rockwell Kent
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Committee for I. Amter's candidacy (total 4) :

Marc Blitzstein	Edwin Seaver	Max Weber
William Gropper		

ELLA REEVE BLOOR (Mother)

Mother Bloor banquet, January 24, 1936 (total 6) :

Corliss Lamont	Clifford Odets	Agnes Smedley
Scott Nearing	Edwin Seaver	Harry F. Ward

Mother Bloor birthday celebration, 1937 (total 4) :

Jerome Davis	Robert Morss Lovett	Rockwell Kent
Will Geer		

Mother Bloor seventy-fifth birthday celebration (total 3) :

Rockwell Kent	Clifford Odets	Jessica Smith
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Mother Bloor's eighty-fifth birthday banquet (total 11) :

Herbert Aptheker	Will Geer	Paul Robeson
Marc Blitzstein	William Gropper	Harry Ward
Muriel Draper	Rockwell Kent	Gene Weltfish
Howard Fast	Alfred Kreymborg	

Miscellaneous (total 3) :

E. K. Barsky	Millen Brand	Muriel Draper
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JOSEPH R. BRODSKY

Memorial services (total 3) :

Rockwell Kent	Louis F. McCabe	Paul Robeson
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EARL BROWDER

Signer of protest against ban on Browder speech October 17, 1936 (total 3) :

Rockwell Kent	Lee Simonson	Max Weber
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Provisional Committee to free Earl Browder, 1941 (total 3) :

Dorothy Brewster	Rockwell Kent	Arthur Upham Pope
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National Free Browder Congress, 1942 (total 7) :

W. E. B. DuBois	Charles A. Hill	John P. Peters
Henry Pratt Fairchild	Jack R. McMichael	Arthur Upham Pope
Joseph F. Fletcher		

Citizens committee to free Earl Browder, 1942 (total 13) :

Mordecai Bauman	Minna Harkavy	Walter Rautenstrauch
Edwin Berry Burgum	Charles A. Hill	H. Hastings Smythe
Earl Dickerson	F. O. Matthiessen	Bernard J. Stern
W. E. B. DuBois	Jack McMichael	Dirk J. Struik
Henry Pratt Fairchild		

Miscellaneous (total 13) :

Charles B. Ackley	Rockwell Kent	A. B. Magil
Louis Adamic	Robert Josephy	Kenneth Spencer
Anton Carlson	Joseph H. Levy	Harry F. Ward
Earl B. Dickerson	Robert Morss Lovett	Ira Wolfert
Lillian Hellman		

EARL BROWDER AND JAMES FORD

Committee of Professional Groups for Browder and Ford, 1936
(total 9) :

Marc Blitzstein	William Gropper	Edwin Seaver
Robert M. Coates	Langston Hughes	Max Weber
Aaron Copland	Rockwell Kent	Ella Winter

JAMES FORD AND WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

League of Professional Groups for Foster and Ford (total 7) :

Kyle S. Crichton	Matthew Josephson	Edwin Seaver
Adolph Dehn	Alfred Kreymborg	Ella Winter
Langston Hughes		

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

(Total 2) :

Louis F. McCabe	Paul Robeson
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SAM DARCY

Signer of appeal on behalf of Darcy issued by National Federation
for Constitutional Liberties, 1940 (total 23) :

Thomas Addis	Philip Klein	Bertha C. Reynolds
Marc Blitzstein	Albert Maltz	Herman Shumlin
Dorothy Brewster	F. O. Matthiessen	Alfred K. Stern
Edwin Berry Burgum	Louis F. McCabe	Bernhard J. Stern
Olin Downes	Jack McMichael	Donald Ogden Stewart
W. Alphaeus Hunton	George L. Paine	Harry F. Ward
Robert Josephy	John P. Peters	Max Weber
Rockwell Kent		Thomas Woody

Miscellaneous (total 2) :

Thomas Addis	Elizabeth P. Frazier
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SAM DARCY and WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN

Schneiderman-Darcy defense committee (total 2) :

Thomas Addis	Carey McWilliams
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WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN

(Total 2) :

Thomas Addis	Edwin A. Burt
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BENJAMIN J. DAVIS

Committee for the reelection of Benjamin J. Davis, Communist, 1945
(total 25) :

Howard Bay	Olin Downes	Crockett Johnson
Leonard Bernstein	Muriel Draper	Rockwell Kent
Marc Blitzstein	Howard Fast	Alfred Kreymborg
Richard O. Boyer	Jose Ferrer	Paul Robeson
Henrietta Buckmaster	Will Geer	Kenneth Spencer
Edward Chodorov	Minna Harkavy	William M. Sweets
Howard da Silva	Leo Huberman	Helen Tamiris
Adolph Dehn	Langston Hughes	Fredi Washington
Anton Dolin		

Miscellaneous (total 4) :

Will Geer	Paul Robeson	Margaret Schlauch
Shirley Graham		

BENJAMIN J. DAVIS AND ROBERT THOMPSON

Citizens Committee for Robert Thompson and Benjamin J. Davis
(total 11) :

Herbert Aptheker	James Gow	Paul Robeson
Edward Chodorov	Shirley Graham	Howard Selsam
Arnaud d'Usseau	Minna Harkavy	Fredi Washington
Howard Fast	Ray Lev	

ROBERT THOMPSON

Civil Rights Congress protest on attack on Robert Thompson
(total 4) :

Howard Fast	Albert Kahn	Jack McMichael
Robert Gwathmey		

Signer of telegram in behalf of Robert Thompson (total 3) :

Henrietta Buckmaster	Kenneth Leslie	Gene Weltfish
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EUGENE DENNIS

Civil Rights Congress, meeting defending Dennis, 1947 (total 3) :

Charles Hill	Paul Robeson	Colston Warne
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Signer of protest against prosecution of Dennis June 8, 1947
(total 3) :

Thomas Addis	Rockwell Kent	Frederick L. Schuman
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Miscellaneous (total 6) :

Earl Dickerson	John Howard Lawson	Louis F. McCabe
Shirley Graham	Albert Maltz	Theodore Ward

GEORGI DIMITROV, general secretary, Communist International

Reichstag Fire Trial Anniversary Committee—declaration honoring
Dimitrov, 1943 (total 42) :

Louis Adamic	Philip Evergood	Kenneth Leslie
Thomas Addis	Henry Pratt Fairchild	Ray Lev
Zlatko Balokovic	Howard Fast	Arthur Upham Pope
Howard Bay	Dorothy Canfield Fisher	Walter Rautenstrauch
Algernon Black	Morton Gould	Bertha C. Reynolds
Millen Brand	William Gropper	Bela Schick
Henrietta Buckmaster	Lillian Hellman	Margaret Schlauch
Edwin Berry Burgum	Chester E. Hodgson	Guy Emery Shipler
David Burliuk	Langston Hughes	F. Hastings Smythe
Edward Chodorov	Albert E. Kahn	Donald Ogden Stewart
Leo M. Davidoff	Rockwell Kent	Dirk J. Struik
Jo Davidson	Leon Kroll	Helen Tamiris
Albert Einstein	Ring Lardner	Dalton Trumbo
Guy Endore	Emil Lengyel	Max Weber

Miscellaneous (total 3) :

Louis Adamic	Zlatko Balokovic	Lillian Hellman
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GERHART EISLER

American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born—partici-
pant in support of Eisler (total 5) :

Libby Holman	Robert Morss Lovett	Max Weber
Crockett Johnson	Jennings Perry	

Civil Rights Congress—participant in support of Gerhart Eisler
(total 22) :

Herbert Biberman	Rockwell Kent	Carey McWilliams
Earl B. Dickerson	Ring Lardner	Arthur W. Moulton
W. E. B. DuBois	John Howard Lawson	Dorothy Parker
Philip Evergood	Albert Maltz	Anton Refregier
Howard Fast	Thomas Mann	Harry F. Ward
David D. Jones	Louis F. McCabe	Gene Weltfish
Albert E. Kahn	Jack R. McMichael	Max Weber
Garson Kanin		

International Workers Order—participant in support of Gerhart Eisler (total 3) :

Albert E. Kahn	John Howard Lawson	Albert Maltz
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Miscellaneous (total 12) :

Earl B. Dickerson	Rockwell Kent	Frederick L. Schuman
Muriel Draper	A. B. Magil	Harlow Shapley
Shirley Graham	Albert Maltz	Kenneth Spencer
David D. Jones	Paul Robeson	Henry A. Wallace

HANNS EISLER

Petition to Attorney General Clark in behalf of Hanns Eisler, signer
(total 6) :

George Antheil	Aaron Copland	Thomas Mann
Leonard Bernstein	Albert Einstein	Linus Pauling

Protest against deportation of Hanns Eisler, signer (total 7) :

George Antheil	Albert Einstein	Linus Pauling
Leonard Bernstein	Thomas Mann	Max Weber
Aaron Copland		

Hanns Eisler concert, sponsor (total 4) :

Leonard Bernstein	Roy Harris	Randall Thompson
Aaron Copland		

Miscellaneous (total 6) :

Sidney Finkelstein	Clifford Odets	Jennings Perry
John Howard Lawson	Dorothy Parker	Dalton Trumbo

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN

(Total 2) :

Minna Harkavy	Dashiell Hammett
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MANOLIS GLEZOS, Greek Communist

Signer of telegram protesting sentence against Manolis Glezos
(total 7) :

John W. Darr	Kenneth Leslie	Dirk Struik
Henry Pratt Fairchild	Eve Sikelianos	Harry F. Ward
John H. Lathrop		

WILLIAM GROPPER

Gropper celebration, 1939 (total 3) :

Marc Blitzstein	Jack Guilford	Harold Rome
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SIMON GERSON

Citizens Committee to Defend Representative Government, supporting seating of Gerson, Communist, 1948 (total 13) :

Zlatko Balokovic	W. E. B. DuBois	Uta Hagen
Jonah E. Caplan	Irwin Edman	John Howard Lawson
J. X. Cohen	Haven Emerson	John T. McManus
Jo Davidson	Henry Pratt Fairchild	James Waterman Wise
Albert Deutsch		

Statement to mayor and city council in behalf of Simon Gerson, February 16, 1948 (total 5) :

J. X. Cohen	W. E. B. DuBois	John Howland Lathrop
Jo Davidson	Irwin Edman	

League of American Writers, signer of petition, 1938, supporting Gerson (total 4) :

Marc Blitzstein	Dorothy Brewster	Ella Winter
Millen Brand		

Citizens Committee for the Election of Simon W. Gerson, 1948 (total 3) :

Philip Evergood	Howard Fast	Mary Van Kleeck
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Gerson supporters, 1938 (total 6) :

Theodore Brameld	Margaret Schlauch	Eda Lou Walton
Edwin B. Burgum	Howard Selsam	Harry F. Ward

Miscellaneous (total 6) :

John Howland Lathrop	Norman Mailer	Bertha Reynolds
Robert Lynd	Clyde R. Miller	Theodore O. Thackrey

LEON JOSEPHSON

Appeal to President Truman in behalf of Leon Josephson, 1948 (total 4) :

Richard O. Boyer	Louis F. McCabe	Max Weber
Albert Kahn		

Civil Rights Congress—statement supporting Josephson, 1948 (total 2) :

Thomas Addis	Frank W. Weymouth
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International Workers Order, meeting defending Josephson (total 2) :

John Howard Lawson	Albert Maltz
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Miscellaneous (total 4) :

Thomas Mann	Paul Robeson	O. John Rogge
Howard Fast		

MIKHAIL KALATOZV, Soviet film representative

National Council of American-Soviet Friendship—support of Kalatozov (total 3) :

Aaron Copland	Lillian Hellman	John Howard Lawson
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LA RUE McCORMICK, Communist candidate, California

(Total 3) :

Lester Cole	John Howard Lawson	Dalton Trumbo
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OSCAR NIEMEYER, Brazilian Communist

Letter protesting ban on entrance of Oscar Niemeyer, 1948 (total 3) :

Thomas H. Creighton	Talbot Hamlin	Jacob Moscovitz
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PABLO NERUDA, Chilean Communist

Committee of 102 writers and artists—protest arrest of Neruda (total 29) :

Louis Adamic	Philip Evergood	Eve Merriam
Thomas Bell	Sidney Finkelstein	Dorothy Parker
Walter Bernstein	Barbara Giles	Norman Rosten
B. A. Botkin	Shirley Graham	Agnes Smedley
Richard Boyer	Robert Gwathmey	Raphael Soyer
Millen Brand	Dashiell Hammett	Louis Untermeyer
Dorothy Brewster	Stefan Heym	Theodore Ward
Jo Davidson	Leo Huberman	Jay Williams
W. E. B. DuBois	Matthew Josephson	Maxine Wood
Irwin Edman	Robert Morss Lovett	

JOHN REED

John Reed Clubs (total 4) :

Langston Hughes	A. B. Magil	Anton Refregier
Joshua Kunitz		

John Reed Club School (total 5) :

Adolph Dehn	Rockwell Kent	Max Weber
William Gropper	Anton Refregier	

Miscellaneous (total 3) :

Marc Blitzstein	Corliss Lamont	Mary Van Kleeck
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MORRIS SCHAPPES

Schappes Defense Committee (total 16) :

Thomas Addis	Rockwell Kent	Bernhard Stern
Marc Blitzstein	John Howard Lawson	Dirk J. Struik
Dorothy Brewster	F. O. Matthiessen	Edna Lou Walton
Henrietta Buckmaster	Jack R. McMichael	Harry F. Ward
Edwin Berry Burgum	Margaret Schlauch	F. W. Weymouth
Aaron Copland		

Plea Pardon for Morris Schappes, signer (total 3) :

Henrietta Buckmaster	Howard Fast	Kenneth Leslie
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Miscellaneous (total 1) :

Norman Corwin

FERDINAND SMITH

National Maritime Union—Women's Auxiliary dance for Ferdinand Smith (total 4) :

Morris Carnovsky	Paul Robeson	Fredi Washington
Howard Fast		

Dinner for Ferdinand Smith, 1944 (total 3) :

Louis Adamic	Howard Fast	Clark Foreman
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Miscellaneous (total 4) :

Earl Dickerson	Clarence Parker	Henry A. Wallace
Charles Hill		

FRANCIS THOMPSON

Coordinating Committee on Civil Liberties—statement in support,
January 19, 1948 (total 8) :

Ernest Boas	Michael Heidelberger	Theodore Rosebury
John W. Darr	Jack McMichael	Gene Weltfish
Jo Davidson	Clyde Miller	

Miscellaneous (total 1) :

Albert Deutsch

DON WEST

Committee to Defend Don West, 1947 (total 8) :

Henrietta Buckmaster	Langston Hughes	Arthur Miller
Edwin Berry Burgum	Millard Lampell	Henry A. Wallace
James Gow	Eve Merriam	

SUPPORT OF INDIVIDUAL COMMUNISTS, MISCELLANEOUS (TOTAL 13) :

Norman Corwin	Albert Kahn	O. John Rogge
Muriel Draper	Louis F. McCabe	Henry A. Wallace
Howard Fast	Jennings Perry	Harry F. Ward
Lillian Hellman	Paul Robeson	Ella Winter
Langston Hughes		

SPONSOR SUPPORT OF ARRESTED AND INDICTED REDS

Civil Rights Congress—participant—activities in support of Communist leaders (total 26) :

Thomas Addis	John Howard Lawson	Frederick L. Schuman
John Darr	Kenneth Leslie	F. Hastings Smythe
Albert Einstein	Robert Morss Lovett	Kenneth Spencer
Guy Endore	Norman Mailer	Dirk Struik
Henry Pratt Fairchild	Albert Maltz	Mary Van Kleeck
Shirley Graham	F. O. Matthiessen	Max Weber
Charles A. Hill	Carey McWilliams	Gene Weltfish
Kenneth de P. Hughes	Paul Robeson	Fritz Went
Alphaeus Hunton	O. John Rogge	

Independent Progressive Party—delegate—attacks arrest of Communist Party leaders (total 2) :

William A. Hunton	Paul Robeson
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Statement attacking arrest of Communist Party leaders, August 23, 1948, signer (total 4) :

W. E. B. DuBois	Charles P. Howard	Paul Robeson
Shirley Graham		

“Statement by Negro Americans” in behalf of arrested Communist Party leaders, sponsor (total 7) :

W. E. B. DuBois	Charles P. Howard	W. A. Hunton
Shirley Graham	Kenneth de P. Hughes	Paul Robeson
Charles A. Hill		

Statement urging dismissal of charges against Communist Party leaders, November 6, 1948, signer (total 3) :

George Antheil	Guy Endore	Albert Maltz
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Signer of petition in behalf of Communist Party leaders, November 6, 1948 (total 2) :

Ray Lev	Maud Slye
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Signer of statement in behalf of 12 Communist leaders, November 22, 1948 (total 4) :

Kenneth Hughes	Dirk Struik	Paul M. Sweezy
F. O. Matthiessen		

Signer of statement in behalf of Communist Party leaders, January 17, 1949 (total 17) :

Lester Cole	Robert Gwathmey	Muriel Rukeyser
Martha Dodd	E. Y. Harburg	Alfred K. Stern
W. E. B. DuBois	Joseph H. Levy	Paul Strand
Henry Pratt Fairchild	Albert Maltz	Max Weber
Howard Fast	Philip Morrison	Henry Willcox
Shirley Graham	Clarence Parker	

Protests against procedure in Communist Party leaders' trial, February 20, 1949 (total 2) :

Helen Phillips	Gene Weltfish
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Committee for Free Political Advocacy—signer of letter in defense of Communist Party leaders (total 47) :

Thomas Addis	Howard Fast	Scott Nearing
Bernard Baum	Shirley Graham	Clifford Odets
Richard O. Boyer	Robert Gwathmey	Linus Pauling
Theodore Brameld	Crockett Johnson	Anton Refregier
Edwin Berry Burgum	Albert E. Kahn	Howard Bay
David Burluk	Alfred Kreymborg	Rose V. Russell
Jonah E. Caplan	Corliss Lamont	John Sloan
Morris Carnovsky	Millard Lampell	Agnes Smedley
Serge Chermayeff	Kenneth Leslie	Paul Strand
Howard da Silva	Oliver S. Loud	Arthur Szyk
Albert Deutsch	Carey McWilliams	Dalton Trumbo
Earl B. Dickerson	Albert Maltz	Louis Untermeyer
W. E. B. DuBois	F. O. Matthiessen	Mary Van Kleeck
Guy Endore	Curtiss D. MacDougall	Max Weber
Philip Evergood	Philip Morrison	Frank W. Weymouth
Henry Pratt Fairchild	Willard Motley	

SPONSOR SUPPORT OF SOVIET UNION

Meeting to greet the Soviet constitution, 1936

Edwin Berry Burgum	Dorothy Douglas	Margaret Schlauch
Jerome Davis	John A. Kingsbury	

Endorses Soviet constitution

(Total 1) :

Harry Ward

Statement by American Progressives on the Moscow trials

Signer (total 28) :

Marc Blitzstein	Guy Endore	Lynn Riggs
Millen Brand	Phil Evergood	Harold J. Rome
Dorothy Brewster	Lillian Hellman	Margaret Schlauch
Edwin Berry Burgum	Langston Hughes	Edwin Seaver
Morris Carnovsky	Leo Hurwitz	Howard Selsam
Robert Coates	Corliss Lamont	Jessica Smith
Lester Cole	John Howard Lawson	Bernhard J. Stern
Kyle Crichton	Albert Maltz	Paul Strand
Jerome Davis	Dorothy Parker	Martin Wolfson
Muriel Draper		

Speaker or statement on Moscow trials

Miscellaneous (total 6) :

Edwin Berry Burgum	Corliss Lamont	Howard Selsam
Lion Feuchtwanger	Robert Morss Lovett	Max Weber

Soviet Russia Today—dinner celebrating twenty-fifth anniversary of Red Army

Sponsor (total 12) :

Louis Adamic	Lillian Hellman	Arthur W. Moulton
Alice P. Barrows	John A. Kingsbury	Arthur Upham Pope
Albert Einstein	Corliss Lamont	Johannes Steel
Henry Pratt Fairchild	Thomas Mann	Donald Ogden Stewart

Speaker on twenty-sixth anniversary of Red Army

(Total 1) :

H. P. Fairchild

Celebration of twenty-seventh anniversary of the Soviet Union

Participant (total 2) :

Roy Harris	Norman Corwin
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Contributes letter on thirtieth anniversary of Soviet Union

(Total 1) :

John Howard Lawson

Supported by Soviet Agencies, Press or Radio

(Total 12) :

Albert Einstein	John Howard Lawson	O. John Rogge
Howard Fast	Albert Maltz	Johannes Steel
Lillian Hellman	Thomas Mann	Dalton Trumbo
Rockwell Kent	Paul Robeson	Ira Wolfert

Sends greetings on twenty-first anniversary of Russian Revolution

(Total 6) :

Dorothy Brewster	Philip Evergood	Jessica Smith
Jerome Davis	Rockwell Kent	Dirk J. Struik

Sponsor of meeting "The Soviet Union and Present World Affairs"

(Total 5) :

Dorothy Douglas	Robert Morss Lovett	Mary Van Kleeck
John A. Kingsbury	Clyde R. Miller	

Open letter for closer cooperation with the Soviet Union, 1939, signer

(Total 39) :

Thomas Addis	Langston Hughes	Lynn Riggs
Marc Blitzstein	Matthew Josephson	Harold J. Rome
Millen Brand	Rockwell Kent	Margaret Schlauch
Dorothy Brewster	John A. Kingsbury	Herman Shumlin
J. E. Bromberg	Alfred Kreyenborg	Alfred K. Stern
Edwin Berry Burgum	Corliss Lamont	Bernhard J. Stern
Robert M. Coates	John Howard Lawson	Donald Ogden Stewart
Kyle Crichton	Emil Lengvel	Paul Strand
Dorothy Douglas	Robert Morss Lovett	Dirk J. Struik
Muriel Draper	Clifford Odets	Harry F. Ward
Henry Pratt Fairchild	John P. Peters	Max Weber
William Gropper	Walter Rautenstrauch	Ella Winter
Leo Huberman	Bertha C. Reynolds	Louis Untermeyer

Issued statement in support of the U. S. S. R. (Soviet Russia Today), 1941

(Total 7) :

Alfred Kreymborg
Donald G. Lothrop
Albert Maltz

Thomas Mann
Wallingford Reigger

Paul Strand
Ella Winter

Sent greetings to the Soviet Union, 1942

(Total 3) :

Muriel Draper

Henry P. Fairchild

Kenneth Leslie

Masses and Mainstream, signer of open letter to Soviet writers, 1948

(Total 16) :

Thomas Bell
Walter Bernstein
Marc Blitzstein
B. A. Botkin
Arnaud d'Usseau
Philip Evergood

Howard Fast
Sidney Finkelstein
Barbara Giles
Robert Gwathmey
Ray Lev

A. B. Magil
Howard Selsam
Samuel Sillen
Theodore Ward
Max Weber

Masses and Mainstream, signer of letter defending open letter to Soviet writers

(Total 14) :

Herbert Aptheker
Thomas Bell
B. A. Botkin
Richard O. Boyer
Arnaud d'Usseau

Howard Fast
Sidney Finkelstein
Barbara Giles
Robert Gwathmey
Ray Lev

A. B. Magil
Howard Selsam
Samuel Sillen
Theodore Ward

Literary Gazette, Moscow, signer of statement supporting Soviet Union versus current United States leadership, 1948

(Total 17) :

Herbert Aptheker
Thomas Bell
Walter Bernstein
Marc Blitzstein
B. A. Botkin
Richard O. Boyer

Arnaud d'Usseau
Philip Evergood
Howard Fast
Sidney Finkelstein
Barbara Giles
Ray Lev

A. B. Magil
Howard Selsam
Samuel Sillen
Theodore Ward
Max Weber

Attacks the anti-Soviet film, "The Iron Curtain"

(Total 3) :

Cecilia Ager

Muriel Draper

Arthur A. Moulton

Sends greeting to Moscow Art Theatre, 1948

(Total 16) :

Marlon Brando
Dorothy Brewster
Henrietta Buckmaster
Edward Chodorov
Olin Downes
Arnaud d'Usseau

Jose Ferrer
James Gow
Uta Hagen
Lillian Hellman
Judy Holliday

John Martin
Clifford Odets
Jessica Smith
Paul Robeson
Holland Roberts

Guest at Soviet Embassy

(Total 3) :

Muriel Draper

Clark Foreman

Henry Wallace

Support of Soviet Union, miscellaneous
(Total 55) :

Cecilia Ager	William Gropper	Arthur Upham Pope
Herbert Aptheker	Minna R. Harkavy	Holland Roberts
Zlatko Balokovic	Lillian Hellman	Paul Robeson
Wade C. Barclay	Charles A. Hill	Frederick Schuman
Herbert Biberman	Langston Hughes	Edwin Seaver
Millen Brand	Albert E. Kahn	Harlow Shapley
Norman Corwin	Robert W. Kenny	Herman Shumlin
Jerome Davis	John Kingsbury	Jessica Smith
Muriel Draper	Joshua Kunitz	Johannes Steel
W. E. B. DuBois	Corliss Lamont	Bernhard Stern
Arnaud d'Usseau	Kenneth Leslie	Mary Van Kleeck
Philip Evergood	Oliver S. Loud	Henry A. Wallace
Henry Pratt Fairchild	John T. McManus	J. Raymond Walsh
Lion Feuchtwanger	Jack R. McMichael	Harry F. Ward
Irvan B. Flamm	Scott Nearing	Colston E. Warne
Sidney Finkelstein	Clifford Odets	Max Weber
Will Geer	Jennings Perry	Ella Winter
Herbert S. Goldstein	Abraham Pomerantz	

Visits the Soviet Union

First American Delegation to U. S. S. R. (total 1) :

Jerome Davis

Russian Travel Department—Guide to Soviet Russia, 1937 (total 2) :

John A. Kingsbury Joshua Kunitz

Open Road to Soviet Russia—Tour conductor, 1937 (total 2) :

John A. Kingsbury Joshua Kunitz

Visits Soviet Union, miscellaneous (total 13) :

Thomas Addis	Lillian Hellman	Holland Roberts
Richard Burgin	Langston Hughes	Johannes Steel
Norman Corwin	Harry Lurie	James Waterman Wise
Jo Davidson	Scott Nearing	Martin Wolfson
Jay Gorney		

National Council of American-Soviet Friendship

Cited as subversive by the Attorney General. Member or officer
(total 71) :

Louis Adamic	Robert D. Feild	Emil Lengyel
Zlatko Balokovic	Lion Feuchtwanger	Robert S. Lynd
Alice Barrows	Dorothy Canfield Fisher	D. A. MacInnes
Aline Bernstein	Joseph F. Fletcher	Thomas Mann
Dorothy Brewster	Elizabeth P. Frazier	Arthur W. Moulton
Henrietta Buckmaster	Vincent Glinsky	Michael Nisselson
George D. Cannon	Henrietta L. Gordon	Clifford Odets
Aaron Copland	Morton Gould	I. Rice Pereira
Norman Corwin	Chaim Gross	John P. Peters
John W. Darr	Talbot Hamlin	Arthur Upham Pope
Jo Davidson	Minna Harkavy	Anton Refregier
Herbert Davis	Roy Harris	Wallinford Riegger
Jerome Davis	Michael Heidelberger	Paul Robeson
John J. DeBoer	Lillian Hellman	Harold J. Rome
Dorothy Douglas	Joseph Hirsch	Muriel Rukeyser
Muriel Draper	Langston Hughes	Rose Russell
Paul Draper	Rockwell Kent	Margaret Schlauch
Albert Einstein	John A. Kingsbury	Ben Shahn
Philip Evergood	Leon Kroll	Herman Shumlin
Henry Pratt Fairchild	Corliss Lamont	Guy Emery Shippler

John Sloan
Nicholas Slonimsky
Jessica Smith
Johannes Steel

Helen Tamiris
Donald Ogden Stewart
Harry F. Ward
Max Weber

Philip R. White
Maxine Wood
Thomas Woody

Open letter to Mayor of Stalingrad, signers, June 1943 (total 20) :

George D. Cannon
Aaron Copland
Leo M. Davidoff
Jo Davidson
Albert Einstein
Henry Pratt Fairchild
John A. Kingsbury

Thomas Mann
Arthur W. Moulton
Clifford Odets
John P. Peters
Arthur Upham Pope
Wallingford Riegger
Guy Emery Shipler

Herman Shumlin
John Sloan
Donald Ogden Stewart
Louis Untermeyer
Oswald Veblen
Frank Lloyd Wright

Statement urging meeting between Truman and Stalin, signers, October 16, 1947 (total 6) :

John W. Darr
W. E. B. DuBois

Howard Fast
Rockwell Kent

Corliss Lamont
Robert S. Lynd

Statement in praise of Wallace's open letter to Stalin, signers, May, 1948 (total 48) :

Louis Adamic
T. Addis
Zlatko Balokovic
Edward K. Barsky
Howard Bay
Algernon D. Black
Dorothy Brewster
Edwin Berry Burgum
Allan M. Butler
Aaron Copland
John W. Darr, Jr.
W. E. B. DuBois
Henry Pratt Fairchild
Howard Fast
Joseph Fletcher
Uta Hagen

E. Y. Harburg
Charles A. Hill
Eugene C. Holmes
Kenneth deP. Hughes
Crockett Johnson
Rockwell Kent
John A. Kingsbury
Alfred Kreymborg
John Howland Lathrop
John Howard Lawson
Emil Lengyel
Robert S. Lynd
Albert Maltz
F. O. Matthiessen
Wayne McMillen
Arthur W. Moulton

Walter Rautenstrauch
Anton Refregier
Rose V. Russell
Margaret Schlauch
Frederick L. Schuman
Lee Simonson
John Sloan
Maud Slye
Agnes Smedley
Jessica Smith
Donald Ogden Stewart
Paul Y. Sweezy
Dalton Trumbo
Harry F. Ward
Max Weber
Ella Winter

Sends greetings to women of the Soviet Union, March 9, 1949 (total 7) :

Henrietta Buckmaster
Muriel Draper

Dorothy Canfield Fisher
Lillian Hellman
Maud Slye

Agnes Smedley
Ella Winter

Sends greetings to women of the Soviet Union, March 8, 1949 (total 8) :

Sidonie Matsner Gruenberg
Georgia Harkness
Ray Lev

Rose Russell
Margaret Schlauch
Agnes Smedley

Mary Van Kleeck
Gene Weltfish

Protest against anti-Soviet film, "The Iron Curtain," signers (total 13) :

Dorothy Brewster
David Burliuk
Olin Downes
W. E. B. DuBois
Philip Evergood

Henry Pratt Fairchild
E. Y. Harburg
Libby Holman
John A. Kingsbury
Alfred Kreymborg

Emil Lengyel
Arthur W. Moulton
Lee Simonson

Statement calling for conference with the Soviet Union, June, 1948, signers (total 5) :

Algernon D. Black
Aaron Copland

W. E. B. DuBois
Eugene C. Holmes

John Howard Lawson

Appeal to the United States Government to end the cold war and arrange a conference with the Soviet Union, 1948, signers (total 6) :

Algernon D. Black	Robert H. Ellis	Arthur W. Moulton
W. E. B. DuBois	Robert S. Lynd	Maud Slye

Urges Truman interview with Stalin, February, 1949 (total 17) :

Angus Cameron	Georgia Harkness	Carey McWilliams
Jonah E. Caplan	Kenneth deP. Hughes	Arthur W. Moulton
Edward Chodorov	Crockett Johnson	Linus Pauling
Olin Downes	John A. Kingsbury	Arthur Upham Pope
Henry Pratt Fairchild	Corliss Lamont	Max Weber
James Gow	John H. Lathrop	

Miscellaneous, signers of statements, speakers, etc. (total 17) :

Leonard Bernstein	Lillian Hellman	Frederick L. Schuman
Paul Draper	Albert E. Kahn	Jessica Smith
W. E. B. DuBois	Corliss Lamont	Harlow Shapley
Howard Fast	Ray Lev	Donald Ogden Stewart
J. W. Gitt	Aubrey Pankey	Henry A. Wallace
Jack Guilford	Bella Schick	

American Council on Soviet Relations

Cited as subversive by the Attorney General (total 15) :

Dorothy Brewster	Lillian Hellman	Margaret Schlauch
Dorothy Douglas	Corliss Lamont	Jessica Smith
Muriel Draper	Jack McMichael	Mary Van Kleeck
Henry Pratt Fairchild	Arthur Upham Pope	Eda Lou Walton
Minna Harkavy	Bertha C. Reynolds	Ella Winter

American Review of Soviet Medicine

(Total 3) :

Leo M. Davidoff	Bela Schick	Gregory Zilboorg
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American-Russian Institute

Cited as subversive by the California Committee on Un-American activities (total 6) :

Herbert Davis	Paul Robeson	Bernhard Stern
Arthur Upham Pope	Harlow Shapley	Henry A. Wallace

American Society for Russian Relief

(Total 3) :

Robert C. Challman	J. W. Gitt	Henry Wallace
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American-Soviet Music Society

Affiliate of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, cited by the California Committee on Un-American Activities (total 8) :

Leonard Bernstein	Morton Gould	Leo Smit
Marc Blitzstein	Ray Lev	Jessica Smith
Aaron Copland	John O'Shaughnessy	

Congress of American Soviet Friendship

Cited as a Communist front by Committee on Un-American Activities (total 5) :

Jo Davidson	Thomas Mann	Paul Robeson
Albert Einstein	Arthur W. Moulton	

Friends of the Soviet Union

Cited as subversive by the Attorney General (total 10) :

David Burliuk	John Kingsbury	Scott Nearing
Albert Einstein	Joshua Kunitz	Jessica Smith
William Gropper	Corliss Lamont	
Rockwell Kent	Robert Morss Lovett	

Golden Book of American Friendship with the Soviet Union

Cited as a Communist enterprise by Committee on Un-American Activities (total 11) :

Thomas Addis	Matthew Josephson	Clifford Odets
Kyle Crichton	John Howard Lawson	Muriel Rukeyser
Muriel Draper	Robert Morss Lovett	Max Weber
W. E. B. DuBois	Scott Nearing	

Medical Aid to Russia

(Total 3) :

Lillian Hellman	Kenneth Leslie	Arthur W. Moulton
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Russian War Relief

(Total 24) :

Aline Bernstein	William Gropper	Robert Morss Lovett
David Burliuk	Lillian Hellman	Paul Robeson
Norman Corwin	Matthew Josephson	Herman Shumlin
Adolf Dehn	Garson Kanin	Johannes Steel
Paul Draper	Rockwell Kent	Donald Ogden Stewart
Philip Evergood	John A. Kingsbury	D. J. Struik
Henry Pratt Fairchild	Corliss Lamont	Charles Weidman
Lion Feuchtwanger	Kenneth Leslie	Frank Lloyd Wright

American Birobidjan Committee

Committee for Jewish Colonization in the Soviet Union (total 2) :

Albert Einstein	Holland Roberts
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American Committee for Friendship With the Soviet Union

Cited as a Communist organization by the California Committee on Un-American Activities (total 1) :

Corliss Lamont

American-Russian Music Publishers

Cited as subversive by the California Committee on Un-American Activities (total 1) :

Paul Robeson

American-Soviet Friendship Rally

(Total 1) :

Norman Corwin

American-Soviet Science Society

Affiliate of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, cited by the California Committee on Un-American Activities (total 1) :

Duncan A. MacInnes

Concert for Stalingrad Orphans

(Total 1) :

Alexander Kipnis

Delegation to the Soviet Union Meeting

(Total 1) :

Jessica Smith

Russian-American Society

(Total 1) :

Holland Roberts

Russian Victory Meeting

(Total 1) :

Kenneth Leslie

Soviet Russia Today (publication)

Cited as a Communist front by the Committee on Un-American Activities (total 55) :

Zlatko Balokovic	Lillian Hellman	Arthur Upham Pope
Edward K. Barsky	Joseph Hirsch	Ad Reinhardt
B. A. Botkin	Leo Huberman	Holland Roberts
Millen Brand	Langston Hughes	Norman Rosten
Dorothy Brewster	Leo Hurwitz	Margaret Schlauch
Henrietta Buckmaster	Rockwell Kent	Frederick L. Schuman
Edwin Berry Burgum	John A. Kingsbury	Edwin Seaver
Jerome Davis	Joshua Kunitz	H. W. Shelton
Martha Dodd	Corliss Lamont	Jessica Smith
Muriel Draper	John Howard Lawson	Johannes Steel
W. E. Burghardt DuBois	Emil Lengyel	Bernhard J. Stern
Herbert John Davis	Ray Lev	Donald Ogden Stewart
Albert Einstein	Thomas Mann	Paul Strand
Henry Pratt Fairchild	Stuart Mudd	Mary Van Kleeck
Howard Fast	Michael M. Nisselson	Harry F. Ward
Lion Feuchtwanger	Clifford Odets	Max Weber
Irving H. Flamm	Aubrey Pankey	Gene Weltfish
James Gow	Abraham L. Pomerantz	Ella Winter
William Gropper		

SPONSOR SUPPORT OF MAY DAY PARADES

Organized and participated in by leading Communists :

1938 (total 1) :

Edwin Berry Burgum

1939 (total 1) :

Rockwell Kent

1946 (total 35) :

Howard Bay	William Gropper	Ray Lev
Marc Blitzstein	Robert Gwathmey	Elizabeth McCausland
Henrietta Buckmaster	Uta Hagen	Clifford Odets
Edward Chodorov	Minna Harkavy	Anton Refregier
Adolf Dehn	Nat Hiken	Mitchell Siporin
Anton Dolin	Libby Holman	Kenneth Spencer
Paul Draper	Rockwell Kent	Johannes Steel
Arnaud d'Usseau	Charles Irving	Paul Strand
Philip Evergood	Crockett Johnson	Helen Tamiris
Howard Fast	Ring Lardner, Jr.	Fredi Washington
Jose Ferrer	Alfred Kreymborg	Max Weber
James Gow	Oliver Larkin	

1947 (total 40) :

Ralph Alswang	William Gropper	Ray Lev
Walter Bernstein	Chaim Gross	Jack Levine
Marc Blitzstein	Robert Gwathmey	Jack R. McMichael
Richard O. Boyer	Uta Hagen	Eve Merriam
Edward Chodorov	Minna Harkavy	Anton Refregier
Jerome Chodorov	Nat Hiken	Paul Robeson
John W. Darr, Jr.	Libby Holman	William M. Sweets
Leon Davidoff	Langston Hughes	Louis Untermeyer
Arnaud d'Usseau	Charles Irving	Hilda Vaughn
Philip Evergood	Albert E. Kahn	Henry Wallace
Howard Fast	Rockwell Kent	Harry F. Ward
Will Geer	Alfred Kreymborg	Theodore Ward
James Gow	Millard Lampell	Max Weber
Shirley Graham		

1948 (total 33) :

Ralph Alswang	Max Goberman	Ray Lev
B. A. Botkin	James Gow	L. Model
Richard O. Boyer	Shirley Graham	Philip Morrison
Jerome Chodorov	Robert Gwathmey	Clifford Odets
John W. Darr, Jr.	Joseph Hirsch	Paul Robeson
Jane Dudley	Libby Holman	Samuel Sillen
Arnaud d'Usseau	Charles Irving	Louis Silverman
Philip Evergood	Albert E. Kahn	Raphael Soyer
Howard Fast	Rockwell Kent	Paul Strand
Will Geer	Jacob Lawrence	William Sweets
Barbara Giles	Kenneth Leslie	Louis Untermeyer

SPONSOR SUPPORT OF COMMUNIST PRESS

Chicago Star

(Total 3) :

Howard Fast	Rockwell Kent	Johannes Steel
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The Communist

(Total 2) :

Theodore Brameld	A. B. Magil
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Daily People's World

(Total 6) :

Louis Adamic	William Gropper	Harry F. Ward
Guy Endore	Alexander Saxton	F. W. Weymouth

Daily Worker (and Sunday)

(Total 28) :

Louis Adamic	Matthew Josephson	Norman Rosten
Thomas Bell	Stetson Kennedy	Alexander Saxton
David Burliuk	Rockwell Kent	Edwin Seaver
James Dugan	Alfred Kreymborg	Howard Selsam
Philip Evergood	Corliss Lamont	Samuel Sillen
Lion Feuchtwanger	John Howard Lawson	Mitchell Siporin
Sidney Finkelstein	A. B. Magil	Agnes Smedley
William Gropper	Albert Maltz	Jessica Smith
Charles P. Howard	Holland Roberts	Ella Winter
Langston Hughes		

Masses and Mainstream

(Total 52) :

Herbert Aptheker	Chaim Gross	Willard Motley
Marc Blitzstein	Robert Gwathmey	Anton Refregier
Richard O. Boyer	Joseph Hirsch	Ad Reinhardt
Millen Brand	Libby Holman	Paul Robeson
Angus Cameron	Langston Hughes	Howard Selsam
Norman Cazden	Alphaeus Hunton	Ben Shahn
Nicolai Cikovsky	Albert Kahn	Samuel Sillen
Adolf Dehn	Rockwell Kent	Mitchell Siporin
Albert Deutsch	Alfred Kreymborg	John Sloan
Muriel Draper	Millard Lampell	Raphael Soyer
Arnaud d'Usseau	John Howard Lawson	Dirk J. Struik
Philip Evergood	Jacob Lawrence	Louis Untermeyer
Henry Pratt Fairchild	Kenneth Leslie	Eda Lou Walton
Sidney Finkelstein	Julian Levi	Sam Wanamaker
Joseph Gaer	Jack Levine	Theodore Ward
Barbara Giles	Eve Merriam	Max Weber
Shirley Graham	Arthur Miller	Maxine Wood
William Gropper		

Mainstream

(Total 17) :

Herbert Aptheker	Howard Fast	Eve Merriam
Thomas Bell	Stefan Heym	Dorothy Parker
Walter Bernstein	Langston Hughes	Alexander Saxton
W. E. B. DuBois	Rockwell Kent	Samuel Sillen
Arnaud D'Usseau	Millard Lampell	Dalton Trumbo
Philip Evergood	John Howard Lawson	

*Midwest Daily Record*Cited as subversive by Committee on Un-American Activities
(total 1) :

Langston Hughes

*The Negro Quarterly*Cited as subversive by California Committee on Un-American
Activities (total 5) :

Herbert Aptheker	Dorothy Brewster	Langston Hughes
Millen Brand	Henrietta Buckmaster	

Political Affairs

(Total 5) :

Alphaeus Hunton	A. B. Magil	Samuel Sillen
Albert Kahn	Howard Selsam	

Science and Society

(Total 15) :

Edwin Berry Burgum	Eugene C. Holmes	Margaret Schlauch
Dorothy Brewster	Leo Huberman	Howard Selsam
Henrietta Buckmaster	Oliver Larkin	Samuel Sillen
Henry Pratt Fairchild	Carey McWilliams	Bernard J. Stern
Frank E. Hartung	Walter Rautenstrauch	D. J. Struik

Workers Monthly

(Total 3) :

Adolf Dehn	Langston Hughes	Edwin Seaver
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Communist International (magazine)

Work of the following advertised (total 7):

Rockwell Kent	A. B. Magil	Bennet Stevens (Bernard Stern)
Joshua Kunitz	Albert Maltz	
Corliss Lamont	Howard Selsam	

New Masses

(Total 113):

Herbert Aptheker	Irving Flamm	Arthur Upham Pope
Zlatko Balokovic	Barbara Giles	Walter Rautenstrauch
Howard Bay	William Gropper	Anton Refregier
Thomas Bell	Chaim Gross	Ad Reinhardt
Walter Bernstein	Robert Gwathmey	Wallingford Riegger
Herbert Biberman	Minna Harkavy	Paul Robeson
Marc Blitzstein	Lillian Hellman	Harold Rome
B. A. Botkin	Stefan Heym	Norman Rosten
Richard O. Boyer	Joseph Hirsch	Muriel Rukeyser
Kay Boyle	Carroll Hollister	Margaret Schlauch
Millen Brand	Eugene Holmes	Budd Schulberg
Dorothy Brewster	Leo Huberman	Edwin Seaver
Henrietta Buckmaster	Langston Hughes	Howard Selsam
Edwin Berry Burgum	Crockett Johnson	Ben Shahn
Paul Burlin	Matthew Josephson	Samuel Sillen
David Burliuk	Robert Joyce	M. Siporin
Morris Carnovsky	Albert E. Kahn	John Sloan
Saul Carson	Rockwell Kent	Nicolas Slonimsky
Edward Chodorov	John A. Kingsbury	Agnes Smedley
Jerome Chodorov	Pauline Koner	Jessica Smith
N. Cikovsky	Alfred Kreymborg	Dirk J. Struik
Robert M. Coates	Joshua Kunitz	F. Hastings Smythe
Aaron Copland	Corliss Lamont	Bernhard J. Stern (Bennett Stevens)
Jo Davidson	Millard Lampell	Donald Ogden Stewart
Jerome Davis	Ring Lardner, Jr.	Paul Strand
Adolf Dehn	John H. Lawson	Dalton Trumbo
Earl B. Dickerson	Emil Lengyel	Louis Untermeyer
Muriel Draper	Kenneth Leslie	Eda Lou Walton
James Dugan	Jack Levine	Harry F. Ward
Barrows Dunham	Joseph Levy	Fredi Washington
Arnaud d'Usseau	A. B. Magil	Max Weber
Lehman Engel	Albert Maltz	Sid Weiss
Philip Evergood	Carey McWilliams	Henry Willcox
Henry Pratt Fairchild	Eve Merriam	Jay Williams
Howard Fast	Scott Nearing	Ella Winter
Lion Feuchtwanger	Clifford Odets	Martin Wolfson
Sidney Finkelstein	Dorothy Parker	Ben Zion
Dorothy Canfield Fisher	I. Rice Pereira	

XV. NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP

This Communist front also has been known as the Congress of American-Soviet Friendship. It is the successor to the discredited Communist front, the Friends of the Soviet Union. The military alliance of the United States with Soviet Russia during World War II made it necessary for American Communists to discard Friends of the Soviet Union, and to replace it with the new, streamlined National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. A new technique of Communist propagandization and amalgamation of war unity and American-Soviet friendship, emerged.

Special interest committees of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc., propagandize to trade unions, youth, women, nationalities, religious groups, professional groups, etc.

Corliss Lamont is chairman of the national organization. Arthur Upham Pope, William Morris, Jr., and the Rev. William Howard Melish, are vice chairmen. Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild is secretary-treasurer and Richard Moreford is executive director. Samuel B. Leavin was formerly the treasurer and Edwin S. Smith is a former vice chairman and executive director.

Corliss Lamont has a long and interesting record as a Communist fellow-traveler.

Thomas L. Harris spoke at a meeting of the League of American Writers on "*How the Soviet People Reacted to the Treason Trials.*" Harris is a former national secretary of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. He addressed a luncheon of the National Lawyers Guild (Communist front for attorneys), in July of 1943, at the Rosslyn Hotel in Los Angeles. His subject was "*Concept of Freedom in the Soviet Union.*"

William Morris, Jr., is said to be "very friendly to Communist writers and exceedingly unfriendly to anti-Communist writers." However, that may be his name appears frequently on Communist front literature such as the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. He was advertised as speaking at the Communist inspired Writers' Congress held at the University of California at Los Angeles, October 1, 2, and 3, 1943.

Max Bedacht, a sponsor, was president of the Communist International Workers Order. For many years he was a member of the central committee of the Communist Party of the United States.

National Council of American-Soviet Friendship national headquarters is located at 114 East 32d Street in New York City. Affiliated groups are listed as follows: American-Soviet Music Society, chairman Dr. Serge Koussevitzky; American-Soviet Science Society, Prof. L. C. Dunn, chairman; Art Committee, Paul Manship, chairman; Committee of Women, Muriel Draper, chairman; Dance Committee, Agnes deMille, chairman; Committee on Education, Dr. Herbert Davis, chairman; Religious Committee, Rev. William Howard Melish, chairman; and Theatre Committee, Margaret Webster, chairman.

A letter under date of July 10, 1946, makes an appeal for funds for Corliss Lamont who had just been cited for contempt by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The letterhead reveals that Rev. William Howard Melish is the national chairman; Richard Morford, national executive director, Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild, national secretary and treasurer, and Dr. Arthur Upham Pope, and William Morris, Jr., national vice chairmen. The board of directors is composed of the following: Harland Allen, Zlatko Balokovic, Cyril Bath, Theodore Bayer, Mary McLeod Bethune, Harvey Wiley Corbett, John O. Crane, Prof. Dorothy Douglas, B. Z. Goldberg, Thomas L. Harris, Raymond C. Ingersoll, Philip J. Jaffe, Leon Kroll, Corliss Lamont, Samuel B. Leavin, William L. McFetridge, Howard McKenzie, George Marshall, John Middleton, Dr. Emily Pierson, Rev. Adam Clayton Powell, Joseph P. Selly, M. B. Sherman, Herman Shumlin, Dr. Henry E. Sigerist, Edwin S. Smith, Jessica Smith, Dr. Vilhjalmur Stefansson, Craig Vincent, and Hudson Walker.

In *Soviet Russia and Religion*, published by the Communist Party, Corliss Lamont approvingly quotes Marx's statement that "the social

principles of Christianity are lickspittle, whereas the proletariat is revolutionary." He further sympathetically writes of "the unaltering determination of the Communists in the Soviet Union to do away with religion and the inclusion of this aim as one of the chief features of the educational system from one end of the Country to the other."

Walter S. Steele, chairman of the *National Security Committee of the American Coalition of Patriotic, Civic, and Fraternal Societies*, testified before the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives in Washington, July 21, 1947. Mr. Steele has done an outstanding work in compiling data on subversive activities in the United States. His testimony in reference to the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, in part, is as follows:

"The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, within recent months, has added many side shows to its pro-Soviet and, accordingly, pro-Communist propaganda machine. One of them is known as the committee on education of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. This committee is under the direction of Dr. Herbert Davis. I know nothing of the additional connections of Davis. Neither do I know anything with regard to his qualifications, if any, as an educator, or his knowledge concerning Russia and Communism. Working with him is Elizabeth Moos, a former Bronx teacher, on whom this committee undoubtedly has a background in connection with her activities in other fields. She is the executive secretary of the committee on education, and I am informed it is she who does the actual work of the committee. Among the vice chairmen of the committee are Frank E. Baker of the Milwaukee State Teachers' College, Henry Pratt Fairchild of New York University, A. D. Henderson of Antioch College, Ernest O. Melby of the University of Montana, Holland Roberts of the California Labor School (Communist) and Stanford University, and W. Carson Ryan of the University of North Carolina. Included in the sponsors of the committee on education are the usual run of frontiers, such as Max Yergan, Corliss Lamont, and H. W. L. Dana, together with the customary few unsuspecting.

"The plan through which the committee of education is now penetrating our schools involves the distribution of Kits of Teaching Materials on the Soviet Union. These "kits" as they are called include a great deal of propaganda pamphlet material issued by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. Other materials used in the "kits" are issued by the American-Russian Institute, the Institute of Pacific Relations, and similar outfits. The material includes such pro-Soviet publications as Soviet Russia Today and Survey Graphic. * * *

"* * * The kits contain material for visual education for students, together with water colors by Soviet children, book illustrations by Soviet artists, sets of children's books printed in the Soviet Union, charts of various kinds, slides for projectors, and pamphlets on Soviet farming, child care, sports, labor, and other subjects. The American-Russian Institute and the East and West Association are named as sources of additional material.

"A rather extensive bibliography on the Soviet Union for teachers, issued in connection with the committee of education's school-infiltration plan, contains List Sources and Supplementary Teaching Materials. Therein are named, as further sources, the Soviet Information Bureau and the Russian War Relief. Listed as source material are the following books: Soviet Communism, The Truth About Russia, The Russians, Soviet Power, the Secret of Soviet Strength, Mother Russia, U.S.S.R., Russia Is No Riddle, Women of Soviet Russia, Changing Man, The Educational System of the U.S.S.R., Soviet Economy and the War, Soviet Spirit, Socialized Medicine, Twentieth Century Philosophy, Seven Soviet Plans, I Saw the Russian People, The Great Conspiracy Against Russia, Religion in the U.S.S.R., Lenin, That Boy Nikolka, Russia's Story, The People of Russia, Short History of Russia, The War of Liberation, Leninism, History of the Communist Party of Russia, The Baltic Riddle, Maxim Litvinoff Against Aggression, New Poland, Red Army, Last Days of Sevastopol, Twelve Months That Changed the World, An Outline of Russian Literature, Land of the Soviets, Russia's New Primer, Heroes of the War, Young America Looks at Russia, Building America, and How Man Became a Giant (Evolution). The authors of these books include H. W. L. Dana, a former teacher in a Communist school in Boston; Ella Winters, widely known frontier; Anna Louise Strong, former editor of the Moscow News; Corliss Lamont; Victor Yakhontoff; Albert E. Kahn, party functionary; Rev. William Howard Melish; Beatrice and

Sidney Webb, British Reds; Albert Rhys Williams; Hewlett Johnson; Walter Duranty; Vilhjalmur Stefansson; Edmund Stevens; Harry F. Ward; Henry E. Segerist, leader in the socialized-medicine campaign; Edwin S. Smith, of the Progressive Citizens' Association and the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship; Rose Maurer; Eric Starbuck; Leo Grulow; Joseph Stalin; Arthur Upham Pope; Maxim Litvinoff; Boleslaw Gebert; I. Mintz; Erskine Caldwell; Vera Micheles Dean; Ernest J. Simmons; Wanda Wasilewska; Maxwell Stewart; M. Ilin; and scores of other left-wing Americans and Russian leaders. * * *

"Building America is also endorsed as excellent source material by the committee on education. It is suggested that it be used by the teachers and professors in our educational institutions. I might add here that this book has created a state-wide controversy in California, where the Sons of the American Revolution finally succeeded in having the book banned in some of the schools. I understand that the State Legislature, through a special committee, is holding hearings on the book, and it is expected that its findings will result in the barring of the book from all state institutions.

"At this point, I will turn over to this committee for its own information the complaint of the Sons of the American Revolution, addressed to the Lieutenant Governor of California, the Speaker of the State Assembly, and to the special committee of the Senate of California, in which is set forth the charges against this book. * * *"

Your committee finds that the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, like the American-Russian Institute, is a direct agent of the Soviet Union, engaged in traitorous activities under the orders of Stalin's consular service in the United States. While all Communist fronts are instrumentalities of the Soviet dictatorship, the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship and the American-Russian Council deal directly with the Soviet Government, there being no similar *private* organizations in the Soviet Union.

The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship has followed the Communist line of the Seventh Period of strategy in the United States since 1945 with undeviating subservience. It has adopted and advocated all features of the Communist *Anti-Imperialist War Line*, including support of known Communists, opposition to American preparedness, the Marshall Plan and the Atlantic Pact; and it strenuously has opposed investigation and prosecution of Communist traitors and all antisubversive legislation.

XVI. NATIONAL LAWYERS' GUILD

The Communist front for attorneys, the National Lawyers' Guild, has been discussed thoroughly in previous reports of this committee.

International Labor Defense, called the "legal arm of the Communist Party" by former Attorney General Francis Biddle, hailed the foundation of the National Lawyers' Guild with enthusiasm. Its Year Book for 1936-37 stated:

The emergence of the National Lawyers' Guild is regarded by the International Labor Defense as a heartening expression of the devotion of thousands of American attorneys to the American principles of democracy, and a concrete step on their part in the struggle to maintain an enlarged democratic rights.

The close interlocking relationship between the Communist International Juridical Association and the Communist National Lawyers' Guild is plainly indicated. Louis B. Boudin has been associated with both the National Lawyers' Guild and International Labor Defense. Joseph R. Brodsky is a member of the National Lawyers' Guild; is on the advisory committee of International Labor Defense, and is a member of the national committee of the International Juridical Association. The same

is true for John P. Davis and David J. Bentall. The following are members of both the National Lawyers' Guild and the International Juridical Association: Thomas I. Emerson, Isaac E. Ferguson, Osmond K. Fraenkel, Walter Gellhorn, Herman A. Gray, Abraham J. Isserman, Paul Julian Kern, Carol Weiss King, Edward Lamb, Louis F. McCabe, Lee Pressman, Maurice Sugar, and Herbert T. Wechsler.

The National Lawyers' Guild has assiduously followed the Communist Party line in support of Soviet diplomacy and in all local issues.

It has continuously fought every governmental agency which has been effective in exposing Communist activity. It fought the Rapp-Coudert Committee, investigating subversive activities in the public school system of New York City. It fought the Yorty Committee investigating subversive activities among state employees in the State Relief Administration in California. It fought the Smith Committee investigating subversive activities in the New York Civil Service and the special committees of the House of Representatives on Un-American activities. It has opposed the Tenney Committee investigating Un-American Activities in California. It opposed legislation directed against the Communist Party, such as the Voorhis Registration Bill and the Tenney law in California barring the Communist Party from the ballot. It has attacked the Federal Bureau of Investigation as a "gestapo" and has called for the removal of Director J. Edgar Hoover. It has asked Congress to reduce appropriations for the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It has opposed statutes providing that teachers be required to take a loyalty oath.

The National Lawyers' Guild has consistently rushed to the defense of Communists who have become involved with the law.

The 1941 convention of the National Lawyers' Guild sent greetings to Harry Bridges and adopted resolutions in defense of Communists William Schneiderman, Harold Pritchett, and Harry Bridges.

In 1937, when the guild was founded, the Communist Party was a supporter of the policy of "collective security among the democracies against the Fascist aggressor." (This policy was in force until August 23, 1939, when the Stalin-Hitler pact was signed.) During this period the Communist Party advocated the revocation of the Neutrality Act, urged enforcement of the Kellogg Pact, and sharply criticized the isolationists. *The National Lawyers' Guild adopted the same policy and urged the repeal of the existing Neutrality Act.*

Following the Stalin-Hitler pact, the Communist Party denounced the war as "imperialist" and urged a policy of isolation. It opposed the national defense program, conscription, and aid to the Allied Nations. It created the Communist front, the American Peace Mobilization, which picketed the White House and instituted strikes in defense industries and, in general, did everything to assist Hitler in his war against Western Europe. *The National Lawyers' Guild followed the Communist line meticulously.* A telegram addressed to the President of the United States condemning the Burke-Wadsworth Conscription Bill was signed by Samuel M. Blinken, Leo Linder, Edward Lamb, Pearl Hart, Abraham J. Isserman, Maurice Sugar, and Martin Popper.

When Germany attacked the Soviet Union, June 22, 1941, the war ceased being "imperialist" in the eyes of the Communist Party, which

suddenly became vociferously patriotic. *The National Lawyers' Guild* followed suit.

Robert W. Kenny has been national president of the National Lawyers' Guild.

Among the California members of the National Lawyers' Guild are the following: Joseph Aidlin, Sam Houston Allen, George R. Andersen, Spencer Austrian, J. Allen Frankel, Leo Gallagher, Richard Gladstein, Jack Greenberg (not to be confused with Carl Greenberg, political editor of the *Los Angeles Examiner*, or Jack Carl Greenburg, Los Angeles attorney and former chief clerk of the Assembly), Aubrey Grossman, Charles J. Katz, Robert W. Kenny, Grover Johnson, Ben Margolis, Daniel G. Marshall, Carey McWilliams, Loren Miller, Isaac Pacht, Herbert Resner, Harold W. Sawyer, Clore Warne, Lawrence M. Weinberg, A. L. Wirin, Nathan Witt, and Bartley Crum.

The National Lawyers' Guild has followed the Communist line into the Seventh Period of strategy in the United States with meticulous subservience; and once more has adopted the various features of the Communist Anti-Imperialist War Line, including support of known Communists and strenuous opposition to all anti-subversive legislation.

XVII. PEOPLE'S SONGS

People's Songs, Inc., was incorporated on January 31, 1946, in New York City. It now has sections in every large city in the United States. Affiliated with it are many other smaller movements. It has injected itself into Communist fronts, and Communist schools, and leftwing trade union and political activity.

People's Songs, Inc., appears to be directly descended from The Almanac Singers, which prior to World War II published "songs for the workers" (workers as used by the Reds is synonymous with Communists).

The Almanac Singers furnished the songs used by such Communist groups as the American Student Union, American Youth Congress, International Workers' Order, American Peace Mobilization, etc.

People's Songs, Inc., is now writing songs and plays, promoting choruses and schools for Communist fronts. Many of its songs have been adopted by left-wing CIO and AFL unions, the Communist Party and its units, American Youth for Democracy, Civil Rights Congress, the International Workers' Order, Congress of American Women, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, and other fronts.

A play entitled "Hootenanny" was produced in California by People's Songs and Song Work Shops, in which many of the previously mentioned songs are sung. Harry Hay was coordinator, assisted by Earl Robinson and Bill Wolff. Among those included in the cast are Murray Goodson, Sonny Vale, the Berry Sisters, Sir Lancelot, Bill Oliver of the CIO Newspaper Guild of Los Angeles, Shirley Gray, and Mario (Boots) Casetta, director of the Los Angeles Chapter of People's Songs. A check of the records of the majority of these individuals will show their direct Communist or front connections in many fields.

People's Songs, Inc., is reaching into labor unions through the organization of union choruses, throughout the Nation, and conspicuously in California.

People's Songs staged a benefit for the Communist Party in New York City on November 30, 1946. Advertisements and press notices for its activities are to be found in the *Daily Worker*, *New Masses*, *The Worker*, *Chicago Star*, *Michigan Herald*, *PM*, *People's Daily World*, and *Salute*, New Theater and the Trade Union Theater are among the groups affiliated with People's Songs.

People's Artists is also an affiliate of People's Songs, and it has offices in with the latter group. It supplies special talent to organizations for the purpose of promoting "people's songs" shows, and entertainment. People's Artists also supplies the entertainment for Communist Party gatherings. It took charge of the entertainment at a party meeting which was held in New York on April 26, 1947. People's Songs also participated.

A People's Songs concert was sponsored by the American Youth for Democracy in Cleveland in October 1946. The Jefferson Chorus, organized by the Communist school having the same name, is under the direction of People's Songs. The chorus operates under the auspices of Stage for Action. The chorus led strikers in New York City in January 1947, and it was referred to as *The Jefferson Chorus on the Picket Lines*.

People's Songs was in charge of entertainment presented at the Civil Rights Congress in September 1946. Recordings of People's Songs are made by Keynote Recordings, Inc. Among Keynote Recordings of People's Songs is an album of five records produced for use by the CIO leftwing on radio transcriptions. People's Songs produced the songs used by the National Political Action Committee and Schools for Political Action Technique, launched in 1946. One such school was held in Washington, D. C., in June of that year. Peter Seeger, Lee Hays, and Allan Max were instructors at this school.

Millard Lampell of People's Songs, Inc., was one of the organizers of the Almanac Singers. He is also chairman of the veterans' committee of the Civil Rights Congress, and a writer for the *Daily Worker*. Walter Lowenfels of People's Songs is a Communist Party leader in Philadelphia. Dr. B. A. Botkin until recently was archivist of the Library of Congress in the American Folk Song Division.

People's Songs claims a membership of 2,000 in 38 states, with members in Hawaii, Alaska, China, France, and India.

So important have the songs produced by People's Songs, Inc., become in Red ranks that the Communist school in Hollywood—People's Educational Center, later absorbed by the Communist California Labor School in San Francisco—and the Jefferson School in New York have inaugurated classes in the science of agitational song writing. They are taught by leaders of People's Songs, Inc. The Cultural Folk Song Group and American-Russian Corporation (distributor of Russian and Soviet music) are other organizations active in this field.

Leonard Jackson, former director of International Programs, now heads the People's Songs booking division.

A board of sponsors set up to give People's Songs additional momentum in its all-out drive for expansion, included Larry Adler, Moe Asch, C. B. Baldwin, Sam Barlow, Leonard Bernstein, Marc Blitzstein, Carl Carmer, Aaron Copeland, Norman Corwin, Oscar Hammerstein II, E. Y. Harburg, Judy Holliday, Lena Horne, John Houseman, Burl Ives, David Kapp, Elia Kazan, Gene Kelly, Lincoln Kirsten, Alain

Locke, Lynn Murray, Dorothy Parker, Lila Belle Pitts, Paul Robeson, Harold Rome, Herman Sobel, Louis Untermeyer, Sam Wanamaker, and Josh White.

People's Songs has sent delegated representatives to the Prague conference of the Communist World Youth Festival. Michael Scott and Ernie Lieberman were selected as its delegates.

Communist cultural groups are establishing so-called work shops throughout the Country to promote People's Songs and Stage for Action productions. They are also penetrating legitimate work shops of culture by planting their ready-made "cultural" wares therein.

Your committee finds that People's Songs is a vital Communist front in the conduct of the strategy and tactics of the Communist Anti-Imperialist War technique of the Seventh Period of Communist strategy in America, and one which has spawned a horde of lesser fronts in the fields of music, stage, entertainment, choral singing, folk dancing, recording, radio transcriptions and similar fields.

It especially is important to Communist proselyting and propaganda work because of its emphasis on appeal to youth and because of its organization and technique to provide entertainment for organizations and groups as a smooth opening wedge for Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist propaganda.

XVIII. PRESS NETWORKS

The life-blood of the Communist conspiracy is the party's press and publishing businesses. Through their newspapers, magazines, books, symposiums, pamphlets, handbills and analytical publications, the Communists train and educate their converts in Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism; and, at the same time, they spread their propaganda to confuse, disrupt and divide. (See also, Pages 381-409, and 615-636.)

The Communist press and publication system in the United States is comprehensive, well-financed and efficient. Making use of the network of Communist organizations and front groups it is able to systematically and scientifically circulate Communist publications and propaganda throughout the length and breadth of the United States.

The gigantic propaganda apparatus of Fascism and Nazism at its peak never approached the efficient and extensive operation of the network of Red Fascist propaganda.

Equally important with the task of proselyting carried on by the Communist press, is the fundamental requirement for machinery and methods for attack and smear. Anyone who opposes or exposes the Communist conspiracy must be destroyed.

A continuous program of character assassination is conducted by the Communist publication-system designed to discredit anyone who attacks or exposes Communism. Public officials and law enforcement agencies are to be constantly smeared and discredited in the minds of members of mass organizations.

The Communist propaganda system, combined with the nation-wide network of publications, information exchange, special writers, and services is so comprehensive and integrated that the average leadership of organized groups in America today is totally unequipped to cope with its flood of propaganda.

Communists are so efficiently disciplined that they are able to organize a propaganda campaign on a few hours notice. They will produce publications, press releases, plant Red propaganda in all media, and circulate resolutions, protests, denunciations and confusing reports on any subject on short notice.

The *Daily Worker* is published by Freedom of the Press, Inc., New York City. Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., is president; Howard Boldt, secretary-treasurer; John Gates, editor; Milton Howard, associate editor; Alan Max, managing editor; Robert F. Hall, Washington, D. C., editor; Bill Lawrence, general manager; and George C. Sandy, assistant manager. David Platt is film editor.

The Worker, published only on Sunday, has the same management and publisher as the *Daily Worker*. (See Plate 4, Page 619.)

Political Affairs, a monthly publication, is published by the New Century Publishers, New York, N. Y. The editor is Max Weiss; associate editors, V. J. Jerome, Alex Bittleman, Abner W. Berry, and Jack Stachel. *Political Affairs* is direct successor to *The Communist*.

Morning Freiheit is published daily by the Morning Freiheit Association, Inc., New York, N. Y. The president is Ben Gold; treasurer, J. Littinski; secretary, Alex Bittleman. Paul Novick is editor.

People's Daily World is published by the Pacific Publishing Foundation, Inc., San Francisco, California. Branches are located in Los Angeles, Oakland, San Diego, Seattle, and Washington, D. C. The executive editor is Al Richmond; assistant editor, Adam Lapin; Los Angeles editor, Sidney Burke; business manager, Harry Kramer; and circulation manager, Leo Baroway. Doug Ward is political editor. Tara Jean Pettit is the agent in Los Angeles. (See Plate 4, Page 619.)

Soviet Russia Today, a monthly magazine, is published by the Soviet Russia Today Publications, Inc., New York, N. Y. The editor is Jessica Smith; assistant editor, Andrew Voynow; business manager, Donald Schoalman; literary editor, Isadore Schneider; editorial board, Dorothy Brewster, Robert Dunn, Thyra Edwards, A. A. Heller, Langston Hughes, Dr. John Kingsbury, Corliss Lamont, George Marshall, Isobel Walker Soule, and Maxwell S. Stewart.

Fraternal Outlook is published monthly by the International Workers Order, New York, N. Y. President is Rockwell Kent; vice presidents, John E. Middleton, Vito Marcantonio, Louise Thompson, Boleslaw Gebert, and Rubin Saltzman; treasurer, Peter Shipka; executive secretary, Sam Milgrom; and recording secretary, Dave Green.

The Chart, with offices in New York, N. Y., was issued by the National Organization and Education Commissions of the Communist Party of the United States. Jack Stachel is chairman of the education commission, and Henry Winston is chairman of the organization commission.

Masses & Mainstream is printed in New York, N. Y., by Mainstream Associates, Inc. The editor-in-chief is Samuel Sillen. The editors are Gwendolyn Bennett, Alvah Bessie, Milton Blau, Arnaud D'Usseau, Howard Fast, Mike Gold, V. J. Jerome, Howard Lawson, Meridel LeSeuer, W. L. River, Dalton Trumbo, and Theodore Ward.

People's Voice (Glos Ludowy), with offices in Detroit, Mich., is a semi-monthly publication. It is a foreign-language paper as well, known as Glos Ludowy. The editor is Thomas Dombrowski; contributing editor,

Jan Kujawa, San Francisco; contributing editors, Cornell Z. Zagodzinski, Casimir T. Nowacki, Irene Pietrowski, Grace Nowacki, Walter Bills, Stanley Perry, Blanche Gliniski, John Piorkowski, Martin Darvin, Ted Pniewski, Katherine Giermanski, Jetka Dobrzynska, and Joseph S. Rabowski.

Railroad Workers' Link was published by the Communist Party in New York, N. Y., as a monthly publication. The editor was Robert Wood.

District Champion was published by the city committee of the Communist Party of the District of Columbia, with offices located in Washington, D. C. It is published monthly. The editor is William C. Taylor; secretary, Elizabeth Searle.

Chicago Star was published weekly by the Chicago Star Publishing Co., Inc., Chicago, Ill. Members of the board of directors were Ernest De Maio, Frank M. Davis, William L. Patterson, Grant Oakes, and William Sennett. The executive editor was Frank M. Davis; managing editor, Carl Hirsch; and general manager, William Sennett. Howard Fast was a columnist, and Rockwell Kent a contributing editor.

Teeners' Topics, published irregularly, was an American Youth for Democracy publication, with offices located in New York, N. Y.

Teen Life was published by New Age Publishers, Inc., in Meriden, Conn., for American Youth for Democracy.

Crisis was the organ of the East Pittsburgh section of the Communist Party.

Jewish Life, New York, N. Y., is published monthly by the Morning Freiheit Association, Inc. The editorial board is composed of Alex Bittleman, Moses Miller, Paul Novick, Sam Pevzner, and Morris U. Schappes. Managing editor is Samuel Barron.

Woman Power is published monthly by the Congress of American Women in New York, N. Y. Members of the editor board are Edna Moss, Bert Sigred, and Eleanor Vaughn. The president is Gene Weltfish; executive vice president, Muriel Draper; treasurer, Helen Phillips; and secretary, Josephine Timms.

Facts for Farmers was published monthly by the Farm Research, New York, N. Y. The editor was Charles J. Coe.

Facts for Women was published monthly by Facts for Women, Los Angeles, California. The editor was Mary Inman.

Reporter, a biweekly publication, is published by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc., New York, N. Y. The editor is William H. Melish.

Among Friends is published monthly by Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, New York, N. Y. The editor is David McKelvy White; managing editor, Rex Pitkin. Contributors include Louis Fischer, Dorothy Parker, Ernest Hemingway, Grace Field, Lini Fuhr, Sam Kornblatt, Milly Bennett, and Herbert Hunter.

Amerasia was published monthly by Amerasia, New York, N. Y. The editors are Philip Jaffe and Kate L. Mitchell.

Congress View was published monthly by the National Negro Congress, New York, N. Y. The president was Max Yergen; executive secretary, Edward E. Strong; treasurer, Ferdinand C. Smith; secretary, Thelma Dale; labor and legislation director, Dorothy K. Funn; director of publicity, Mayme Brown; editorial board, W. Alphaeus Hunton, Frederick V. Field, Mayme Brown, and Elizabeth Catlett.

AYD in Action was published monthly by the national staff of American Youth for Democracy, New York, N. Y.

The Independent, a bimonthly, was published by the Independent Citizens Committee of Arts, Sciences, and Professions, New York, N. Y. The executive director was Hannah Dorner.

Soviet Culture, issued irregularly, is published by the Committee of the American Russian Institute, San Francisco, California. The chairman was Louise R. Bransten.

Soviet Sports, issued irregularly, is published by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, New York, N. Y. The editor is Eric A. Starbuck.

Salute was published monthly by the Veterans Publishing Co., New York, N. Y. The publisher is Jeremiah Ingersoll. The executive director is Max Baird; managing editor, DeWitt Gilpin; circulation manager, Ben Kaufman; and treasurer, Robert L. Soler.

Boston Chronicle was published weekly in Boston, Mass. The editor was William Harrison.

Report From Washington was published monthly by the Independent Citizens Committee of Arts, Sciences, and Professions, New York, N. Y.

Voice of Freedom, New York, N. Y., was published monthly by the International Coordination Council. The editor is Richard Storrs Childs; associate editor, Minette Kuhn.

In Fact, with offices in New York, N. Y., is published weekly. The editor is George Seldes; associate editor, Victor Weingarten. It is an especially important smear sheet in the Stalinist propaganda attack on American leadership.

Bulletin of Congress of American Women is published monthly by the Congress of American Women, New York, N. Y. The editorial board is composed of those on the board of *Woman Power*.

The Lamp is published monthly by the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, with headquarters in New York, N. Y.

Student Outlook was published monthly by the intercollegiate division of American Youth for Democracy in New York, N. Y. The editor was Fred Jaffe.

Michigan Herald was published weekly by the People's Educational Publishing Association in Detroit, Mich. The editor was Hugo Beiswenger; secretary-treasurer, Rosalie Berry. Beiswenger is also president of the corporation. Members of the editorial board were William Allen, Beiswenger, Abner W. Berry, Harry Fainaru, Nat Ganley, S. Gordon, and Carl Winter.

Negro Digest, published weekly in Chicago, Ill., is published and edited by John H. Johnson. Contributing editors include Henrietta Buckmaster, Langston Hughes, Carey McWilliams, and Mrs. Paul Robeson.

Our World is published monthly by John P. Davis, in New York, N. Y. Contributors are Edward S. Lewis, Alphaeus Hunton, Yvonne Godfrey, and Frank Stanley.

World News and Views is published monthly by H. Bennett in London, England.

Economic Notes is published monthly by Labor Research Association in New York, N. Y. The editor is Robert Dunn.

Action was published monthly by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, Washington, D. C.

News of World Labor is published monthly by the Committee for A. F. of L. Participation in World Federation of Trade Unions, in Brooklyn, N. Y. The chairman was Courtney D. Ward; secretary-treasurer, Thomas Wilson; executive secretary, Allan Ross.

News on Spain is published monthly by the Veterans of Abraham Lincoln Brigade, New York, N. Y. The editor is David McKelvy White.

People's Voice—Harlem—is published by the Powell-Buchanan Publishing Co., Inc., New York, N. Y. It is a daily publication. On its board of directors have been Adam Clayton Powell; chairman, Charles P. Buchanan; secretary, Max Yergan; treasurer, Hope Stevens; and Ferdinand Smith. The editor in chief was Adam Clayton Powell, Jr.; general manager and editor, Doxey Wilkerson; contributing editor, Paul Robeson.

Action for Today is published monthly by the Civil Rights Congress of New York, in New York.

Information Bulletin, triweekly, is published by the Embassy of Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Washington, D. C.

Young Fraternalist is published monthly by the International Workers Order, New York, N. Y. The editor is Sol Vail; contributors include Bob Wagshol, Barbara Lord, H. Bergoffen, Joe Block, Bert S. Mangel, Anna Leone, and Aive Etela.

New Times is published semiweekly by Mazhdunarodnaya Kniga, Moscow, Russia. It is distributed in the United States by the Four Continent Book Corp., New York, N. Y.

Truth About Soviet Russia is published monthly by Contemporary Publishers, Winnipeg, Canada. The editors are Sidney and Beatrice Webb and Anna Louise Strong.

T and T—Trend and Times—is published monthly by Louis Adamic, Milford, N. J. Adamic is editor and publisher.

New Africa is published monthly by the Council on African Affairs, New York, N. Y. The chairman is Paul Robeson; vice chairman, William Jay Schieffelin; treasurer, Edith C. Field; and educational director, W. Alphaeus Hunton.

People's Songs is published monthly by People's Songs, Inc., New York. The director is Peter Seeger; board of Directors, Woody Guthrie, John Hammond, Jr., Lee Hays, Earl Robinson, Walter Lowenfels, Alan Lomax, and Bill Wolff; executive secretary, Felix Landau; editor, Peter Seeger.

Volunteer for Liberty is published monthly by the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, New York, N. Y.

Action Bulletin, a weekly, is published by the Civil Rights Congress, New York, N. Y.

The Letter was published by The Letter, Inc., Denver, Colo. The editor was Phil Rino; editorial advisory board, David J. Miller, Reid Robinson, Joseph C. Cohen, and Isabelle Gonzalles.

California Eagle is published in Los Angeles. The editor is Charlotta Bass, Cyril Briggs was managing editor.

Eteenpain is published weekly by the Eteenpain Cooperative Society, Worcester, Mass. The manager is H. Paasikivi.

Icor is published monthly by the Association for Jewish Colonization of the Soviet Union in New York.

New World is published monthly by the Free Press Publishing Corp., Seattle, Wash. The officers are Hugh DeLacy, Terry Pettus, and Berta Pettus. The incorporators were Hugh DeLacy, Eugene V. Dennett, Marion Carmozzi, George Bradley, Terry Pettus, William Dobbins, Irene Borowski, and N. P. Atkinson.

Protestant is published monthly by Protestant Digest, Inc., New York, N. Y. The editor is Kenneth Leslie.

Readers' Scope was published monthly by Picture Scope, Inc., New York, N. Y. The officers were Arthur Bernhard, Morris S. Latzen, Leverett S. Gleason, A. E. Piller, George Kaplow, and Marion Hart.

Saznanie is published weekly by the Bulgarian Section of the Communist Party, Detroit, Mich.

Science and Society, a quarterly, is published in New York. It is edited by Bernhard Stern, D. J. Struik, Margaret Schlauch, and Edwin B. Burgum.

Report on World Affairs is published monthly in New York City. Its editor is Johannes Steel.

Bulletin on Education, irregular, is published by the educational departments of the Communist Party in California.

Indonesian Review is published by the American Committee for Free Indonesia, Los Angeles, California. The editor is Charles Bidien. (See also, Official Citations of Communist Publications, Page 381.)

XIX. RACIAL CAUCUS

Since the Communist Party is committed to serve the foreign policy of Soviet Russia and to prepare the way for revolution by violence in this country, it is natural that Communist teachings on tactics and strategy should parallel closely the unholy doctrine of "divide and conquer" practiced by the Nazis, Bundists, and other enemies of mankind.

Nothing more plainly reveals the fraud and dishonesty of the Communists than the sinister stirring of antagonisms of one racial group against another in the same manner as they seek to play one economic group against another.

Communists frequently will be found playing on the tensions and conflicts on both sides of a national or racial issue; and their only contribution to the situation has been the intensification of tensions for hate and dissension on both sides. This technique, of course, serves the interests of Soviet Russia and promotes eventual world revolution.

The American Communist Party has compiled a long record of the creation and penetration of organizations, dealing with racial, refugee and alien problems, to the detriment of racial, refugee and alien interests. This activity is directed by nationality commissions through an efficient underground apparatus.

Communist Negro Race Agitation

A consistent target for Communist intrigue has been the large Negro population of the United States. The Communist promise to Negroes, that under the dictatorship of the proletariat, American Negroes will be given an autonomous Soviet Republic in the so-called "Black Belt" of 540 counties in the southern states, is designed to bait American Negroes

to join the Communist movement for the overthrow of the United States Government.

The committee has in its possession many official Communist documents and publications devoted to this project. The plan to trick and delude American Negroes into following the treacherous program of Communism has been carefully worked out.

Communist Jewish Race Agitation

Another ethnic group whose problems have been capitalized on cynically the world over by the Communist International is the Jewish race. The committee has in its files voluminous evidence and testimony that proves conclusively that American Jews are defrauded of hundreds of thousands of dollars yearly by Communists who create and promote front organizations allegedly for the purpose of combating anti-Semitism.

The record of strategic trickery engaged in by the Communists to capitalize on the sorrows and oppressions of the Jews of this world is a contemptible abandonment of all concepts of decency and humanity, and brands world Communism before all honest men as vile and depraved.

The vicious tactics of the Communists toward Negroes and Jews has a parallel for every other racial and minority group in America today. It is a monotonous and tragic logbook of the promotion of discord, strife, disunity and conflict, for the benefit of a foreign power, and for the sole purpose of laying the groundwork for violence and chaos to breed revolution at home.

This committee repeatedly has exposed and condemned the promoters and inciters of racial, religious and class strife and intolerance. The committee refers to its reports for 1943, 1945 and 1947 for the committee's denunciation of all un-American activity of this type.

The committee has reported that "the same psychological sense of frustration and guilt found in every Communist, spurs the ignorant non-Communists to seek a scapegoat. * * * Character assassins, in search of evidence for vicious smear material, have little compunction in resorting to inventions. Generations of character assassins have built a vicious series of libels against the Jews; sinister men in contemporary life have not hesitated to supply libels allegedly from another age to bolster vicious attacks upon the Jewish people."

Vicious U. S. Totalitarians

In its 1947 Report, this committee said:

Gerald L. K. Smith and his type of rabble-inciting crusader do more good for the Communist cause in one week than the Communists would be able to accomplish in a year. * * * The average patriotic American Jew is offended and insulted in the attack upon the Jewish citizen, even though the attack may be generally directed against Communism. It is the technique of a Hitler in mobilizing uninformed masses to a Nazi standard. The social aspects of such rabble-rousing are appalling.

This committee has repeatedly exposed and condemned Gerald L. K. Smith, the Ku Klux Klan, the German-American Bund and other vicious inciters of racial intolerance. The committee concluded an expose of libelous smear attacks on the Jewish race by this statement in its 1947 report:

The committee has heretofore stated, and again reiterates, that anti-Semitism is fully as un-American as any other subversive ISM examined. The Ku Klux Klan and similar organizations, including that of Gerald L. K. Smith, are unequivocally

condemned in their attacks upon the Jews, whether that attack be direct or by way of innuendo. A Communist is an atheist, and therefore is neither Jew nor Christian. Regardless of his ethnic category, he is an enemy of the United States and of every citizen in it, Jew and Christian alike * * *."

* * * The members of the committee are convinced, that in the struggle against Communism, patriotic Americans, black and white, Jew and Christian, will again fight successfully shoulder to shoulder against the common enemy.

The committee, in its 1948 Report, also reminded leaders and members of racial, minority, and ethnic groups, that the surest way to hamper, disrupt, confuse and defeat the program and aspiration for which they have created organizations, is to permit the infiltration of Communists, to tolerate collaboration with Communists, or to lend themselves to coalitions and joint programs with Communist front groups.

Among the more conspicuous Communist front groups in the Racial Agitation field are: American Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born, American Committee to Save Refugees, American Croatian Congress, American Slav Congress, International Committee on African Affairs, Civil Rights Congress, Jewish Peoples Committee, Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, National Negro Congress, National Negro Women's Council, Negro Cultural Committee, Non-Sectarian Committee for Political Refugees, Slovene National Congress, United Aid for Peoples of African Descent, United Committee of South Slavic Americans, International Workers Order, etc.

COMMUNIST ANTI-SEMITISM

For many years the Communists have specialized in pretense that they were devoted to the advancement of the interests of minorities, and especially racial minorities. This devotion has been expressed when the Communists were out of power, in an attempt to manipulate racial and ethnic groups to serve as their tools in a seizure of power.

After the Communists have achieved power, like every other rigid totalitarian group in history, they have abandoned their concern for minorities. In the case of minorities with fixed ethical concepts of human dignity and freedom, such as the Jews, Communism acts just as Hitler did to make a scapegoat of the minority and to attempt to crush its ethical and cultural ideas that conflict with totalitarianism.

The documented proof of the development of a Hitlerite and monstrous campaign of anti-Semitism behind the Iron Curtain was made public in a survey prepared by Dr. Emanuel Patt from a voluminous file of information compiled by the Jewish Labor Committee, an international organization, sponsored by leaders of the American Federation of Labor and important Jewish groups in the field of combating racial intolerance.

The report was made public in connection with the national convention of the Jewish Labor Committee at Atlantic City, New Jersey, February 24-27, 1949. Highlights of the report were described by Nelson Frank, a staff writer of the *New York World Telegram* as follows:

The dramatic story of how Communist governments in four countries behind the Iron Curtain have stepped in to smash Jewish schools, cultural and community organizations and establish complete control over every aspect of Jewish social and religious life, was given delegates to the Jewish Labor Committee's seventh biennial convention which ended here yesterday.

Attention of the world has been centered on persecution of Christian groups, and this report constitutes the first strong evidence of similar attacks on Jewry in Soviet-dominated territory, bringing up grim memories of the Nazi pogroms.

In a 61-page report compiled by the committee on the plight of Jews in countries behind the Iron Curtain, basis of reports and official documents, the compilers showed that in Poland, Hungary, Rumania and Czechoslovakia, the Jews have faced continual maltreatment. In fact, the report notes, in Hungary, "even Jewish members of the Communist party were finally purged."

The committee's report states that in Rumania, "there are no more Jewish schools * * * cultural groups * * * communities * * * organizations. A small powerful Communist group reigns over the Jewish community."

In Hungary, "complete control of the Jewish community was taken over by the Communists * * * all Jewish schools were nationalized and all academic subjects (must) be taught in Hungarian. In September, 1948, the *Hungarian Zionist*, weekly paper, was closed down."

In Czechoslovakia, "a so-called Jewish Action Committee * * * was organized. To this committee was given the task of purging Jewish life." Five leading officials of the Jewish community were forced out and replaced by Communists. A similar purge took place in Slovakia."

Poland, says the document, is now experiencing a "thorough purge * * * in all phases of Jewish life. Those who are able, flee the country."

The report concluded, "the conditions of Jews behind the Iron Curtain are fundamentally the same, though they may differ in some detail. * * * The key to the problem lies in the worldwide struggle for freedom * * * democracy and the dignity and honor of man everywhere."—(*New York World-Telegram*, Feb. 28, 1949, p. 3.)

The extent of the Communist aping of Hitler-Nazi anti-Semitic tactics was revealed further when the newsmagazine, *Newsweek*, published in its issue of May 2, 1949 a layout of anti-Semitic cartoons that were reproduced from Communist Russian publications, including the satirical magazine, *Krokodil*, the cartoons were in the authentic tradition of vicious Jew-baiting, established by *Der Stuermer* and *Beobacher* during the Hitler-Stalin Pact days, when Nazi S. S. men and Gestapo roamed through Germany killing Jews or thrusting them into concentration camps.

The newsweekly described the Soviet campaign of anti-Semitism as follows:

Even anti-Communists found it hard to believe the first reports that the Soviet Union had deliberately launched a large-scale and officially inspired campaign of anti-Semitism. The method was more subtle than anything attempted by the Nazis, but endless repetition made it just as obvious. Soviet tactics involved denouncing as "homeless cosmopolitans" and "passportless vagabonds" various writers, critics, and artists, nearly all of whom were Jews. The Jewish names of the victims were often printed after the Russianized names (*Newsweek*, April 4).

Last week further graphic evidence of Soviet anti-Semitism reached the United States in copies of the famous Moscow satirical magazine *Krokodil*. The *Krokodil* anti-Semitic cartoons shown below satirize critics of the Soviet stage, music, poetry, and movies by showing each with a deliberately emphasized hooked nose and other supposedly Jewish characteristics. Curiously enough, the cartoons were drawn by a Jew, the well-known artist Boris Efeimoff.

The adjoining cartoon carries the caption: "Pitiful and unpleasant are the quiet skeptics, the abstract persons, the passportless vagabonds of the human race." The labels on the bag represent Somerset Maugham, André Gide, André Malraux, Jean-Paul Sartre, Walter Lippman, and D. W. Griffith.—(*Newsweek*, May 2, 1949, p. 35.)

Your committee has warned in the past that there is no limit to Communist duplicity and fraud in Red dealings with minority groups. We strongly urge the entire community to be alert to this Communist revival in 1949 of the vicious anti-Semitic program of the Communazi era of 1939.

XX. VETERANS CAUCUS

The most dangerous Communist activity from the standpoint of outright sabotage, infiltration of our armed forces, and direct, militarized connection with the trained violence aspect of the science of

Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism, as cited in Part One of this report, is the Veterans Caucus of the Communist Party.

This is one of the essential activities in the conduct of the Communist tactic of the Anti-Imperialist War Party Line. It is the instrumentality for the direct preparation for bloody, murderous civil war.

The Communists have capitalized on American confusion over the problem of Spain to conceal from the gullible and unwary the actual truth about such Communist fronts as the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade and such other fronts as United Negro and Allied Veterans, spawned by this Kremlin agency.

Through these organizations, which are directly connected with the Red Army in Moscow, the Communists plan, plot and scheme to infiltrate our armed forces and our veterans organizations and to prepare for civil war and bloody insurrection in defense of the Soviet Union.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN BRIGADE

The Abraham Lincoln Brigade was the fifteenth unit of the so-called International Brigades, established by the Spanish Loyalist government in its decree of September 23, 1937. This brigade was composed of Americans, Canadians, and British volunteers. The Lincoln and George Washington Battalions formed a part of this unit. They were combined to form the Lincoln-Washington Battalion after the heavy casualties which resulted from the Brunete offensive of July, 1937.

Edwin Rolfe, official historian of the Lincoln Battalion, has estimated that 2,800 Americans went to Spain, of whom at least 1,800 returned to the United States to form the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. The supporters of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade became the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in the spring of 1937, some months after the departure of the first American volunteer.

The Abraham Lincoln Brigade, the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, and the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade are all Communist-dominated organizations serving the objectives of the Communist Parties in the United States and Spain. Earl Browder boasted that "over 60 percent of the Lincoln Battalion members were members of the Communist Party."

Among the known Communists, connected with the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, are Robert Minor, acting General Secretary of the Communist Party of the United States; John Gates, former Secretary of the New York State Young Communist League; William Lawrence, formerly organizational Secretary of the Communist Party of the State of New York; Joe Dallet, one time Communist candidate for Mayor of Youngstown, Ohio; T. H. Wintringham, formerly connected with the Communist *Daily Worker*; Saul Wellman, former member of the New York State Committee of the Young Communist League; and Steve Nelson, a former member of the National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States, and presently chairman of the Communist Party National Groups Commission.

The command of the International Brigade was entirely in the hands of emigres from Russia.

John G. Honeycombe (see committee's 1943 report) estimated that 1,350 men were either lost or killed out of approximately 3,000 Americans in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.

The following is a list of California Communists and sympathizers, cited in the 1948 report, who were members of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade:

Ray Anderson, Doc Bissell, Joseph Bianco, Archie Brown, William Bailey, Joseph Barran, E. W. Bridges, William Baker, Max Bowers, Arthur Brown, Benjamin Brown, Hy Brown, Morris Conway, Leon Cohen, Maurice Conway, Gordon Chilton, Durward Clark, John C. Coon, William Carroll, Jimmie Crooks, Frank J. Civiern, Dr. Thomas Dunn, Matthew Dykstra, Norman E. Dorland, Walter Dicks, Cleo Duncan, Russell Dell, Lowell Duncan, John Devine, Dr. Leo Eloesser, Leif Erickson, Howard Earl, Jack Egan, Francis Feingersh, Wallace Fishman, John Flanner, Robert Ford, Edward Fliegel, Jerome Ferrogioarco, Marshall Garcia, Howard Goddard, Samuel A. Grant, Jack Goldstein, Almon Gregarie, Antonie Gomez, Preston Hill, John G. Honeycombe, Harold Hoff, Francis Herman, Jackson Haynes, Aaron Johnson, Erie Jackson, Ivan Katnic, Luke Kirman, John H. Kleinow, George Kaye, Arthur Laudis, Ben Levine, Thomas Limau, Elliott Loomis, Alfred Lallemand, Charles Mayer, Luchell McDaniels, Donald McLeod, H. B. Megguler, Felix Montanarella, Paul Merkel, Lewis Masterson, Julius Molnar, Robert Nelson, Frank J. Owiere, Earl Ozias, Leonard Olson, Henry Olsen, Kenneth Parmelee, James Pierce, John Peterson, Henry Rubin, William Reed, Nicholas Ramiriz, Hyman Rossman, Boroslaw Sliven, Herbert H. Searl, Chester Stimson, Albert Stanford, William Slavin, Albert B. Stanford, Theodore Schneider, Michael Shanzky, Robert Schweinsent, Donald Simpson, Samuel W. Stone, Fredrick Thompson, James N. Thornton, Don Werglen, Alice Wagner, George Walters, Henry Wentworth, Frank E. Wilson, Louis Widder, Wilbur Wellman, John Williams, and Harry Yanowsky.

STEELE TESTIMONY

The international Marxist-Leninist significance of these Communist fronts was established in the testimony of Walter S. Steele before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, on July 21, 1947, which is quoted herewith:

MR. STEELE: The list of Communists and frontiers who served in our armed forces during the war should be of great value in the event the United States and Russia should go to war against each other, or if the United States happens to become involved in a war against any of Russia's satellite countries. *At such a time we may find ourselves in an extremely dangerous position, for here we have a great number of men trained in our type of warfare, many of whom have inside knowledge of our technique and operation. Some of them are former members of our OSS.*

Together with this list, I wish to submit a chart showing the set-up of an organized regiment, the Veterans of Abraham Lincoln Brigade.

(Exhibit No. 5 was received.)

MR. STEELE: This is a part of a world Communist army which has been kept intact. It is composed of many Communists who served in our armed forces in various capacities. We all know that the OSS, with which many of these men were connected, was the so-called supersleuth arm of our intelligence service. *This chart indicates that which appears to be a Red Army Reserve, made up of men who saw service with the Red army of Spain, is actually an international brigade.*

MR. STRIPLING: Mr. Steele, you are speaking now of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade?

MR. STEELE: Yes, sir; and the International Brigade, of which it is a section.

MR. STRIPLING: The Abraham Lincoln Brigade is the American section of the International Brigade?

MR. STEELE: Yes, sir.

MR. STRIPLING: It came into being during the war in Spain?

MR. STEELE: That is correct.

MR. STRIPLING: The chart that you are referring to, is that this map (indicating)?

MR. STEELE: Yes, sir.

MR. STRIPLING: Which shows the various units of the International Brigade and their leaders?

MR. STEELE: Yes, sir.

MR. STRIPLING: In various countries?

MR. STEELE: Yes, sir.

MR. STRIPLING: Would you show this to the chairman and point out before you continue with your testimony just how the international set-up is described there and explain it?

(Exhibit 5 was exhibited to the chairman by the witness.)

THE CHAIRMAN: I think it is important to point out that the date of this chart is November 1946. Is that correct?

MR. STEELE: Yes, sir.

MR. STRIPLING: Where did you obtain the chart?

MR. STEELE: From the office of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in New York City. I am submitting the original here.

MR. STRIPLING: Would you outline for the record the countries in which they state they have a unit?

MR. STEELE: Yes, sir.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is not clear in my mind whether this Abraham Lincoln Brigade, or the organization that includes the Abraham Lincoln Brigade—

MR. STEELE: International Brigade.

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes. (Continuing:) Is in existence now, or was it just back at the time of the Spanish Revolution?

MR. STEELE: I will cover that point, Mr. Chairman. I might say that I will submit as proof of my statement the proceedings of the convention of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade at which a good many of these individual leaders from other countries were present. These are the proceedings of the convention which was held in November 1946, and at that time this map was published in his report. So you have the original here. This is merely proof of my statement.

MR. STRIPLING: In other words, it is your opinion that this International Brigade of which the Abraham Lincoln Brigade is a unit serves as the Red Army Reserve?

MR. STEELE: Yes, sir.

THE CHAIRMAN: Serves today as a Red Army Reserve?

MR. STEELE: Yes, sir.

MR. STRIPLING: Now, in what countries. I wish you would name the countries.

MR. STEELE: The organization, the international organization, is set up in the Soviet Union, Germany—that is, the Russian-occupied section—Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Yugoslavia, Poland, Norway, Italy, France, Belgium, England, Denmark, Canada, and the United States.

The head of the Canadian section is Dr. Bethune, who, I understand, is serving with the Chinese Eighth Army, which is the Red Army of China.

The head of the Bulgarian section is Dimitrov, who was for many years secretary of the Communist International and who is now dictator of the Bulgarian Government.

MR. STRIPLING: Mr. Steele, is Dimitrov the same individual who adopted the so-called Trojan war policy?

MR. STEELE: The same individual. There are two individuals in Bulgaria by the same name, but this happens to be the one that was with the Communist International.

MR. STRIPLING: Will you continue your testimony?

MR. STEELE: Yes. This brigade has organized sections in Moscow, headed by General Rodimtsev, who wears the Lenin Medal of Honor for his activities in Spain. Another section exists in Poland under General Walter (whose real name is Swierczewski), of the Polish War Department. Artur Dorf, chief of security of the Russian-occupied section of Germany, heads a section in that country. The Albanian section is led by Colonel Hodza, chief of staff of the Albanian armed forces. Dimitrov, current Communist dictator of Bulgaria who formerly headed the Communist International, is in command of the section in his country.

Heading sections in the respective countries are General Nadji, of Tito's Yugoslavian staff; Gallo, of Italy; Vadalis, leader of the warring Communist factions in Greece; Colonel Dispy, of Belgium; Colonel Tanguy, of France; Colonel Hansen, of Norway; Colonel Larson, of Denmark; Dr. Bethune, of Canada, now active with Chinese Red forces; and Clive Branson, of England. Information has it that the International Brigade has been recruiting nurses in the United States in preparation for renewed action in Spain. The brigade is also reportedly recruiting in France and elsewhere to strengthen the Greek guerrilla armed forces.

EX-OSS OFFICERS HEAD RED RESERVE IN U. S.

MR. STRIPLING: Mr. Steele, do you have any testimony on the activities of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in this country?

MR. STEELE: I have, following this.

MR. STRIPLING: I think if you would give the committee the testimony concerning that rather than the international aspect of it.

MR. STEELE: Yes, sir.

In the United States, the Veterans of Abraham Lincoln Brigade, a unit of the International Brigade, is headed by Lt. Milton Wolff, formerly with our OSS in Italy.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is, at the present time he is the head of it?

MR. STEELE: Yes, sir; he is the head of it at this moment.

Wolff was known in Spain as *El Lobo*. It is reported that he was in charge of the sabotage school in Albacete, Barcelona. He was also political commissar. He was a lieutenant colonel in the Spanish Red forces. Milt Felson, another leader of the American section, which maintains national headquarters at this time at 55 West Forty-second Street, New York, N. Y., was formerly with the OSS in Germany. Irving Goff, now head of the veteran activities of the Communist Party in the United States, is also active in the brigade. He, too, was with our OSS staff in Italy. Among the officers of this brigade are Walter Garland, adjutant commander, who has been an active Communist for many years, and who saw service in our armed forces; Harold Smith, who fought with the Red forces in Spain, and Jack Bjoze, executive secretary. Garland is the leader of another Red front veterans' movement in the United States—the United Negro and Allied Veterans, to which I will refer more in detail later on in my testimony. Mention of Bjoze is found in the proceedings of the fifth convention of the International Brigade, which was held a few months ago in New York.

Those are the proceedings that I submitted.

MR. STRIPLING: Yes.

MR. STEELE: A portion of the statement reads:

"On his shoulders and for the longest period of time have fallen most of the burdens of day to day * * *."

Others active in the brigade are Bob Reed, connected with the Communist *Michigan Herald* in Detroit; Saul Wellman, at the present time active in Red circles in Detroit; Bill Bennett, connected with the Communist *Chicago Star*; Joe Dull, of New York, and Harold Smith, editor of *Liberty*, one of the brigade's publications.

It will be recalled that the recruiting of this brigade in the United States was conducted by Communist Party heads in violation of our Federal laws. The leaders were arrested, but they were later freed and the charges against them were for some unexplained reason dropped by the Department of Justice. *Browder recently admitted in a radio address that this recruiting was a violation of our laws, and that he was among the violators. He declared he would willingly repeat the offense.*

MR. STRIPLING: You referred to the *Volunteers for Liberty*. That is the official publication of the organization. You don't refer to *Liberty* magazine?

MR. STEELE: Oh, no.

MR. STRIPLING: So that the record will be straight.

MR. STEELE: No, sir.

MR. STRIPLING: This is the *Volunteers for Liberty*?

MR. STEELE: Yes, which is the organ of the brigade.

THE CHAIRMAN: How long ago were these men arrested?

MR. STEELE: Shortly after the Spanish War started.

THE CHAIRMAN: It wasn't recently?

MR. STEELE: Not recently; no, sir.

THE CHAIRMAN: Do you know how many persons are in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade today?

MR. STEELE: How many members they have?

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes.

MR. STEELE: They claim 15,000. They have Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, which is a membership organization, which aids the veterans' brigade. I am not positive as to how many members they claim are in the brigade itself.

United Negro and Allied Veterans of America was organized January 8, 1946, at a joint meeting of 300 veterans which was held in the Harlem (N. Y.) Y. M. C. A. The meeting was sponsored by the United Veterans for Equality, the members of the provisional committee of which

included Hugh Mulzac, Sy Oliver, Walter Bernstein, Millard Lampell, Gilbert Sherman, Ray Robinson, Len Zinberg, and Ben Buroki—(*New Masses*, April 29, 1947.)

The United Negro and Allied Veterans of America claim to have approximately 10,000 members in 31 states. The original national commander of the group was Kenneth Kennedy, who led the march on the courthouse in Birmingham, Ala., in the 1946 election campaign. The organization has been active in other disturbances in Georgia, Mississippi, and New York. Walter Garland, Communist, and Howard "Stretch" Johnson, a teacher at the Jefferson School—Communist—in New York, headed the New York section.

Californians who either sponsored or participated in the activities of this veterans' movement are Charlotta Bass, Augustus Hawkins, Fritz Lang, Albert Maltz, Carlton Moss, Sy Oliver, Ray Robinson, Norman Smith, Michael Uris, Bette Davis, Robert W. Kenny, and Paul Henreid.

Kenneth R. Williams, a representative of the United Negro and Allied Veterans of America, was elected a short time ago to the Winston-Salem, N. C., City Council. He was recently feted in New York by Benjamin Davis, head of the Harlem section of the Communist Party and a member of the New York City Council.

Lou Heit is a member of the educational committee of this veterans' group in California. Bob Rondstadt was the California organizer among Mexicans. Ruth Johnson headed the California Auxiliary. Coleman A. Young was commander of the Michigan section.

Offices of United Negro and Allied Veterans of America in Washington, D. C., are located at 925 U Street NW.

The first national convention of United Negro and Allied Veterans of America was in session—May 30-June 2, 1947—at the Fraternal Club House, International Workers' Order Center, 110 West Forty-eighth Street, New York, N. Y. It was reported that 400 delegates attended from 31 states. The following officers were elected at the conference: Commander, George Murphy, Jr.; adjutant, Walter Garland; executive officer, Burton Jackson; finance officer, John Killanes; advocate, Thomas Jones; vice commanders, Catherine Godfrey, Howard Johnson, Charles Shorton, Aaron Williams, Catherine Overton, Dolphin Thompson, and Edward Ateman; committeemen, James Fitzbutler and Lester Davies.

Your committee finds that the Veterans Caucus of the Communist Party is one of the most directly dangerous and threatening aspects of the Stalinist conspiracy. It is a basic Marxist-Leninist activity, linked directly to the Kremlin and to the Red Army, which is working energetically to promote the Seventh Period strategy of the Communist Party in the United States and to prepare for violent, bloody, traitorous civil war, sabotage and insurrection, as dictated by Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism, in support of the Soviet Union and against the United States in the event of hostilities.

XXI. YOUTH AND EDUCATION CAUCUS

Communists devote interminable discussion and analysis to strategy and tactics to subvert, cajole and lure American youth and to dominate and influence education. Communist agents are continually admonished to cultivate this field to the fullest in true Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist style.

No phase of education is immune from Communist infiltration, strategic and tactical attack. From teachers' unions to child care centers; from textbooks to the classroom, Communist infiltration has proceeded steadily and persistently.

A close relationship will be found between Communist front groups and their familiar window-dressing of confirmed fellow-travelers in the fields of Art and Culture, the Sciences and Professions. Likewise, many professors and educators will be found repeatedly in the directorship of front organizations in these interlocking fields.

Through a complicated net of Marxist groups, Red agents have penetrated into the writing, editing, printing, publishing and purchasing of textbooks to be used in American schools. The objective of this Communist penetration is to insinuate condemnation and criticism of the American system into the minds of students, while praising and commending Soviet Russia and socialism as the solution of all our problems.

One of the principal "transmission belts" for such propaganda has been the Committee on Education of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

Another major phase of Communist educational work is the Communist Party's own network of schools and classes, running from innocent-appearing classes for aspiring artists and trade-unionists to the ultimate postgraduate courses conducted by selected American Communists in the Lenin School in Moscow, where the fine arts of espionage, sabotage, street-fighting, dynamiting, and other indispensable skills for violent revolution are taught by the Kremlin's most authoritative experts.

The committee has pointed out in its 1947 and 1948 reports and in the preceding item No. III of this chapter that the important Communist school in California is The California Labor School in San Francisco and its Southern California unit in Los Angeles.

1949 COMMUNIST YOUTH STRATEGY

The Communist line of the *Struggle Against Imperialist War* demands the most intensive concentration on youth work as part of the general attack at the morale and war potential of capitalist nations.

The key Communist youth front, American Youth for Democracy, had become so conspicuously Stalinist from incessant exposure that the Communist Party, early in 1949, decided on a change in strategy. This shift had been prepared for by Communist activity in the political field in creating in 1948 Students for Wallace, which with help from American Youth for Democracy and other Communist fronts, was merged into The Young Progressives as the youth wing of the Communist-controlled (Independent) Progressive Party.

Since the U. S. Communist Party already has gone underground and had created the (Independent) Progressive Party as its aboveground political action apparatus, the Communists decided to do the same thing with their youth movement.

American Youth for Democracy suddenly was abandoned as a public "failure." Actually American Youth for Democracy went underground as a caucus, operating in conjunction with the Youth Division of the Communist Party for the purpose of controlling the policies and activities of Young Progressives and a horde of new youth fronts to be launched in 1949.

The first two of these fronts are: (1) a series of campus clubs to support *New Foundations*, the monthly Marxist ideological magazine for youth, and (2) a series of Student Councils for Academic Freedom, organized on college campuses to support and defend Communist college professors.

The Communist Party early in 1949 sent its youth director, Leon Wolfsy, on a tour of the United States, to smooth out the machinery for this new intensified drive behind the false faces of new fronts to proselyte American students to the Marxist-Leninist doctrines.

In conjunction with the new strategy, *New Foundations* launched a series of paid advertisements in college and university daily newspapers to promote discussion groups; and the Communist California Labor School also launched a series of promotional advertisements in student newspapers.

**Do You Believe All You Hear
In Your Classes?**

If Not —

DROP AROUND

**We have some courses that
will interest you**

**DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM
INTRODUCTION TO PHILOSOPHY
POLITICAL ECONOMY
A SURVEY OF SCIENCE
WHAT IS SOCIALISM?**

Spring Term Begins

Monday, April 25th

Evening Classes Low Fees

**Write or phone for full
descriptive catalog.**

California Labor School

1803 West 7th Street

DUnkirk 8-2211

PLATE 4. Here is an exact reproduction of a paid advertisement by the Communist California Labor School, which has been running regularly during the early months of 1949 in such California student daily newspapers as *The Daily Bruin*, of University of California at Los Angeles, and *The Trojan*, at University of Southern California. Note the Communist challenge to American education in this brazen appeal for a chance to propagandize Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism to American youth by the familiar Communist device of promoting apparently innocent "study groups" on current affairs.

The committee reproduces herewith one of these advertisements, which were published several times a week during March and April, 1949 in such California college newspapers as *The Daily Bruin*, at University of California at Los Angeles, and *The Trojan*, at University of Southern California.

Because of the significance of this Communist attack on American youth in its present cold war and in conjunction with the present party line in the Seventh Period of Strategy in the United States, your committee presents the facts about the line of succession of the important Communist youth fronts.

COMMUNIST YOUTH PROGRAM

Shortly after the U. S. Communist Party was organized, it followed the Russian party model and established organizations of Young Pioneers for teen age youth and the Young Communist League for older youth,

The Young Communist League followed the complete pattern of the Communist organizations for adults up to 1943. It openly proclaimed the need for revolutionary overthrow of government by force and violence and supported and defended the Soviet Union. It penetrated our schools and universities, and was especially active in the promotion of student peace movements.

Many California Communists were prominent in this youth front.

Celeste Strack was student secretary of the Young Communist League and high school secretary of the American Student Union. She represented the American Student Union and the Young Communist League in the American Youth Congress.

Carl Ross and Gil Green were the national representatives of the Young Communist League in the American Youth Congress.

Angelo Herndon represented the National Negro Congress in the American Youth Congress.

American Youth Congress published a magazine entitled *Winner*, the editor of which was Barry Wood, the Communist Party name for Jeff Kibre, well-known party leader in California.

AMERICAN YOUTH FOR DEMOCRACY

On October 17, 1943, a special convention of the Young Communist League was held at Mecca Temple, New York City. The name of the organization was changed to American Youth for Democracy. In the issue of the *Communist* for September, 1943, the president of the Young Communist League called for a change of the name of the group in order to enable the organization to function more efficiently for the duration of the war.

On November 11, 1943, a meeting was held in San Francisco to hear a report on the Young Communist League convention. Among those who spoke were Rev. Morgan A. Tabb, Miss Jean Addis, Mrs. Robert Miller Green (formerly Betty McGregor of the Young Communist League), Miss Annabel Hopkins and Andrew Barrigan.

In December of 1943 the San Francisco sponsors of American Youth for Democracy were published. Among those listed were Bartley Crum and Dr. Thomas Addis of Stanford University.

The first California state convention of American Youth for Democracy was held in the North Star Auditorium, 631 West Adams Boulevard, Los Angeles, on May 6 and 7, 1944. Among those who spoke were Dr. Thomas Addis, Bartley Crum, Philip M. Connelly, and John Howard Lawson.

The first Los Angeles County convention was held on July 8, 1945, at Park Manor, 2200 West Seventh Street, Los Angeles. Among the speakers was Jerry Pacht. An Intercollegiate Council was proposed calling for members from each college where a unit of American Youth for Democracy was organized. The educational institutions listed were University of California at Los Angeles, California Technical Institute, and Los Angeles City College.

During the agitational activities of the Communist front, Mobilization for Democracy, American Youth for Democracy members volunteered to distribute 100,000 handbills for the organization.

During the 1945 and 1946 Communist dominated motion picture strikes American Youth for Democracy members volunteered to do picket

duty and a spokesman for the organization announced that all units would be contacted for strike duty in the picket line.

On December 31, 1944, Albert Dekker acted as master of ceremonies at an American Youth for Democracy birthday fete at the Hollywood-Roosevelt Hotel, where telegraphic greetings were read from Robert W. Kenny. Honored guests were Congressmen Ellis E. Patterson and Ned Healy. Among those present were Rex Ingram, Dalton Trumbo, Albee Slade, Rev. Raymond Henderson and Willis J. Hill.

American Youth for Democracy followed the Communist Party line assiduously. A press release from the organization's headquarters, 1201 S. Alvarado Street, Los Angeles, under date of July 2, 1947, stated its position on military training. *Focus on Youth, American Youth for Democracy* publication, issue for July 1, 1947, carried the caption "Wallace Blasts Youth Conscription as Wedge for Wall Street—Army Rule."

A letterhead of the organization under date of May 30, 1944, shows the headquarters at 701 Broadway Arcade Building. The letter in the files of the committee is signed by Elaine Rose, field secretary.

The Communist Party line of the American Youth for Democracy is obvious in most of its leaflets. One such leaflet in the files of this committee reads, in part, as follows:

The issue is thought control vs. intellectual freedom on our campuses. The issue is youth security or another generation of youth betrayed. We know our enemies—the men who want to jail Henry Wallace for opposing the "Truman Doctrine" * * * the men who preach hysteria, war, union busting. While A.Y.D. is the most direct target, the actual objective is reactionary dictation to our entire educational system, and the betrayal of all American youth.

A letter under date of January 8, 1946, signed by Meyer Frieden, showed the address of the organization as 408 S. Spring Street, Los Angeles 13, telephone MUTual 5307. Jeanette Salve is listed as chairman. Recording secretary is Lee Herendeen. Student secretary is Vicki Landish. The vice chairmen are Sue Scherr, Gene Gardner, Nena Ackerman, and Bob Zakon.

The state officers in 1945 were James Logan, Vivien Levin, Bill Lowe, Nancy Rosenfield, Katie Corboff (or Korboff), and Dash McMichael.

The state council was composed of Jean Addis, Reeva Cluen, Fred Toy, Betty Green (McGregor), Pearl Pinson, Rachael Reis, Elbert Bass, Harriet Moskowitz, Ding Rossi, Eloise Steel, and Helen Lude.

San Diego officers were Jackie Smith, Frank Crump, Barbara Richardson, Camille Barkan, and Johnny Peacock.

Marin County officers were Ann Tompkins and Pierre Patri.

East Bay officers were Sandra Martin, Meyer Frieden, Irvin Gostin, Vicki Landish, Norma Pittman, Mary Sherwood, Paul Dudrov, Pearl Glazer, Geraldine Brownlow, George Stankert, and Elaine Mitchell.

Los Angeles officers were Kelly Mink, Sam Young, Elaine Rose, Patti Zimmerman, Gloria Gervin, Helene Powell, Steve Stanford, Isabel Baron, Sybil Goldenberg, Martha Freeman, Francis Herrera, Bob Hamilton, Ida Bodin, Bill Jenkins, Harriette Goodman, Jeannette Salve, and Carolyn Hassell.

Robert Thompson was the national cochairman of the American Youth for Democracy. He was formerly a national vice president of the Young Communist League. He has been a contributor to the Communist *Daily Worker*. He was a member of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. The *Young Communist Review* of April, 1938, described Thompson as the

“leading Y.C.L. figure in California.” In 1938, Robert Thompson was a member of the National Council of the Young Communist League.

Carl Ross became national Executive Secretary of American Youth for Democracy when it was launched in October, 1943. For more than five years prior to that time, he had been national Executive Secretary of the Young Communist League. He was affiliated with such Communist front organizations as the American Youth Congress and the World Youth Congress.

Claudia Jones was the editor of the official magazine of the American Youth for Democracy, *Spotlight*. She was formerly an associate editor of the official organ of the Young Communist League, *Weekly Review*. She was a member of the National Council of the Young Communist League. Claudia Jones presently faces deportation as an undesirable alien seeking the overthrow of the Government of the United States.

Leo Cooper was managing editor of *Spotlight*, the official magazine of American Youth for Democracy. He formerly was the managing editor of the *Weekly Review*, the official organ of the Young Communist League.

Celeste Strack became the Executive Secretary of American Youth for Democracy in California. She was formerly a member of the National Council of the Young Communist League. She ran for Congress on the Communist Party ticket in 1940.

The following (*Spotlight*, April, 1944) were national sponsors of American Youth for Democracy: Henry Armstrong, Charlotte Hawkins Brown, John M. Coffee, Frank Marshall Davis, Howard Fast, A. Eustace Haydon, William H. Holly, Langston Hughes, John Howard Lawson, Kirtley F. Mather, H. P. Marley, F. Mathiessen, Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., Minerva Pius, Charles S. Seely, William B. Spofford, D. J. Struik, William Jay Schieffelin, Teddy Wilson, Mary E. Woolley, and Mary McLeod Bethune.

The national headquarters of American Youth for Democracy are located at 150 Nassau Street, Room 412, New York City. The cochairmen of the organization were Robert Thompson and Naomi Ellison. The executive secretary is Carol Ross. Winifred Norman and John Gallo were vice chairmen. The secretary-treasurer was W. Robert McCarthy. Others connected with the national set-up were Henry Cooperstock, Terry Grabel, Vivian Levin, Leo Rifkin, Beryl Michaelson, Jimmie Schlecker, Nettie Selling, Everett C. Thomas, and Leon Wolfsy.

Among American Youth for Democracy members who were also connected with the Communist Party or the Young Communist League, are the following: Pauline Annone, Warren Brown, Fay Caller (alias Fay Caller Vedro), Frank Cestare, Leo Cooper, Margaret Delehante, Jack Epstein, Francis Franklin, John Gallo, Claudia Jones, John Hudson Jones, Adeline Kohl, David Livingston, Daisy Lolieh, Bill Mardo, Robert McCarthy, Carl Ross, Lillian Ross, Phillip Schatz, Herbert Signer, Marcella Sloane, Celeste Strack, Everett Thomas, Robert Thompson, Max Weiss, Thelma Weiss, James West, and Leon Wolfsy.

Subsidiary Communist fronts created by American Youth for Democracy, include Sweethearts of Service Men, Friends of the Campus, and World Federation of Democratic Youth. Pauline Annone, and Naomi Ellison were active in Sweethearts of Service Men. The “boy friend” of

Pauline Annone was David Grant, Organizational Secretary of the Communist Party of western Pennsylvania. Naomi Ellison is the wife of Victor Ellison, Communist candidate for Commissioner in Pierce County, Washington. Donald Henderson, Jack MacMichael, Vivian Liebman, Joseph Starobin, and Bob Burke, were among the leaders of Friends of the Campus.

American Youth for Democracy was affiliated with the World Federation of Democratic Youth, founded in London November, 1945, by delegates from more than 50 nations. The organization now has its headquarters in Paris. It is part of the Communist International solar system which includes such other world Communist organizations as Women's International Democratic Federation and the World Federation of Trade Unions.

The 1945 delegation to the World Youth Conference included Esther Cooper, Frances Damon, Alice Horton, Molly Lieber, Elizabeth McCandless, Thomas Neil, and Doris Senk. Elsa Graves, Frances Damon, Naomi Chertoff, Esther Cooper, Russell Jones, and Thomas Neil were among the American delegates elected as officers of the World Youth Conference.

Out of the World Federation of Democratic Youth came the International Union of Students, which held a meeting in Prague on August 17-31, 1946. Twelve of the 17-man executive committee are known Communists.

National cochairmen of American Youth for Democracy were Winifred Norman and Vincent Pieri. The vice chairmen were Louis Burnham, Meyer Frieden, John Gallo, Frances Gullotta, Ruth Jett, and Mollie Lieber. The executive secretary was Herbert Signer. The secretary-treasurer was Julie Lowit. The Education and "Teen-Age" director was Vivian Levin, the intercollegiate director was Lee Marsh.

Present California officers include Bob Zakow, Chuck Bruck, Ralph Johnson, Vicki Landish, Henry Leland, Elaine Rose, and Betty McCandless, chairmen of the Los Angeles Youth Council.

San Francisco headquarters were at 216 Market Street. The Los Angeles address was 1201 South Alvarado Street. Headquarters in San Jose was located at 318 Eighth Street. Kenneth Van Luven was membership director in Los Angeles. Barbara Gould was membership director in San Francisco. Henry Leland was the county organizer for Santa Clara County. The California regional office was under the direction of Communist Celeste Strack at 593 Market Street, in San Francisco.

SUMMARY

Young Progressives is the direct successor to the functions and activities of American Youth for Democracy, which went underground early in 1949. American Youth for Democracy, in turn, was direct successor to the Young Communist League. All of these organizations, and a group of new fronts to be spawned by the youth division of the Communist Party, are devoted to important and basic strategic and tactical work in the United States in the Communist Seventh Period of strategy which follows the Anti-Imperialist War line of the Communist Party.

"If the state were compelled to wait until the apprehended danger became certain, then its right to protect itself would come into being simultaneously with the overthrow of the government, when there would be neither prosecuting officers nor courts for the enforcement of the law."

MR. JUSTICE SANFORD, U. S. Supreme Court, in *Gitlow vs. N. Y.*,
268, U. S. 652, 1925, p. 669

LEGISLATION AND THE COURTS

Antisubversive legislation in the United States, and in a parallel manner in California, has followed a series of ups and downs that have been identical with the varied ups and downs of the strategies of the Communist movement.

In periods of open and murderously aggressive Communist agitation for revolutionary overthrow of all governments by force and violence, citizens and legislators have become alarmed and have proposed remedial and protective legislation

In periods when Communist strategy and tactics of deception called for united fronts, "20th Century patriotism" and a propaganda drive to confuse and befuddle the unwary with bland promises of reform and progress, legislation—or the lack of it—has reflected the confusion of the general public.

Your Senate committee has presented in Part One of this report a documented presentation of the true horror of Communism of the Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist brand that should lift the scales from the eyes of even the most confused and unreceptive.

We stated in our preface:

"This is the greatest danger that human liberty and freedom as we know it ever has faced in recorded history."

We have proved by the words of the Communists from their own official and sacred Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist texts and publications, that this stark, terrible statement is cold truth.

Our Congress, at the national level, recognizes and is grappling with this problem in the fields of federal legislation. Much important test litigation is in progress. The legislatures of every state have a deep and overwhelming responsibility to face the problem honestly, effectively and successfully, within their own spheres.

Your committee, therefore, since its last report has taken stock of the general situation in order to provide the Legislature and the people with the most complete and useful information on this subject.

The committee recognized, first, that over the years it has proposed much legislation, based on an awareness of the Communist menace, but that only a meager amount had been adopted.

The committee was inclined from its knowledge of the Communist danger, and from its experiences with apathy and complacency on the subject, not to engage in recrimination or a series of "I told you so" pronouncements, but, instead, to dig deeper into the subject and to provide, beyond any shadow of a doubt, convincing clear, lucid, specific information about the constitutionality, merit and urgency of such legislation.

To achieve this objective, the committee secured the cooperation of a state-wide advisory committee of leaders of responsible organizations. (For details, See 1948 Fourth Report, pp. 15-19, and Page 651 of this report.)

The committee also secured the cooperation and assistance of the Legislative Counsel Bureau, and particularly of its chief, Legislative Counsel Fred B. Wood.

The committee also initiated the first national conference of State Legislative Committees on Un-American Activities, held in Los Angeles, September 20-21, 1948. (For details, See Pages 599-648, this Report.)

From all these consultations, conferences, exchanges of views and information, there emerged a clear statement of the present antisubversive laws and a series of new legislation proposals which were introduced at the current 1949 legislative session and are described later in this section of the report.

THE FIELD OF ANTI-SUBVERSIVE LAW

The committee felt that an indispensable contribution to clear thinking must be a resume and analysis of present law. The outline of such an analysis was presented by Mr. Wood, at our request, at the Los Angeles Legislative Conference.

The analysis since has been expanded, revised and improved by Mr. Wood, with the invaluable assistance of Mr. George H. Murphy, Deputy Legislative Counsel, and the complete text is published herewith for the information and guidance of the Legislature and the people of California.

The general topic of discussion is *The Permissible Scope of State Statutory Regulations Concerning Subversive Activities, Considered in the Light of Applicable Limitations of the State and Federal Constitutions.*

The analysis is presented under the following four main headings:

- (I) The Principal Constitutional Limitations.
- (II) These Limitations Impose Three Basic Standards.
- (III) Statutory and Judicial Precedents.
 - A. Statutory Regulations That Directly Affect the Individual.
 - B. Statutory Regulations That Directly Affect Organizations, and Individuals as Members of Organizations.
- (IV) Summary.

It also includes an appendix with texts of some of the constitutional and statutory provisions cited or discussed.

I. THE PRINCIPAL CONSTITUTIONAL LIMITATIONS

Each state has vested its legislative powers in its legislature, to be exercised subject to various limitations expressed in the constitution of the state.

The limitations with which we are principally confronted, in considering the permissible scope of state statutory regulations concerning subversive activities, are fairly common to all of the states.

These limitations are expressed in the form of guaranties of fundamental rights, privileges and immunities, generally referred to as the Bill of Rights.

In California, for example, Article I of the Constitution guarantees, among others, freedom of religion (Sec. 4), freedom of speech (Sec. 9), and freedom of assembly (Sec. 10), coupled with the reservation that "this enumeration of rights shall not be construed to impair or deny other rights retained by the people" (Sec. 23). (For text, see appendix.)

The Constitution of the United States furnishes similar guaranties (freedom of religion, speech, press, and of assembly (Amendt. I)), coupled with the reservation that "the enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people" (Amendt. IX), as limitations upon Congressional action, which the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment makes applicable to state legislative action (*Gitlow v. New York* (1925), 268 U. S. 652; *Near v. Minnesota* (1931), 283 U. S. 697; *DeJonge v. Oregon* (1937), 299 U. S. 353; *Cantwell v. Connecticut* (1930), 310 U. S. 296). (*Gitlow v. New York* is discussed on page 570. *Near v. Minnesota* involved a Minnesota statute providing for the abatement of a "malicious, scandalous and defamatory newspaper, magazine or other periodical," alleged to have been violated by the appellant who published a publication charging Minneapolis enforcing officers and agencies with failing to perform their duties energetically. The court held the statute unconstitutional and an infringement of the liberty of the press guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. *DeJonge v. Oregon* is discussed on page 571. The court in *Cantwell v. Connecticut* held that a Connecticut statute regulating the solicitation of funds for religious purposes, as applied to members of Jehovah's Witnesses who solicited contributions for the publication of their pamphlets, was unconstitutional as depriving them of their liberty (freedom of religion) without due process.)

We will give prime consideration to the requirements of the Constitution of the United States. The limitations imposed by the several state constitutions may vary but those expressed in the federal constitution are uniformly applicable to all of the states.

The First Amendment of the Constitution of the United States has been the one most frequently construed and applied in judicial decisions involving state legislation enacted to prevent subversive activities. That amendment reads as follows:

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the government for a redress of grievances."

These rights are not absolute. As stated by the United States Supreme Court in *Whitney v. California* (1927), 274 U. S. 357:

"That the freedom of speech which is secured by the Constitution does not confer an absolute right to speak, without responsibility, whatever one may choose, or an unrestricted and unbridled license giving immunity for every possible use of language and preventing the punishment of those who abuse this freedom; and that a state in the exercise of its police power may punish those who abuse this freedom by utterances inimical to the public welfare, tending to incite to crime, disturb the public peace, or endanger the foundations of organized government and threaten its overthrow by unlawful means, is not open to question." (p. 371.)

Thus, in effect, the question before us is: Where does the individual's freedom end and the state's police powers begin?

II. THESE LIMITATIONS IMPOSE THREE BASIC STANDARDS

These constitutional limitations impose three major requirements, three basic standards, for statutory regulation of subversive activities.

(1) The due process clause requires that such a statute be sufficiently explicit to inform those who are subject to it, what conduct on their part will render them liable to its penalties, and be couched in terms that are not so vague that men of common intelligence must necessarily guess its meaning and differ as to its application (*Whitney v. California*, 274 U. S. at p. 368).

(2) Such a statute must bear an appropriate relation to the safety of the state (*Near v. Minnesota*, 283 U. S. at p. 707).

While these two standards may give rise to some difficulties as to sufficiency of proof, they present no insurmountable obstacle to the enactment and enforcement of effective curbs upon subversive activities.

The third standard, however, presents difficult problems. That standard, resulting from the preferred position of the freedoms secured by the First Amendment, is:

"CLEAR AND PRESENT DANGER"

(3) Any statute restricting those liberties must be justified by clear public interest, threatened not doubtfully or remotely but by *clear and present danger* (*Thomas v. Collins* (1945), 323 U. S. 516).

The *Thomas* case involved a Texas statute that required a labor union organizer to apply for an organizer's card before soliciting any members for his organization. The court held that statute unconstitutional as applied to the president of the International Union U. A. W. (United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers), who closed an address with a general invitation asking persons present not members of a labor union to support a certain local union. In holding that the statutory restriction of the liberties guaranteed by the First Amendment, as applied to the facts, was not justified, the court stated:

"The rational connection between the remedy provided and the evil to be curbed, which in other contexts might support legislation against attack on due process grounds, will not suffice. These rights rest on firmer foundation. Accordingly, whatever occasion would restrain orderly discussion and persuasion, at appropriate time and place, must have clear support in public danger, actual or impending. Only the gravest abuses, endangering paramount interests, give occasion for permissible limitation. It is therefore in our tradition to allow the widest room for discussion, the narrowest range for its restriction, particularly when this right is exercised in conjunction with peaceable assembly." (p. 530.)

Although the "clear and present danger" standard (applied in *Schenck v. United States* (1919), 249 U. S. 47) was given a somewhat restricted scope in *Gitlow v. New York* (1925), 268 U. S. 652, which upheld the New York Anarchy Act, the more recent decisions in *Thomas v. Collins* (1945), 323 U. S. 516; *Thornhill v. Alabama* (1940), 310 U. S. 88; *Schneiderman v. United States* (1943), 320 U. S. 118, and *Bridges v. California* (1941), 314 U. S. 252, indicate that the "clear and present danger" standard must be met in formulating a measure that in any way restricts or hampers the freedom of religion, speech, press or peaceful assembly.

In the case of *Schenck v. United States*, the defendant was convicted of violating the Espionage Act of 1917 by attempting to cause insubordination in the armed forces of the United States and to obstruct the recruiting and enlistment service of the United States while it was at war with Germany. The defendant had published a document circulated to men who had been called to service and allegedly calculated to cause insubordination and obstruction. The court affirmed the conviction of the defendant and stated that "The question in every case [involving freedom of speech] is whether the words used are used in such circumstances and are of such a nature as to create a clear and present danger that they will bring about the substantive evils that Congress has the right to prevent." (p. 52.)

The *Thomas* case involved a Texas statute which sought to regulate labor union organizers. In the *Thornhill* case, the court found that an Alabama statute prohibiting picketing was unconstitutional.

In the *Schneiderman* case, the court reversed a lower court decision canceling the citizenship of Schneiderman on the grounds that he had illegally procured citizenship. It was alleged that Schneiderman at the time of his naturalization had fraudulently concealed his membership in certain Communist organizations which were opposed to the principles of the Constitution.

In the *Bridges* case, the court reversed the conviction of a labor leader who had been held in contempt of a state court, for causing the publication of a telegram from himself to the Secretary of Labor, on the ground that the telegram constituted an attempt to influence the court's decision since it contained a threat to strike.

The determination of what constitutes a "clear and present danger" presents the problem most difficult of solution. For, as stated by the Supreme Court in *Bridges v. California* (cited above):

"In *Schenck v. United States*, however, this court said that there must be a determination of whether or not 'the words used are used in such circumstances and are of such a nature as to create a clear and present danger that they will bring about the substantive evils.' We recognize that this statement, however helpful, does not comprehend the whole problem. As Mr. Justice Brandeis said in his concurring opinion in *Whitney v. California*, 274 U. S. 357, 374: 'This court has not yet fixed the standard by which to determine when a danger shall be deemed clear; how remote the danger may be and yet be deemed present.' * * * (p. 261.)

"What finally emerges from the 'clear and present danger' cases is a working principle that the substantive evil must be extremely serious and the degree of imminence extremely high before utterances can be punished. Those cases do not purport to mark the furthestmost constitutional boundaries of protected expression, nor do we here." (p. 263.)

III. STATUTORY AND JUDICIAL PRECEDENTS

In view of the difficulties inherent in the application of the "clear and present danger" test, we believe the best approach in determining the extent of the power of the Legislature to deal with subversive activities is to examine some of the more significant statutes, and judicial decisions construing and applying those statutes. The pertinent provisions of some of the statutes discussed will be found in the Appendix, which commences at Page 581.

We have not included consideration of war-time statutes. During such a time, the clear and present danger is much more clearly evident than in the case of statutory regulations enacted and enforced in time of peace.

Regulations concerning subversive activities have taken two principal forms: First, statutes that directly affect the individual, and second, statutes that directly affect organizations, and individuals as members of organizations.

A. STATUTORY REGULATIONS THAT DIRECTLY AFFECT THE INDIVIDUAL

1. *Treason*. Treason against the State (levying war against the State, adhering to its enemies, or giving them aid and comfort) is defined and punished by Section 37, California Penal Code (for text, see Appendix), the definition being derived from Section 20 of Article I of the State Constitution. (For text, see Appendix.)

Misprision of treason, consisting of knowledge and concealment of treason without otherwise assenting to or participating in the crime, is punishable under Section 38, California Penal Code. (For text, see Appendix.)

2. *Insurrection and Rebellion*. Insurrection and rebellion consist of active and open resistance to the authority or operations of government. Section 143 of the California Military and Veterans Code authorizes the Governor to declare a state of insurrection in the event he is satisfied "that the execution of civil or criminal process has been forcibly resisted by bodies of men, or that any conspiracy or combination exists to resist by force the execution of such process, or that the officers of any county or city are unable or have failed for any reason to enforce the laws" and he may order into the service of the State the militia. (For text, see Appendix.) Section 145 of the California Military and Veterans Code provides for punishment of anyone violating the martial law after the Governor's proclamation. (For text, see Appendix.)

3. *Sedition*. Sedition may be generally defined as inciting by word of mouth, publication or otherwise, discontent with the specific government or the advocacy of its overthrow. We are aware of no California statute which prohibits sedition as such. However, sedition, so defined, includes criminal anarchy, display of emblems of opposition to government, and criminal syndicalism.

a. *Criminal Anarchy*. Statutes relating to criminal anarchy prohibit the forceful and violent overthrow of all organized government. Usually such statutes also prohibit the advocacy of the overthrow of organized government.

The New York Anarchy Act (for text, see Appendix) (N. Y. Penal Law, Secs. 160-166) provides, in part, that it is a felony to advocate, advise or teach by word of mouth or writing; to print, publish, edit,

issue or knowingly circulate, sell, distribute or publicly display any book, paper, document or written or printed matter in any form containing or advocating, advising or teaching such a doctrine; or to organize or help organize or become a member of or voluntarily assemble with a group of persons found to teach or advocate such a doctrine.

The New York act was upheld by the Supreme Court in *Gitlow v. New York*, 268 U. S. 652, decided in 1925, where the defendant was found to be responsible for a manifesto advocating overthrow of the government by violence and unlawful means.

The court in the *Gitlow* case did not apply the "clear and present danger" standard, holding that the test applied only to actions of the class involving the Espionage Act. The court held the criminal anarchy statute in question valid, observing that a state, in the exercise of its police power, may punish those who abuse the freedom of speech by utterances inimical to the public welfare, tending to corrupt public morals and inciting to crime. The court recognized the legislative determination of the danger of substantive evil arising from utterances of a specified character. Justice Holmes dissented to the majority opinion, adhering to the "clear and present danger" test, which, if applied, might have rendered the statute unconstitutional.

The *Gitlow* case has not been overruled. However, later decisions tend to indicate that the "clear and present danger" standard applies to all state legislative action that encroaches upon the liberties guaranteed by the Bill of Rights. We cannot say with assurance that this standard does not now apply to such statutes as the New York Anarchy Act.

We are not aware of any California statute that expressly prohibits criminal anarchy. However, that offense would appear to fall within the scope of the criminal syndicalism laws of California, discussed below.

b. *Display of Emblems of Opposition to Government.* Section 616 of the California Military and Veterans Code prohibits the display of any flag, banner or badge in any public place or in any meeting place or public assembly or on or from any house, building or window, as a sign, symbol or emblem of "forceful or violent" opposition to organized government, or stimulus to anarchistic action, or aid to propaganda advocating overthrow of government by force. (For text, see Appendix.) That section, enacted in 1935, is based upon former Section 403a of the California Penal Code one of the clauses of which (prohibiting the display of a flag "as a sign, symbol or emblem of opposition to organized government") had been held unconstitutional in *Stromberg v. California* (1931), 283 U. S. 359.

In the *Stromberg* case the defendant, a member of an organization affiliated with the Communist Party, was supervising a Youth Camp in San Bernardino. Each day she directed a ceremony at which a camp-made reproduction of the flag of Soviet Russia was raised while the children saluted and pledged allegiance to the flag "and to the cause for which it stands, one aim throughout our lives, freedom for the working class." The Supreme Court held the clause in question was void for vagueness and indefiniteness, stating that its terms might include peaceful and orderly opposition to a government, organized and controlled by a political party, as well as a Communist organization.

The present section was re-enacted, limiting the prohibition of that clause to "forceful or violent" opposition to organized government, to

conform with the law established in the *Stromberg* case. As yet the constitutionality of the present section has not been tested.

c. *Criminal Syndicalism*. Criminal syndicalism, generally is the advocacy of industrial or political change through crime, unlawful acts of force and violence or unlawful methods of terrorism. California has a statute prohibiting criminal syndicalism (Ch. 188, Calif. Stat. of 1919; Deering's California General Laws, Act 8428) (For text, see Appendix), which was upheld by the Supreme Court in *Whitney v. California* (1927), 274 U. S. 357, when it affirmed the conviction of a person who knowingly and actively participated as an organizer, member, and delegate of the Communist Labor Party of California, which was found by the jury to have been organized to advocate, teach, aid or abet criminal syndicalism as defined by that statute.

It should be noted that in *DeJonge v. Oregon* (1937), 299 U. S. 353, the Oregon criminal syndicalism statute (which, among other things, makes it a crime to preside at, conduct, or to assist in the conduct of a meeting of an organization or group which teaches or advocates criminal syndicalism or sabotage) was held unconstitutional in its application to the particular set of facts presented by the case.

The defendant had been a speaker at a meeting organized and sponsored by the Communist Party. The meeting was held principally for the purpose of protesting the activities of the police in connection with a strike by the coast longshoremen. It was not alleged that there was any advocacy of criminal syndicalism or any unlawful conduct at the meeting.

The court held that, notwithstanding the objectives of the Communist Party, the defendant still enjoyed his personal right of speech and to take part in peaceful assembly. Portions of the unanimous decision of the court in the *DeJonge* case appear to be particularly pertinent to this discussion. The court stated:

" * * * His sole offense as charged, and for which he was convicted and sentenced to imprisonment for seven years, was that he had assisted in the conduct of a public meeting, albeit otherwise lawful, which was held under the auspices of the Communist Party." (p. 362.)

"The broad reach of the statute as thus applied is plain. While defendant was a member of the Communist Party, that membership was not necessary to conviction on such a charge. A like fate might have attended any speaker, although not a member, who 'assisted in the conduct' of the meeting. However innocuous the object of the meeting, however lawful the subjects and tenor of the addresses, however reasonable and timely the discussion, all those assisting in the conduct of the meeting would be subject to imprisonment as felons if the meeting were held by the Communist Party * * * " (p. 362.)

"While the states are entitled to protect themselves from the abuse of the privileges of our institutions through an attempted substitution of force and violence in the place of peaceful political action in order to effect revolutionary changes in government, none of our decisions go to the length of sustaining such a curtailment of the right of free speech and assembly as the Oregon statute demands in its present application. * * * " (p. 363.)

"It follows from these considerations that, consistently with the Federal Constitution, peaceable assembly for lawful discussion cannot be made a crime. * * * If the persons assembling have committed crimes elsewhere, if they have formed or are engaged in a conspiracy against the public peace and order, they may be prosecuted for their conspiracy or other violation of valid laws. But it is a different matter when the state, instead of prosecuting them for such offenses, seizes upon mere participation in a peaceable assembly and a lawful public discussion as the basis for a criminal charge." (p. 365.)

4. *Sabotage*. Sabotage statutes generally contemplate wilful destruction, injury or diminution of value of physical property belonging to another. The crime of sabotage has been incorporated in the California statute relating to criminal syndicalism (cited above) and is therein defined as meaning "wilful and malicious physical damage or injury to physical property." (For text, see Appendix.)

The Supreme Court upheld the validity of the sabotage provisions of the California statute in *Burns v. United States* (1927), 274 U. S. 328, affirming the conviction of the defendant for organizing, assisting in organizing, and becoming a member of an organization (the Industrial Workers of the World) which was found to have been organized to advocate and teach acts of industrial sabotage.

5. *Masks and Disguises*. Many states have enacted laws controlling the wearing of masks and disguises to conceal identity. A California statute prohibits the wearing of masks (Ch. 153, Calif. Stats. 1923, Deering General Laws, Act 4707). (For text, see Appendix.) We are unaware of any reported decision involving that statute.

6. *Criminal Conspiracy and Unlawful Assembly*. Most states, including California, have statutes prohibiting conspiracy to commit a crime (California Penal Code, Section 182. For text, see Appendix.) and unlawful assembly. (California Penal Code, Sections 407, 408, and 416. For text, see Appendix.) However, these statutes are of general application and do not relate particularly to criminal subversive activities.

7. *Public Employment*.

(a) *Federal Employment*. The President by his executive order of March 21, 1947 (Exec. Order No. 9835, 12 Fed. Reg. 1935), has directed that inquiry be made into the loyalty of all persons in federal service, and established procedures for the discharge of employees as to whom reasonable grounds exist for belief that they are disloyal to the government.

We are not aware of any judicial decision in which the constitutionality of this order has been considered.

It is noteworthy that in *Friedman v. Schwellenbach* (1946), 159 Fed. 2d 22, the United States Court of Appeals, District of Columbia, upheld a war service regulation permitting the removal from federal service of a person concerning whose loyalty to the government the Civil Service Commission entertained a reasonable doubt.

The defendant in that case had been conditionally transferred from a government position not under the Classified Civil Service to a place in the Division of Central Administrative Services, Office for Emergency Management, a position requiring civil service status. The transfer was made expressly "subject to character investigation."

The court held that the United States has the right to employ such persons as it deems necessary to aid in carrying on the public business and to prescribe qualifications and to attach conditions to their employment, ruling that it was beyond the province of the court to review the finding of the Civil Service Commission as to the existence of a reasonable doubt of Friedman's loyalty. The Supreme Court denied a writ of certiorari in the matter (330 U. S. 838).

The *Friedman* case involved a wartime measure, however, and should not be considered as determinative of the validity of the 1947 regulations and procedure for the determination of the loyalty of public servants.

With respect to peacetime regulation of federal governmental employees, the Supreme Court in *United Public Workers v. Mitchell* (1947), 330 U. S. 75, upheld the provisions of Section 9(a) of the Hatch Act (18 U.S.C. Supp. V, Sec. 61h) which forbids certain employees of the government from undertaking "any active part in political management or in political campaigns."

The court, in affirming the lower court's dismissal of an action, brought by certain members of the Executive Branch of the Federal Government and a union of such employees, to enjoin the members of the Civil Service Commission from enforcing the provisions of the section in question and for a declaratory judgment holding the act unconstitutional, stated:

"We have said that Congress may regulate the political conduct of government employees 'within reasonable limits,' even though the regulation trenches to some extent upon unfettered political action (p. 102.) * * * When actions of civil servants in the judgment of Congress menace the integrity and the competency of the service, legislation to forestall such danger and adequate to maintain its usefulness is required." (p. 103.)

The court, in the *Mitchell* case, held that expressions, public or private, on public affairs, personalities and matters of public interest, not an objective of party action, are unrestricted by the Hatch Act, so long as the government employee does not direct his activities toward party success.

Another Supreme Court decision of interest, is that of *United States v. Lovett* (1946), 328 U. S. 303, which involved a provision in a congressional appropriation measure that no compensation was to be paid to three named employees, who were found by the House Appropriations Committee to be unfit for government employment because of alleged subversive activities.

The court held that the provision in question was violative of Article I, Section 3, Clause 9 of the Federal Constitution which provides that no bill of attainder or ex post facto law shall be passed and that the law had the effect of accomplishing the punishment of the named individuals without a judicial trial.

(b) *State Employment.* The California Government Code requires state employees to take an oath to support the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of California (Secs. 18150 to 18158, inc.; for text, see Appendix), and prohibits the employment of any person who advocates, teaches, justifies, aids or abets a program of sabotage, force and violence, sedition or treason against the United States or the State of California, and requires immediate discharge of any employee committing such an act during his employment (Sec. 18200). (For text, see Appendix.)

The California Government Code also provides that a person bound by oath to support, maintain or further the military or political activities or policies of any foreign government or of any official, society or organization thereof or to obey the orders or direction of any foreign government or official thereof is ineligible to hold office or employment of any

kind under the State or any of its political subdivisions (Sec. 1023). (For text, see Appendix.)

The California Government Code further provides that advocacy or membership in an organization which advocates the overthrow of the United States Government by force, violence or other unlawful means, is sufficient cause for dismissal of public employees (Sec. 1028). (For text, see Appendix.)

The California Education Code provides that certified public school employees may be dismissed for the commission, aiding or advocating the commission, of acts of criminal syndicalism (Sec. 13521). (For text, see Appendix.) It also provides for an oath or affirmation as a prerequisite for certification of teaching credentials (Sec. 12100). (For text, see Appendix.)

We are not aware of any court proceeding in which the constitutionality of these provisions has been presented for consideration.

However, the District Court of Appeals in *Board of Education v. Jewett* (1937), 21 Cal. App. 2d 64, 68 Pac. 2d 404, affirmed the judgment of a lower court which sanctioned the dismissal of a teacher who was found guilty of unprofessional conduct in violation of Section 5.650 of the former California School Code, the origin of the present Section 13521 of the California Education Code.

In that case, the defendant attempted to enlist from his pupils support for his anti-American pro-Russian views. Among other things, he distributed communistic pamphlets to his pupils in the classroom.

8. *Flag Saluting*. In *West Virginia State Board of Education v. Barnette* (1943), 319 U. S. 624, the Supreme Court had under consideration the expulsion from school of students who were members of Jehovah's Witnesses.

The students had refused to execute the flag salute as required by the local board of education. They refused to salute the Flag on the ground that to do so would be in conflict with their religious belief that they should not bow down or serve any graven image. The Jehovah's Witnesses considered the Flag an image.

The court, in stating that the flag salute requirement violated the First and Fourteenth Amendments, stated that it "transcends constitutional limitations on their power and invades the sphere of intellect and spirit which is the purpose of the First Amendment to our Constitution to reserve from all official control." (p. 642.)

9. *Alien Registration*. In *Hines v. Davidowitz* (1941), 312 U. S. 52, the Supreme Court found that the Federal Alien Registration Act of 1940 forms, with the Immigration and Naturalization Laws, a comprehensive and integrated scheme for the registration of aliens, which precludes the enforcement of state alien laws such as the one adopted by the State of Pennsylvania in 1931, then under consideration.

The Pennsylvania law required all aliens eighteen years or over, with certain exceptions, to register once each year.

The Federal Alien Registration Act provides for a single registration of aliens fourteen years of age or over. The national power is supreme over that of the state in the field of foreign affairs, including power over immigration, naturalization and deportation.

Where the Federal Government has enacted a complete scheme of regulation in this field and therein provided a standard for the registration of aliens, a state cannot, inconsistently with the purpose of Congress, conflict or interfere with, curtail or complement, the federal law, or enforce additional or auxiliary regulations.

The decision in the *Hines* case seems founded upon the intent of Congress (inferred from the scope of the federal statutes examined) to occupy the field and thereby preclude state legislative action in that field. Had Congress indicated a contrary intent, it is possible the Pennsylvania statute would have continued operative.

10. *Oath Requirements.* The National Labor Relations Act (29 U. S. C. Sec. 159 (h)) provides that, to secure the benefits of the act, each officer of a petitioning labor organization shall file annually an affidavit that he is not a member of, or affiliated with, the Communist Party and that he does not believe in, and is not a member of, and does not support any organization that believes in or teaches the overthrow of the United States Government by force.

This provision was upheld in *Oil Workers' International Union v. Elliott* (1947), 73 Fed. Sup. 942. The United States District Court denied a petition for a mandatory injunction to compel the regional director of the National Labor Relations Board to count ballots cast at a labor election to determine whether the Oil Workers' International Union should represent the employees of a certain plant.

The plaintiff was an affiliate of an organization which had not filed affidavits as required by the National Labor Relations Act.

The court, in considering Section 4, Article IV of the Federal Constitution, which provides that the national government shall guarantee each state a republican form of government, stated that "It is recognized that the Communist form of government is not a representative form of government." (p. 944.)

In this field, as in the field of alien registration, when Congress has acted, the question frequently arises whether or not Congress intended to occupy the field and thereby preclude state legislative action.

Thus, to the extent that state statutory regulations in the field of employer-employee relations conflict with the provisions of the National Labor Relations Act, they must yield to those of the federal statute (*Hill v. Florida* (1945), 325 U. S. 538). A Florida statute which regulated labor union activities, established standards for, and required licensing of, union bargaining representatives was found repugnant to the National Labor Relations Act. Hill had been enjoined by a state court from acting as a bargaining agent of a union because he had failed to secure a license under the Florida statute.

The majority opinion in the *Hill* case went further than to consider a mere conflict between specific provisions of the state and federal statutes; found that the Florida statute stood "as an obstacle to the accomplishment and execution of the full purposes and objectives of Congress," apparently inferring that Congress intended to that extent to preclude state action. Had Congress indicated a different intent, the Florida statute might have been effective in part; i.e., those of its provisions that were not in direct conflict with specific provisions of the federal statute might have been operative.

B. STATUTORY REGULATIONS THAT DIRECTLY AFFECT ORGANIZATIONS, AND INDIVIDUALS AS MEMBERS OF ORGANIZATIONS

1. *Statutory Regulations Requiring Registration of Organizations* appear to have been enacted in but one state, California, which has enacted a statute requiring any group which advocates overthrow of the government or which is subject to foreign control, to register (Corp. Code, Secs. 35000 et seq.) (For text, see Appendix.). The California statute was considered in *People v. Noble* (1945), 68 Cal. App. 2d 853, 158 Pac. 2d 225, where the defendants, allegedly members of the governing body of a group known as "Friends of Progress," appealed from a conviction for violation of its provisions. The court reversed the judgment for lack of evidence and found it unnecessary to pass on the constitutionality of the statute. However, the court did state:

"We are frank to state that we are in grave doubt as to the constitutionality of the California Subversive Organization Registration Act * * *" (p. 892.)

In making this statement, the court possibly had in mind the question whether or not Congress, in enacting the Voorhis Act (18 U. S. Code, Secs. 14-17), intended to occupy the field so fully as to preclude state legislative action of the type illustrated by the California registration statute under consideration.

The Voorhis Act requires the registration of (a) every organization subject to foreign control, which engages in political activity, (b) every organization which engages in both civilian military activity and political activity (excepting the armed forces, police, recognized diplomatic missions, or consular offices, etc.), (c) every organization subject to foreign control which engages in civilian military activity, and (d) every organization, the purpose of which is the establishment, control, conduct, seizure or overthrow of a government or subdivision thereof, by the use of, or threat of, force, violence or military measures.

2. *Statutory Regulations Prohibiting the Use of School Property.* Section 19432 of the California Education Code, which prohibits the use of public school property by subversive organizations, (for text, see Appendix) was held unconstitutional by the California Supreme Court in *Danskin et al. v. San Diego Unified School District* (1946), 28 Cal. 2d 536, 171 Pac. 2d, 885.

In that case the plaintiffs, members of the San Diego Civil Liberties Committee, an affiliate of the American Civil Liberties Union, brought a proceeding in mandamus to compel the school board to grant permission to use school property without complying with the school board's requirement that they sign an affidavit to the effect that they did not advocate, and were not affiliated with, any organization which advocates or has as its object, or one of its objects, the overthrow of the government of the United States, or of any state, by force or violence, or any unlawful means.

In declaring that section unconstitutional, the court stated:

"* * * Since the state cannot suppress free expression except in the presence of clear and present danger, it cannot enforce a precautionary measure that would deny the right of assembly to those whose political creeds it disapproves." (p. 545.)

"* * * In the present case registration would be a reasonable requirement, facilitating the administration of meetings and imposing no censorship on the proponents. Requirement of proof of one's convictions and affiliations, however, as a condition of exercising the rights of free speech and free assembly, would compel a forfeiture of

those rights by those who were unable or unwilling to submit proof that was acceptable." (p. 548.)

"There is no sign that any danger would arise from the proposed meetings in the present case. The 'Bill of Rights in Postwar America' is not only a legitimate subject of discussion but one of great public interest. The proposed speakers include men well qualified to discuss the subject and there is no likelihood that any substantive evil would arise out of their discussion." (p. 554.)

3. *Statutory Regulations that Exclude Organizations from Official Recognition as Political Parties* have been enacted. The following are illustrative of a number of types of exclusion :

Organizations that advocate forceful or unlawful overthrow of the government, enacted in a number of states, including California (Calif. Elec. Code, Sec. 2540.4) (for text, see Appendix) ;

Organizations that advocate or carry on a program of sabotage, force and violence, sedition or treason, enacted in several states, including California (Calif. Elec. Code, Sec. 2540.4) (for text, see Appendix) ;

Organizations "whose principles include any thought or purpose of setting aside representative form of government and substituting therefor any other form of government," enacted in Texas (Tex. Rev. Civ. Stat. Ann. Tit. 50, Art. 2978a, Sec. 2) ;

Organizations directly or indirectly affiliated with the Communist Party or any other foreign agency, political party, organization or government or any group advocating the overthrow of the government by force (Calif. Elec. Code, Sec. 2540.4) (for text, see Appendix) ;

An organization using a word such as "communist" in its name, enacted in Texas (Tex. Rev. Civ. Stat. Ann. Tit. 50, Art. 2978a, Sec. 3) and California (Calif. Elec. Code, Sec. 2540.3) (for text, see Appendix) ;

We have not found that the constitutionality of the Texas statute, which excludes groups whose principles include any thought or purpose of setting aside the representative form of government, has been judicially determined.

The other types of exclusion have been considered and determined, as to their constitutionality, by the Supreme Court of California in *Communist Party v. Peek* (1942), 20 Cal. 2d 536, 127 Pac. 2d 889.

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE PEEK CASE

In the *Peek* case, the plaintiffs sought to have Sections 2540.3, 2540.4, 2540.5, and 2540.9 of the California Elections Code declared unconstitutional, and petitioned for a writ of mandamus to compel the Secretary of State to perform the statutory duties necessary to qualify the Communist Party to participate in the primary election of August, 1942. The court, referring to Section 2540.3, which provides that no party shall be recognized or qualified to participate in a primary election which uses or adopts as any part of its party designation, the word "communist" or any derivation of that word, held that the Legislature is without power to determine that a particular person or group has advocated the doctrine which violates the policy laid down in the statute. It concluded :

"It follows, that while the Legislature may properly deny a place on the ballot to any party advocating the forceful overthrow of the government, it may not, constitutionally, determine that a specified party advocates the doctrine in question without running afoul of the constitutional provision above quoted." (p. 549, referring to Article IV, Section 25, Subdivision 11 of the California Constitution which prohibits the passage of special laws for conducting of elections.)

The court held it was proper to exclude groups advocating forceful or unlawful overthrow of the government and groups which advocate or carry on a program of sabotage, force and violence, sedition or treason.

On the other hand, it held the exclusion of groups directly or indirectly affiliated with the Communist Party or any other foreign agency, political party, organization or government was unconstitutional, since, as the court stated:

“* * * Such a prohibition would destroy the rights of suffrage of those members of any party which affiliated itself with a foreign organization however beneficial the purposes of such an organization or however far removed from the field of political action within this country. No attempt is made to limit the operation of this clause to those foreign agencies whose activities constitute a clear threat to the operation of our elective system, and we do not think that the Legislature's power to restrict the constitutional right of suffrage was intended to authorize the adoption of tests so far removed from the express purpose of improving the operation of the primary election system. This portion of the statute also must be held to exceed the power conferred upon the Legislature and to be invalid for that reason.” (p. 551.)

In connection with the use of the word “communist” the court held that it could not take judicial notice that the Communist Party advocates the overthrow of the government by force.

A similar type of statute was enacted by the Illinois Legislature (Ill. Rev. Stat. (1945) Ch. 46, Art. 7, Sec. 7-2, Art. 8, Sec. 8-2, Art. 10, Sec. 10-2) providing that a group associated, directly or indirectly, with Communist, Fascist, Nazi or other un-American principles and engaged in activities and propaganda designed to teach subservience to political principles and ideals of foreign nations, shall not be qualified as a political party or given a place on the ballot.

That statute was held unconstitutional by the United States District Court in *Feinglass v. Reinecke* (1942), 48 Fed. Supp. 438. The Governor, Auditor of Public Accounts, and Secretary of State of Illinois had refused to certify the nominating petitions of the Communist Party to the County Clerk of Cook County.

The court held that the Communist Party could not be excluded from the ballot merely because it advocates economic ideas which happen to be unpopular at the time. It further held that the couching of the text in terms such as “un-American” and “the political principles of foreign nations” lacks the precision required in a statute which affects the rights of a political group to appeal to the electorate.

4. *Statutory Regulations That Preclude Persons Who Are Members of Subversive Organizations From Holding Public Office*, have been enacted. The following types are illustrative:

Five states have enacted legislation which would bar persons advocating forceful or unlawful overthrow of the government (Ill. Rev. Stats. 1947, Ch. 127, Sec. 166a; N. C. Session Laws of 1947, Ch. 1028; Okla. Stats. 1941, Title 51, Ch. 1, Secs. 31-35; Ore. 1940 Comp. Laws Ann., 1943 Supp., Sec. 81-1309; Pa., Laws of Pa., Session of 1941, Act No. 214). These statutes would appear to be constitutional under the decision of the *Peek* case.

Two states (Illinois (Ill. Rev. Stat. (1941) Ch. 127, Sec. 166a) and North Carolina (N. C. Session Laws of 1947, Ch. 1028)) bar from public office, members of an organization which advocates forcible or unlawful overthrow of the government. The constitutionality of these provisions appears not to have been decided.

Three states, Arkansas (Ark. Acts, 1941, No. 292, Sec. 3), Illinois (Ill. Rev. Stat. (1945) Ch. 24 $\frac{1}{2}$, Sec. 8) and Oklahoma (Okla. Stat. (1941) Tit. 51, Ch. 1, Secs 31-35), bar from public office members or affiliates of certain named groups, such as the Communist Party, or groups affiliated or controlled by these groups. This type of statute would appear to be unconstitutional under the holding in the *Peek* case.

North Carolina (N. C. Session Laws of 1947, Ch. 1028) bars from public office persons who print or distribute written matter advocating the overthrow of government by force and violence or organize or join or assemble with a group formed to advocate such overthrow or assemble with other persons so to advocate.

While this statute has not been adjudicated in a court of last resort, a similar statute was held valid in *Gitlow v. New York* concerning which we have commented (page 570). However, in view of the later case of *DeJonge v. Oregon* (cited above, page 571) which held that a meeting of the Communist Party for peaceful and lawful purposes could not be prohibited, it seems possible that the North Carolina statute might be held unconstitutional as applied to a person who assembled, for lawful purposes, with a group formed to advocate the overthrow of the government by force or violence.

5. *Statutory Regulations That Exclude Members of Organizations From Candidacy for Elective Office* have been enacted. This type of legislation includes exclusion from candidacy of persons who advocate forceful overthrow of government, enacted in Oregon (Ore. Comp. Laws (1940 Supp. 1943) Sec. 81-1309) and Oklahoma (Okla. Stats. (1941) Tit. 26, Ch. 5, Sec. 162b); and exclusion from candidacy of persons carrying on a program of sabotage, force and violence, sedition or treason, enacted in Oklahoma (Okla. Stat. (1941) Tit. 26, Ch. 5, Sec. 162b).

As directed against the individual, these types of statutes would appear to be constitutional under the decision in the *Peck* case.

A similar statute, enacted in Oklahoma (Okla. Stat. (1941) Tit. 26, Ch. 5, Sec. 162b), which excludes from candidacy any person who is directly or indirectly affiliated with the Communist Party, the Third Communist International or any foreign political agency, party, organization or government would appear to be unconstitutional under the holding in the *Peek* case.

IV. SUMMARY

When a state undertakes to enact statutory regulations concerning subversive activities, the constitutional limitations principally to be considered are those commonly designated as the freedoms guaranteed by the Bill of Rights.

In addition to the freedoms guaranteed by the constitution of any of the states are the freedoms guaranteed by the amendments, particularly the First Amendment, to the Federal Constitution, which by the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment are made applicable to state legislative action.

These limitations impose three major requirements: That the statute declare definitely and with certainty that which it proscribes; that it bear an appropriate relation to the safety of the state; and that the restrictions which it imposes be justified by a public interest which is threatened not doubtfully or remotely but by a clear and present danger.

A given regulation well may more readily meet the clear and present danger test in time of war than in time of peace. Also, that test would seem less exacting when applied to a restriction imposed upon the activities of a public officer or employee than when imposed upon a citizen in the conduct of his private affairs.

Then, frequently, this question also arises: When Congress has acted, whether or not Congress has occupied the field to the extent of precluding state action? That seems to be principally a question of Congressional intent, not easy of ascertainment because that intent is rarely indicated in express terms but must be inferred from the reach and scope of the particular congressional act under consideration.

APPENDIX

TEXTS OF SOME OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL AND STATUTORY PROVISIONS CITED OR DISCUSSED

Some of these statutes have been found unconstitutional, in whole or in part, as indicated in the discussion which precedes this Appendix.

1. CONSTITUTION OF CALIFORNIA

ARTICLE I

SEC. 4. The free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination or preference, shall forever be guaranteed in this State; and no person shall be rendered incompetent to be a witness or juror on account of his opinions on matters of religious belief; but the liberty of conscience hereby secured shall not be so construed as to excuse acts of licentiousness, or justify practices inconsistent with the peace or safety of this State.

SEC. 9. Every citizen may freely speak, write, and publish his sentiments on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that right; and no law shall be passed to restrain or abridge the liberty of speech or of the press. In all criminal prosecutions for libels, the truth may be given in evidence to the jury; and if it shall appear to the jury that the matter charged as libelous is true, and was published with good motives and for justifiable ends, the party shall be acquitted; and the jury shall have the right to determine the law and the fact. Indictments found, or information laid, for publications in newspapers shall be tried in the county where such newspapers have their publication office, or in the county where the party alleged to be libeled resided at the time of the alleged publication, unless the place of trial shall be changed for good cause.

SEC. 10. The people shall have the right to freely assemble together to consult for the common good, to instruct their Representatives, and to petition the Legislature for redress of grievances.

SEC. 20. Treason against the State shall consist only in levying war against it, adhering to its enemies, or giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the evidence of two witnesses to the same overt act, or confession in open court.

SEC. 23. This enumeration of rights shall not be construed to impair or deny others retained by the people.

2. CALIFORNIA PENAL CODE

SEC. 37. Treason against this State consists only in levying war against it, adhering to its enemies, or giving them aid and comfort, and can be committed only by persons owing allegiance to the State. The punishment of treason shall be death.

SEC. 38. Misprision of treason is the knowledge and concealment of treason, without otherwise assenting to or participating in the crime. It is punishable by imprisonment in the state prison for a term not exceeding five years.

SEC. 182. If two or more persons conspire:

1. To commit any crime;

2. Falsely and maliciously to indict another for any crime, or to procure another to be charged or arrested for any crime;

3. Falsely to move or maintain any suit, action or proceeding;

4. To cheat and defraud any person of any property, by any means which are in themselves criminal, or to obtain money or property by false pretenses or by false promises with fraudulent intent not to perform such promises;

5. To commit any act injurious to the public health, to public morals, or to pervert or obstruct justice, or the due administration of the laws.

They are punishable as follows:

When they conspire to commit any felony, they shall be punishable in the same manner and to the same extent as is provided for the punishment of the said felony.

When they conspire to do any of the other acts described in this section they shall be punishable by imprisonment in the county jail for not more than one year, or in the state prison for not more than three years, or by a fine not exceeding five thousand dollars, or both.

All cases of conspiracy may be prosecuted and tried in the superior court of any county in which any overt act tending to effect such conspiracy shall be done.

SEC. 407. Whenever two or more persons assemble together to do an unlawful act, and separate without doing or advancing toward it, or do a lawful act in a violent, boisterous, or tumultuous manner, such assembly is an unlawful assembly.

SEC. 408. Every person who participates in any rout or unlawful assembly is guilty of a misdemeanor.

SEC. 416. If two or more persons assemble for the purpose of disturbing the public peace, or committing any unlawful act, and do not disperse on being desired or commanded so to do by a public officer, the persons so offending are severally guilty of a misdemeanor.

3. CALIFORNIA MILITARY AND VETERANS CODE

143. Whenever the Governor is satisfied that rebellion, insurrection, tumult or riot exists in any part of the State or that the execution of civil or criminal process has been forcibly resisted by bodies of men, or that any conspiracy or combination exists to resist by force the execution of such process, or that the officers of any county or city are unable or have failed for any reason to enforce the laws, he may, by proclamation, declare any part of the State or the county or city or any portion thereof to be in a state of insurrection, and he may thereupon order into the service of the State such number and description of the active militia, or unorganized militia, as he deems necessary, to serve for such term and under the command of such officer as he directs.

145. A person who, after publication of the proclamation authorized by Section 143, joins, participates or takes any part in a rebellion, insurrection, tumult or riot, or who is party to any conspiracy or combination to resist by force the execution of the laws or who resists or aids in resisting the execution of process in any county or city declared to be in a state of insurrection, or who aids or attempts the rescue or escape of another from lawful custody or confinement, or who resists or aids in resisting any force ordered out by the Governor to quell or suppress an insurrection, is punishable by imprisonment either in the state prison not less than two years or in the county jail not less than six months or by fine of not less than five hundred dollars (\$500) or by both fine and imprisonment.

616. Any person who displays a red flag, banner, or badge or any flag, badge, banner, or device of any color or form whatever in any public place or in any meeting place or public assembly, or from or on any house, building, or window as a sign, symbol, or emblem of forceful or violent opposition to organized government or as an invitation or stimulus to anarchistic action or as aid to propaganda that advocates by force or violence the overthrow of government is guilty of a felony.

4. CALIFORNIA GOVERNMENT CODE

1023. A person is ineligible to hold office or employment of any kind under the State, any county, city, district or other political or governmental unit of the State if he, while either a citizen or resident of the United States, has by oath bound himself to support, maintain or further the military or political activities or policies of any foreign government or of any official thereof or society or association therein or to obey the orders or directions of any foreign government or of any official thereof.

1028. It shall be sufficient cause for the dismissal of any public employees including teachers in the public schools or any state supported educational institution when such public employee or teacher advocates or is a member of an organization which advocates overthrow of the Government of the United States or of the State, by force, violence, or other unlawful means.

18150. The oath required by this chapter is as follows:

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm, as the case may be), that I will support the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of the State of California, and that I will faithfully discharge the duties of the office of _____ (insert classification title), according to the best of my ability."

18151. The oath required by this chapter shall be taken and subscribed by:

(a) Every person who is appointed to a state position not in the state civil service and not otherwise so required by law, within thirty days of the date of appointment; and

(b) Every person who has not previously taken and subscribed the oath and who is employed in a permanent position in the state civil service where the employment continues for thirty days or more, within the first thirty days of his employment.

18152. The method and manner of taking, subscribing, and filing the oath by a person appointed to a state position not in the state civil service shall be as provided in Article 4, Chapter 2, Division 4, Title 1.

18153. The oath shall be taken by a state civil service employee before his appointing power or before any person authorized in writing by his appointing power, which authorization shall be filed with the State Personnel Board, or before any person authorized by law to administer oaths.

The oath shall be filed with the State Personnel Board within thirty days of the date on which it is taken and subscribed. The board shall prepare and furnish printed forms of the oath.

18154. Any person who is appointed to a state position not in the state civil service and who fails to take the oath required by this chapter within the time provided forthwith forfeits his right to his position, and the position shall be considered vacant.

18155. The failure of any person who is appointed to a permanent position in the state civil service to take and subscribe the oath within the time provided in this chapter, is a cause for dismissal by the State Personnel Board.

18156. Each civil service employee who takes, subscribes and files the oath within the time prescribed by Section 18151 is conclusively presumed to have been and to be legally holding his position as far as laws requiring him to take, subscribe, or file an oath are concerned.

18157. Every appointing power shall notify every new civil service employee immediately following his appointment of the provisions of this chapter that are applicable to the employee.

18158. No fee shall be charged by any person before whom the oath is taken and subscribed.

18200. A person shall not be knowingly employed by any state agency or court who either directly or indirectly carries on, advocates, teaches, justifies, aids, or abets a program of sabotage, force and violence, sedition, or treason against the Government of the United States or of this State.

Any person employed by any state agency or court shall be immediately discharged from his employment when it becomes known to his appointing power that he has, during the period of his employment, committed any such act.

Money appropriated from the Treasury shall not be expended to compensate any person whose employment is forbidden by this action.

5. CALIFORNIA EDUCATION CODE

12100. Except as provided in this code, no certification document shall be granted to any person unless and until he has subscribed to the following oath or affirmation: "I solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will support the Constitution of the United States of America, the Constitution of the State of California, and the laws of the United States and the State of California, and will by precept and example, promote respect for the Flag and the statutes of the United States and of the State of California, reverence for law and order, and undivided allegiance to the Government of the United States of America." The oath or affirmation shall be subscribed before any person authorized to administer oaths or before any member of the governing board of a school district or of any county board of education and filed with the State Board of Education. Any certificated person who is a citizen or subject of any country other than the United States, and who is employed in any capacity in any of the public schools of the State shall, before entering upon the discharge of his duties, subscribe to an oath to support the institutions and policies of the United States during the period of his sojourn within the State. Upon the violation of any of the terms of the oath or affirmation, the State Board of Education shall suspend or revoke the credential which has been issued.

13521. No permanent employee shall be dismissed except for one or more of the following causes:

- (a) Immoral or unprofessional conduct.
- (b) Commission, aiding, or advocating the commission of acts of criminal syndicalism, as prohibited by Chapter 188, Statutes of 1919, or in any amendment thereof.
- (c) Dishonesty.
- (d) Incompetency.
- (e) Evident unfitness for service.
- (f) Physical or mental condition unfitting him to instruct or associate with children.
- (g) Persistent violation of or refusal to obey the school laws of the State or reasonable regulations prescribed for the government of the public schools by the State Board of Education or by the governing board of the school district employing him.
- (h) Conviction of a felony or of any crime involving moral turpitude.

19432. Any use [of public school buildings and grounds], by any individual, society, group, or organization which has as its object or as one of its objects, or is affiliated with any group, society, or organization which has as its object or one of its objects the overthrow or the advocacy of the overthrow of the present form of government of the United States or of the State by force, violence, or other unlawful means shall not be granted, permitted, or suffered.

Any person who is affiliated with any organization, which advocates or has for its object or one of its objects the overthrow of the present Government of the United States or any state, territory, or possession thereof, by force or violence or other unlawful means, or any organization of persons which advocates or has for its object or one of its objects the overthrow of the present Government of the United States or any state, territory, or possession thereof, by force or violence or other unlawful means, is hereby declared to be and is characterized, a subversive element.

Notwithstanding any of the other terms of this chapter, no such governing board shall grant the use of any school property to any person or organization who or which is a subversive element as herein defined.

For the purpose of determination by such governing board whether or not such person or such organization of persons applying for the use of such school property, is a subversive element as herein defined, such governing board may require the making and delivery to such governing board, by such person or any members of such organization, of affidavits in form prescribed by such governing board, stating facts showing whether or not such person or organization is a subversive element as herein defined.

Reference is hereby made to the provision of law relating to perjury and the punishment therefor shall be applicable to persons making and delivering affidavits provided for under the provision of this chapter.

6. CALIFORNIA ELECTIONS CODE

2540.3. Notwithstanding any other provisions of this code, no party shall be recognized or qualified to participate in any primary election which uses or adopts as any part of its party designation the word "Communist" or any derivative of the word "Communist."

2540.4. Notwithstanding any other provisions of this code, no party shall be recognized or qualified to participate in any primary election which is directly or indirectly affiliated, by any means whatsoever, with the Communist Party of the United States, the Third Communist International, or any other foreign agency, political party, organization or government or which either directly or indirectly carries on, advocates, teaches, justifies, aids, or abets the overthrow by any unlawful means of, or which directly or indirectly carries on, advocates, teaches, justifies, aids, or abets a program of sabotage, force and violence, sedition or treason against, the Government of the United States or of this State.

7. CALIFORNIA CORPORATIONS CODE

TITLE 5. SUBVERSIVE ORGANIZATION REGISTRATION LAW (Added by Stats. 1947, Ch. 1038)

CHAPTER 1. DEFINITIONS AND GENERAL PROVISIONS

35000. This title may be cited as the Subversive Organization Registration Law.

35001. This title is enacted in the exercise of the police power of this State for the protection of the public peace and safety by requiring the registration of subversive organizations which are conceived and exist for the purpose of undermining and eventually destroying the democratic form of government in this State and in the United States.

35002. As used in this title, "subversive organization" means every corporation, association, society, camp, group, bund, political party, assembly, and every body or organization composed of two or more persons or members, which comes within either or both of the following descriptions:

(a) Which directly or indirectly advocates, advises, teaches, or practices, the duty, necessity, or propriety of controlling, conducting, seizing, or overthrowing the Government of the United States, of this State, or of any political subdivision thereof by force or violence.

(b) Which is subject to foreign control as defined in Section 35003.

35003. An organization is "subject to foreign control" if it comes within either of the following descriptions:

(a) It solicits or accepts financial contributions, loans, or support of any kind directly or indirectly from, or is affiliated directly or indirectly with, a foreign government or a political subdivision thereof, an agent, agency, or instrumentality of a foreign government or political subdivision thereof, a political party in a foreign country, or an international political organization.

(b) Its policies, or any of them, are determined by or at the suggestion of, or in collaboration with, a foreign government or political subdivision thereof, an agent, agency, or instrumentality of a foreign government or a political subdivision thereof, a political party in a foreign country, or an international political organization.

35004. "Subversive organization" does not include any labor union or religious, fraternal, or patriotic organization, society, or association whose objectives and aims do not contemplate the overthrow of the Government of the United States, of this State, or of any political subdivision thereof by force or violence.

35005. This title imposes additional requirements upon corporations, associations, or organizations which are subversive organizations. Neither the fact that such a corporation, association, or organization was organized pursuant to law nor that its affairs and activities are in any respect regulated by law exempts it from complying with this title.

35006. The Secretary of State may adopt and promulgate such rules and regulations as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this title, and may alter, amend, or repeal such rules and regulations.

35007. If any provision of this title, or the application thereof to any person, corporation, association, organization, or circumstances, is for any reason held invalid, ineffective, or unconstitutional by a court of competent jurisdiction, the remainder of this title, or the application of such provision to other persons, corporations, associations, organizations, or circumstances, shall not be affected thereby, and the Legislature hereby declares the severability of the several sections and provisions of this title, and that it would have enacted this title without the invalid provisions or the invalid applications, as the case may be, had such invalidity been apparent.

CHAPTER 2. FILING INFORMATION AND DOCUMENTS

35100. Every subversive organization in existence on September 13, 1941, shall within thirty days after that date, and every subversive organization thereafter organized shall within ten days after its organization, file with the Secretary of State, on such forms and in such detail as he may prescribe, the following information and documents:

(a) A complete and detailed statement subscribed, under oath, by all of its officers, showing all of the following:

(1) Its name and post-office address.

(2) The names and addresses of all its branches, chapters, and affiliates.

(3) The names, nationalities, and residence addresses of its officers and members, and the qualifications required for membership in it.

(4) The nature and extent of its existing and proposed aims, purposes, and activities.

(5) The times and places of its meetings.

(6) The description and location of the real property and the kind, quantity, and quality of the personal property owned by it, its assets and liabilities, the methods for the financing of its activities, and the names and addresses of all persons, organizations, and other courses who or which have contributed money, property, literature, or other things of value to the organization or any of its branches, chapters, or affiliates for any of its purposes.

(7) Such other information as the Secretary of State may from time to time require.

(b) A true copy, certified by all of its officers, of all of the following:

(1) Its charter, articles of association, or constitution, and its by-laws, rules, and regulations.

(2) Its oath, affirmation, or pledge of membership, if any.

(3) Each agreement, resolution, and other instrument or document relating to its organization, powers, and purposes and the powers and duties of its officers and members.

(4) Each book, pamphlet, leaflet, or other printed, written, or illustrated matter directly or indirectly issued or distributed by it or in its behalf, or to or by its members with its knowledge, consent, or approval.

(5) Such other documents as the Secretary of State may from time to time require.

(c) A description of the uniforms, badges, insignia, or other means of identification prescribed by it, and worn or carried by its officers or members, or any of such officers or members.

(d) In case it is subject to foreign control, a statement of the manner in which it is so subject.

35101. Every subversive organization shall within ten days after any revision or amendment of, or other change with respect to, its charter, articles of association, constitution, by-laws, rules, regulations, oath, affirmation, or pledge of membership, or any part thereof, file with the Secretary of State a true copy certified by all of its officers of the revised, amended, or changed charter, articles of association, constitution, by-laws, rules, regulations, oath, affirmation, or pledge of membership, or part thereof.

35102. Every subversive organization shall within ten days after a change has been made in its officers, or in its aims, purposes, activities, property holdings, or methods and sources of financing its activities, file with the Secretary of State a statement subscribed under oath by all of its officers showing the change.

35103. Every subversive organization shall at least once in each period of six months file with the Secretary of State a statement subscribed under oath by all of its officers showing the names and residence addresses of all persons who have been admitted to membership during that period or, if no members have been admitted during that period, a statement to that effect similarly subscribed.

35104. Every subversive organization shall within ten days after the adoption thereof file with the Secretary of State, on such form and in such detail as he may prescribe, each resolution adopted, or the minutes of any meeting held by it, authorizing or providing for concerted action by its officers, members, or a part of its membership, to promote or prevent the passage of any act of legislation by any local, state, or federal legislative body, or to support or defeat any candidate for public office.

35105. All statements or documents filed with the Secretary of State under this title are public records and shall be open to public examination and inspection at all reasonable hours.

CHAPTER 3. LITERATURE

35200. A subversive organization shall not send, deliver, mail, or transmit, or suffer or permit to be sent, delivered, mailed, or transmitted, to any person in this State who is not a member of the organization any anonymous letter, document, leaflet, or other written or printed matter. All letters, documents, leaflets, or other written or printed matter issued by a subversive organization which are intended to come to the attention of a person who is not a member of the organization shall bear the name of the organization and the names and residences of its officers.

CHAPTER 4. OFFENSES

35300. Any subversive organization which violates any provision of this title is guilty of a felony punishable by fine of not less than one thousand dollars (\$1,000) nor more than ten thousand dollars (\$10,000). Any such violation constitutes a separate and distinct offense for each day, or part thereof, during which it is continued.

35301. Any officer or member of the board of directors, board of trustees, executive committee, or other similar governing body of a subversive organization who violates any provision of this title, or permits or acquiesces in the violation of any provision of this title by the organization is guilty of a felony punishable by fine of not less than five hundred dollars (\$500) nor more than five thousand dollars (\$5,000), or by imprisonment in a state prison for not less than six months nor more than five years, or by both.

35302. Any person who becomes or remains a member of any subversive organization, or attends a meeting thereof, with knowledge that the organization has failed to comply with any provision of this title, is guilty of a misdemeanor punishable by fine of not less than ten dollars (\$10) nor more than one thousand dollars (\$1,000), or by imprisonment in the county jail for not less than ten days nor more than one year, or by both.

8. CRIMINAL SYNDICALISM AND SABOTAGE

(California Statutes of 1919, Ch. 188, page 281)

An act defining criminal syndicalism and sabotage, proscribing certain acts and methods in connection therewith and in pursuant thereof and providing penalties and punishments therefor.

The people of the State of California do enact as follows:

SECTION 1. The term "criminal syndicalism" as used in this act is hereby defined as any doctrine or precept advocating, teaching or aiding and abetting the commission

of crime, sabotage (which word is hereby defined as meaning wilful and malicious physical damage or injury to physical property), or unlawful acts of force and violence or unlawful methods of terrorism as a means of accomplishing a change in industrial ownership or control, or effecting any political change.

SEC. 2. Any person who:

1. By spoken or written words or personal conduct advocates, teaches or aids and abets criminal syndicalism or the duty, necessity or propriety of committing crime, sabotage, violence or any unlawful method of terrorism as a means of accomplishing a change in industrial ownership or control, or effecting any political change; or

2. Wilfully and deliberately by spoken or written words justifies or attempts to justify criminal syndicalism or the commission or attempt to commit crime, sabotage, violence or unlawful methods of terrorism with intent to approve, advocate or further the doctrine of criminal syndicalism; or

3. Prints, publishes, edits, issues or circulates or publicly displays any book, paper, pamphlet, document, poster or written or printed matter in any other form, containing or carrying written or printed advocacy, teaching, or aid and abetment of, or advising, criminal syndicalism; or

4. Organizes or assists in organizing, or is or knowingly becomes a member of, any organization, society, group or assemblage of persons organized or assembled to advocate, teach or aid and abet criminal syndicalism; or

5. Wilfully by personal act or conduct, practices or commits any act advised, advocated, taught or aided and abetted by the doctrine or precept of criminal syndicalism, with intent to accomplish a change in industrial ownership or control, or effecting any political change;

Is guilty of a felony and punishable by imprisonment in the state prison not less than one nor more than fourteen years.

SEC. 3. If for any reason any section, clause or provision of this act shall by any court be held unconstitutional then the Legislature hereby declares that, irrespective of the unconstitutionality so determined of such section, clause or provision, it would have enacted and made the law of this State all other sections, clauses and provisions of this act.

SEC. 4. Inasmuch as this act concerns and is necessary to the immediate preservation of the public peace and safety, for the reason that at the present time large numbers of persons are going from place to place in this State advocating, teaching and practicing criminal syndicalism, this act shall take effect upon approval by the Governor.

9. MASKS

(California Statutes of 1923, Ch. 153, page 316)

An act prohibiting the public wearing under certain conditions of masks or other means of concealment of the identity of persons and prescribing penalties for the violation hereof.

The people of the State of California do enact as follows:

SECTION 1. It shall be unlawful for any person, either alone or in company with others, to appear on any street or highway, or in other public places or any place open to view by the general public, with his face partially or completely concealed by means of a mask or other regalia or paraphernalia, with intent thereby to conceal the identity of such person; provided, however, that this act shall not be construed to prohibit the wearing of such means of concealment in good faith for the purposes of amusement, entertainment or in compliance with any public health order.

SEC. 2. Every person violating any of the provisions of this act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor.

10. NEW YORK PENAL LAW

ARTICLE 14—ANARCHY

Sec. 160. Criminal anarchy defined.

Criminal anarchy is the doctrine that organized government should be overthrown by force or violence, or by assassination of the executive head or of any of the executive officials of government, or by any unlawful means. The advocacy of such doctrine either by word of mouth or writing is a felony.

Sec. 161. Advocacy of criminal anarchy.

Any person who:

1. By word of mouth or writing advocates, advises or teaches the duty, necessity or propriety of overthrowing or overturning organized government by force or violence,

or by assassination of the executive head or of any of the executive officials of government, or by any unlawful means; or,

2. Prints, publishes, edits, issues or knowingly circulates, sells, distributes or publicly displays any book, paper, document, or written or printed matter in any form, containing or advocating, advising or teaching the doctrine that organized government should be overthrown by force, violence or any unlawful means; or,

3. Openly, wilfully and deliberately justifies by word of mouth or writing the assassination or unlawful killing or assaulting of any executive or other officer of the United States or of any state or of any civilized nation having an organized government because of his official character or any other crime, with intent to teach, spread or advocate the propriety of the doctrines of criminal anarchy; or,

4. Organizes or helps to organize or becomes a member of or voluntarily assembles with any society, group or assembly of persons formed to teach or advocate such doctrine,

Is guilty of a felony and punishable by imprisonment for not more than ten years, or by a fine of not more than five thousand dollars, or both.

Sec. 162. Assemblages of anarchists.

Whenever two or more persons assemble for the purpose of advocating or teaching the doctrines of criminal anarchy, as defined in section one hundred and sixty, such an assembly is unlawful, and every person voluntarily participating therein by his presence, aid or instigation, is guilty of a felony and punishable by imprisonment for not more than ten years, or by a fine of not more than five thousand dollars, or both.

Sec. 163. Permitting premises to be used for assemblages of anarchists.

The owner, agent, superintendent, janitor, caretaker or occupant of any place, building or room, who wilfully and knowingly permits therein any assemblage of persons prohibited by section one hundred and sixty-two, or who, after notification that the premises are so used permits such use to be continued, is guilty of a misdemeanor, and punishable by imprisonment for not more than two years, or by a fine of not more than two thousand dollars, or both.

Sec. 164. Liability of editors and others.

Every editor or proprietor of a book, newspaper or serial and every manager of a partnership or incorporated association by which a book, newspaper or serial is issued, is chargeable with the publication of any matter contained in such book, newspaper or serial. But in every prosecution therefor, the defendant may show in his defense that the matter complained of was published without his knowledge or fault and against his wishes, by another who had no authority from him to make the publication and whose act was disavowed by him so soon as known.

Sec. 165. Leaving state with intent to elude provisions of this article.

A person who leaves the state, with intent to elude any provision of this article, or to commit any act without the state, which is prohibited by this article, or who, being a resident of this state, does any act without the state, which would be punishable by the provisions of this article if committed within the state, is guilty of the same offense and subject to the same punishment, as if the act had been committed within this state.

Sec. 166. Witnesses' privilege.

No person shall be excused from attending and testifying, or producing any books, papers or other documents before any court or magistrate, upon any investigation, proceeding or trial, for a violation of any of the provisions of this article, upon the ground or for the reason that the testimony or evidence, documentary or otherwise, required of him may tend to convict him of a crime or to subject him to a penalty or forfeiture; but no person shall be prosecuted or subjected to any penalty or forfeiture for or on account of any transaction, matter or thing concerning which he may so testify or produce evidence, documentary or otherwise, and no testimony so given or produced shall be received against him upon any criminal investigation or proceeding.

Part Two

*"Breathes there the man, with soul so dead,
Who never to himself hath said,
This is my own, my native land!
Whose heart hath ne'er within him burn'd
As home his footsteps he hath turn'd,
From wandering on a foreign strand?
If such there breathe, go, mark him well;
For him no minstrel raptures swell;
High though his titles, proud his name,
Boundless his wealth as wish can claim,—
Despite those titles, power, and pelf,
The wretch, concentred all in self,
Living, shall forfeit fair renown,
And, doubly dying, shall go down
To the vile dust, from whence he sprung,
Unwept, unhonour'd, and unsung."*

SIR WALTER SCOTT

INTRODUCTION

Part One of this report has established by conclusive evidence, taken from the official sources of Communist dogma in the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism, and from American court proceedings and from other official and indisputable sources, certain fundamental truths without which it is impossible to evaluate any phase of Communism or provide any effective counter-action against the threat of Communism.

Six specific fundamental and menacing truths that confront the American people today may be distilled from this mass of documented facts, teachings and court decisions. These truths are:

(1) World Communism has one goal—world revolution.

(2) To achieve this goal World Communism has developed a complex system of strategy and tactics that is flexible, deceptive, and centrally directed with rigid discipline; and despite the shifts and turns of this strategy and tactics two undeviating principles are adhered to:

(A) Continuous and fanatical advocacy of the overthrow of all non-Communist governments by force and violence;

(B) All Communist parties throughout the world are subservient to and agents of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R.

and the Soviet Government of the U.S.S.R., as the Red Fatherland and the central directing head of the world conspiracy.

(3) The heart and core of this revolutionary plan and its strategy and tactics is the so-called science of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism.

(4) The Communist Party of the U.S.A. is a consistent and undeviating advocate, exponent and practitioner of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism, and as such, it is an agent of a foreign power, an avowed participant in a world conspiracy, and an advocate of overthrow of government by force and violence.

(5) The Communist Party of the U.S.A. has followed since the end of World War II a persistent, undeviating, treacherous and disloyal program of subservient service to the Communist program of world revolution and overthrow of all non-Communist governments, including that of the United States, by force and violence.

(6) The Communist Party of the U.S.A., in complete accord with the present program, strategy and tactics of the U.S.S.R. and the World Communist movement *is placing supreme emphasis upon a depression and economic chaos in the United States as the central core of its present strategy and tactics, combined with a devotion to the foreign policy interests of Soviet Russia, carried out through a familiar and basic Communist tactic that is known in the Marxist-Leninist orbit as "the struggle against imperialist war,"* and, which can be described in our language as total preparation for treacherous civil war and revolutionary violence in this country in the event of armed conflict between the two worlds of the free nations and the totalitarian Communist nations.

If this is true, and your committee has documented its truth through indisputable evidence in the preceding sections of this partial report, the next question that confronts the legislatures and the people is this: *What can we do about it?*

There are a number of possible steps to be taken to deal with the menace and danger of Communism. They include legislation, investigation, indictment and prosecution for law violations, community action, education, factual exposure, and similar basic attacks that are essential in dealing with any evil.

Your committee has cited in Part One of this report precisely what are the objectives of World Communism and specifically how it proposes to accomplish and is accomplishing those objectives.

Immediately, this question arises: If the Communists have on their side a plan and program upon which, through one undeviating theory, they generally reach unanimous agreement, and if they have a centralized, disciplined and militarized organization for carrying out their plan and program, how effectively are we prepared on our side to meet this attack?

Your committee has devoted a tremendous amount of study and research to this side of the problem and has come to the following conclusions:

(1) *We are disunited, inadequately informed and apathetic on the subject of legislation that is needed to meet the problem.*

We have a considerable body of useful legislation (much of which for many years has not been adequately or effectively enforced) but we are particularly weak in legislation to implement and secure enforcement of present basic laws that variously forbid treasonable and treacherous activity such as is carried on, taught, advocated and practiced by the Communist Party in the strategy and tactics of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism.

1949 LEGISLATIVE PROPOSALS

To meet this weakness on our side, your committee, therefore, presents in this report in a preceding section, a comprehensive analysis of existing law on the subject, with special attention to the problem of constitutionality and to the specific legal problems of our own State.

Upon the basis of this report's broad discussion of the actual truth about Marxism-Leninism and the program and plan of the Communist Party, and after a comprehensive study of the present laws and court decisions bearing on the control of subversive activities, the members of the committee have introduced various pieces of legislation in the 1949 Session of the Legislature.

The over-all purpose and intent of all this proposed legislation is twofold:

(1) To fill in the gaps in our present legislation and to provide specific implementation to supplement and strengthen our existing laws.

(2) To isolate, expose and remove from positions of power and influence persons who are a dangerous menace to our freedom and security.

To that end, bills have been introduced to accomplish the following specific purposes:

(1) To make it unlawful to teach Communism or Fascism in public schools with intent to indoctrinate pupils.

(2) To require all candidates in direct primaries to subscribe to a loyalty oath.

(3) To require a loyalty oath from all state employees.

(4) To force Communists to keep records of "closed" meetings.

(5) To require loyalty oaths from all attorneys now in, or seeking membership in, the State Bar.

(6) To declare places where subversive meetings are held a "nuisance" and make them subject to abatement proceedings.

(7) To permit labor unions to refuse membership to Communists and to eject them from their memberships.

(8) To permit employers, under government contracts in national defense, to fire Communists or refuse them employment.

(9) To provide for a teacher loyalty oath.

(10) To provide for fingerprinting of state employees.

Two proposed Constitutional Amendments would:

(1) Subject the University of California to legislative control.

(2) Call for loyalty oaths and non-Communist affirmation by all Members of the State Legislature and principal state elective officers.

In almost every instance the basic element of these bills is the specific wording of the antisubversive loyalty affirmation, which has been tested carefully for legality and constitutionality.

The model wording is as follows :

(a) I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution and laws of the State of California against all enemies, foreign and domestic ; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same ; that I take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion. So help me God.

(b) I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I am not now a member of any organization pledged to support a foreign government against the United States in event of hostilities, and that I do not advocate, nor am I now a member of any political party or organization that advocates the overthrow of the Government of the United States, or of the State of California, by force or violence or any other unlawful means, except those specified as follows :

 and that I will not become a member of any organization pledged to support a foreign government against the United States in event of hostilities, and I will not advocate nor become a member of any organization that advocates the overthrow of the Government of the United States, or of the State of California, by force or violence or any other unlawful means.

In addition, many of the bills provide that, for evidentiary purposes, the signer of the oath list any aliases and state whether or not he or she presently is a member of organizations cited as subversive by the Attorney General of the United States and the Congressional committees investigating un-American activities.

These bills strike a direct and effective blow at the Communist conspiracy and the two features cited above are the heart of the legislative proposals.

Your committee can predict with what we believe to be certain accuracy that these legislative proposals will become the target of a major campaign of Communist misrepresentation and confusion, which will center upon the destruction of these proposals by removing these two basic features of the bills.

LOYALTY PROGRAM TESTED

Anticipating specious and tricky Communist attack upon these proposals, the committee calls to the attention of the Legislature that the main features of these bills already are a proven success, both administratively and from the standpoint of legality, in the case of the Los Angeles County loyalty oath program.

Your committee commends the officials of Los Angeles City and County, and of the Los Angeles Board of Education, for their patriotic and intelligent service in conducting every phase of the loyalty oath programs, that have placed that community first in the Nation, in such a manner that they have protected the innocent while establishing the principle of the right of governmental bodies to deny employment to subversive and disloyal individuals.

A brief but comprehensive report on the Los Angeles County loyalty check program has been included in this Part Two of the report, on Pages 595-598.

A comprehensive report on existing laws and important court decisions has been included in Part One of this report on Pages 564-588.

INVESTIGATION

(2) On our side, the over-all investigation of Communism, with the exception of the police intelligence work by the Federal Bureau of Investigation under the able direction of its chief, J. Edgar Hoover, and our other police and intelligence agencies, has been disrupted, confused and misrepresented by the effective Communist "support and defense" agitation fronts, in connivance with Stalinist attorneys.

Your committee has become convinced that this subject of Investigation, which is closely related to the other major task of Education, requires a new, bold and effective program to cope with changing conditions and Communist tactics.

The combined problems of Investigation and Exposure are discussed in Part Two of this report on Pages 677-686.

(3) In the field of Indictment and Prosecution more progress has been made in the past year than in the past ten.

Your committee has consulted numerous experts on this problem. We make no comment on existing litigation, much of which is highly important and precedental, except to commend those public officials, who have faced the abuse and contumely of the Communist traitors and vicious smear campaigns to do their duty in a period of crisis.

It is the general opinion of most qualified legal experts that there is a dire need to test the laws that we have to the fullest and that this has not been done as energetically as it might have been.

There is a large field of law, some of it solidly established, but other sections of which are moot. Your committee believes that existing law should be enforced more strictly and that the moot points should be tested and decided.

It is better to have no law on the books than a bad law. It is absolutely vital that we do have good laws to combat subversive activities in this State in a period of world crisis. It is important that all laws, both existing and proposed, be drawn and enforced to protect our own basic American liberties and freedoms and at the same time protect us from treachery and sabotage by persons subservient to the dictates of a foreign power.

This is one of the great problems facing free men everywhere. Your committee has devoted extensive research to many phases of this problem so we could present in this report the basic reference material needed by legislators and law enforcement authorities to guide them in solving this problem.

Your committee recommends that this important problem be given continuing study by the Legislature through continuation of the Senate Committee on Un-American Activities; and it urges that the Attorney General and the district attorneys of the various counties devote special attention to establishing units within their offices to deal expertly with the full enforcement of our existing laws against subversive activity.

COMMUNITY ACTION

(4) In the field of community action there is a pressing need for cooperation and coordination between the responsible organized groups, and our ability to meet this problem and solve it, may well determine the winner in our conflict with the treacherous and insidious Communist conspiracy.

Your committee has devoted extensive study and research into this problem and into the programs and proposals of responsible organizations that have concerned themselves with the problem.

A comprehensive analysis of present and proposed programs and recommendations by substantial and experienced civic leaders is presented on Pages 649-676 of Part Two of this report.

Your committee believes that this is one of the most important parts of this 1949 Report and we urge the Members of the Legislature and the people of California to review it with serious interest in the problems it recites and the solutions it presents.

"The standard for the refusal of employment or the removal from employment in an executive department or agency on the grounds relating to loyalty shall be that, on all the evidence, reasonable grounds exist for belief that the person involved is disloyal to the Government of the United States."

HARRY S. TRUMAN, President of the United States
Executive Order, March 22, 1947

LOS ANGELES COUNTY LOYALTY CHECK PROGRAM

The County of Los Angeles has conducted for some time a loyalty check designed for the purpose of determining whether or not any county officers or employees advocate the overthrow of constitutional government by force, violence or other unlawful means.

On the twenty-sixth day of August, 1947, the Board of Supervisors (consisting of Supervisors Raymond V. Darby, chairman, presiding, William A. Smith, Leonard J. Roach, John Anson Ford, and Roger W. Jessup) of the County of Los Angeles adopted an order requiring the county officers and employees to execute the oath and affidavit described in the plan as Exhibit "A." By this order the board of supervisors adopted a fact-finding program under which the officers and employees within its jurisdiction were asked:

(1) To take an oath of allegiance to the Federal and State Constitutions and the laws of California as against all enemies of the United States of America, the State of California, and the County of Los Angeles; and

(2) As such officers and employees, to answer upon their oath or affirmation.

(a) Whether or not they advocate the overthrow of the government by force or violence and whether or not since December 7, 1941, they have been members of any organizations of political parties that advocate the overthrow of the government by force or violence, as well as to sign an affidavit not to advocate the overthrow of the government by force and violence or to become a member of an organization or political party which so advocates so long as the person is a county officer or employee;

(b) To state any aliases they have ever used or been known by; and

(c) To indicate whether they have ever been a member of or directly or indirectly supported any of the organizations listed in the affidavit submitted to them.

Of the 22,000 county employees, all but 218 executed this oath and affidavit.

On April 27, 1948, the Board of Supervisors of the County of Los Angeles adopted an order, a copy of which is described in the loyalty program as Exhibit "B."

Under this order department heads were instructed to inform employees under their jurisdiction who had failed to take the loyalty oath and execute the affidavit that immediate execution of the loyalty oath and affidavit was a mandatory duty.

The department heads were further instructed to present to the employees the oath and affidavit and direct the immediate execution thereof. Subsequent to this order, it appeared that 117 employees had failed to take the oath and execute the affidavit.

On July 20, 1948, the Board of Supervisors of the County of Los Angeles adopted an order, a copy of which is described in the loyalty program as Exhibit "C."

Under this order, the department heads who had employees working under their jurisdiction who failed to execute the oath and affidavit were instructed that they should consider the refusal of the employees to execute the oath and affidavit to constitute insubordination and each department head would advise his employees that unless the employee executed parts "A," "B," and "C" of the oath and affidavit by 5 p.m. on the twenty-sixth day of July, 1948, that the department head would discharge such employee at that time.

The department head was further instructed to advise his employees that if they refused at the same time to execute paragraph "D" of said oath and affidavit that they would be discharged for such refusal if and when litigation, then pending, was finally concluded with the determination that the county was justified in requiring from its employees the information embodied in paragraph "D."

Subsequent to this order 16 county employees refused to execute paragraphs "A," "B," and "C" and were discharged after a hearing before the Los Angeles County Civil Service Commission for insubordination; and 66 executed parts "A," "B," and "C" but refused to execute part "D."

PROGRESS OF LITIGATION

On the third day of September, 1947, law suits were filed for the purpose of enjoining the County of Los Angeles from proceeding with the fact-finding loyalty check program and declaring the rights of the parties.

The parties plaintiff in these law suits were: Helen Parker, Ione Lane Wheeler, Katherine Gates, Cornelius Webster, William G. Cole, J. L. Martin, Robert L. McGuire, Juleana Glisby, Alice M. Parsons, Caroline Pottenger, John R. McCroskey, Mattie A. Belino, Ada Gruver, Major West, Alice Walsh, C. H. Demarest, Betty S. Selden, Miriam Lasarou, Ralph L. Davis, Winifred McConnell, Columbus S. Bell, Shirley Galat, Ruth Thomasen, Kent Hammond Thies, Lawrence Lucks, and Julia Lerner Steiner.

The County of Los Angeles, through Harold W. Kennedy, the county counsel, filed a demurrer to these complaints which demurrer was sustained without leave to amend by the Honorable Clarence M. Hanson, Judge of the Superior Court of the State of California in and for the County of Los Angeles.

An appeal was taken to the district court of appeals, and in a unanimous opinion written by Justice Marshall F. McComb, the district court of appeal affirmed the trial court in giving judgment to the effect that the County of Los Angeles had the right to conduct the loyalty check program.

A hearing was sought in the Supreme Court of the State of California by the respondents, and the hearing was denied on the tenth day of January, 1949.

This is a case of first impression relating to a governmental agency's right to seek this type of information from its employees.

It was the position of the County Counsel of the County of Los Angeles in this litigation that the matter involved the rights of the parties not as guaranteed by the Constitution between private citizens and government but as framed by a contract between the citizens of the County of Los Angeles and their employees, and that when private citizens sought public employment and became employees of the people, they contracted with the people to represent them in the government lawfully chosen on their behalf and further contracted not to advocate the overthrow of that form of government by force and violence or other unlawful means.

The importance of this litigation cannot be overemphasized as the Communist technique requires the control of a few positions on the inside of government.

APPELLATE COURT DECISION

Justice Marshall McComb, in writing the opinion of the appellate court which sustained the position of the County, declared :

"The foregoing cases support the obvious rule that plaintiffs, as public servants, have the implied duty to support the form of government lawfully chosen by the people whom they are employed to represent, and that they impliedly agreed, when they accepted public employment, to act as representatives of the people and not to advocate destruction of the government by force and violence. By accepting public employment they forego any privilege they may have had as private citizens to advocate the overthrow of the government by force and violence. It is inconceivable that they should be permitted to represent the people, be supported by the people, and at the same time have the privilege of advocating the overthrow of the very government by which they are employed and obtain their livelihood. If they cannot subscribe to the prescribed affidavit they may join those who serve themselves in the ranks of private employment.

"There is nothing in the foregoing rule of affidavit which in the slightest degree affects the plaintiffs' rights of political belief or religious belief. Defendants are simply performing their duty by making proper inquiry of their employees as to their loyalty to their employer, the people of the State of California.

"There is nothing in the oath or affidavit which requires plaintiffs to surrender any constitutional right. If they desire to advocate the overthrow of the Government of the United States, the State of California, or the County of Los Angeles, they may do so by any and all lawful means after first resigning from their public employment. It needs no argument to support the thesis that their employer, the people of the State of California, need not wait until after an employee has committed some overt act before making inquiry as to his fitness to occupy the position which he holds.

"Certainly it is clear that a private employer would be perfectly justified in requiring an employee to submit to questioning and examination before leaving his place of employment in order to ascertain whether the employee was stealing property of the employer, and he might obviously question his employee as to whether he intended to take or destroy the employer's property. A servant employed by the people is held to an ever higher standard, and his employer, the people, not only may, but it is their duty through their authorized representatives to make proper inquiry as to his fitness for the position which he occupies and as to his intentions and acts relative to his loyalty to the people."

Mr. Harold W. Kennedy, County Counsel of the County of Los Angeles, in successfully prosecuting this litigation, won an important victory over the incredible argument that those who advocate the overthrow of the government by force and violence have a right to seek positions in public service in the State of California. In so doing he has performed an invaluable service to the citizens of the State of California and the County of Los Angeles.

In addition to, and subsequent to, the adoption of the loyalty check program in Los Angeles County by the Board of Supervisors, the City Council of Los Angeles and the Los Angeles Board of Education also instituted loyalty programs.

These programs were attacked with the same campaigns of Stalinist vituperation against the City Council and the Board of Education, that have been directed against the President's Loyalty Order, Department of Justice, the congressional and state legislative investigating committees and the Los Angeles Board of Supervisors.

In spite of Communist vituperation and legal attacks the loyalty programs were accepted and supported by the overwhelming majority of city and school board employees and by the public; and the Los Angeles City and Los Angeles School Board loyalty programs also were meeting court tests successfully as this report went to press.

"It is the responsibility of the Legislature to enact suitable laws for the protection of the community . . . but laws are not enough. We must instill a fighting faith in our people if our Democracy, our Flag, our Constitution and our American Way of Life are to be preserved for posterity."

CALIFORNIA COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES, 1943 Report

FIRST CONFERENCE OF STATE LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEES AND REPRESENTATIVES

Your committee, in cooperation with the Washington State Committee on Un-American Activities, sponsored the first conference ever held in the United States by legislative committees on subversive activities and representatives of governors and legislators interested in the establishment of such committees. The conference was held in Los Angeles, September 20-21, 1948.

The chairman of your committee also went to Hawaii as the guest of the territorial legislature to present information from the conference and to assist that body in the creation of an anti-subversive program.

The results of the conference have been more than satisfactory. From the conference have come steps toward establishment of improved liaison and coordination between the public officials of the various states for much-needed exchange of information on subversive problems, on legislation, and on the activities of subversive organizations and individuals.

The program, however, is merely in the formative stage. A comprehensive progress report with recommendations is planned following a second conference scheduled for 1950, at which representatives of the state legislatures can exchange information upon the progress of legislative proposals to be considered in the present legislative sessions in the various states.

Your committee publishes herewith a partial report of the proceedings of the Los Angeles conference, containing valuable and informative statements and exhibits presented at the conference.

PROCEEDINGS OF SEPTEMBER 20, 1948

SENATOR DILWORTH: Will the meeting please come to order.

I think it will be fitting in opening this conference of the representatives of the various states on the investigating of un-American activities and the preservation of our American liberties, to read the call for the conference that was sent out.

This was sent out by the California-Washington Legislative Committees on Un-American Activities, acting jointly.

"The problem of defense against Communist espionage and its infiltration in American governmental activity including state and governmental agencies is urgent in every state. California and Washington already have strong legislative committees investigating un-American activities. However, we find that the Communist troublemakers and functionaries travel from state to state as the exigencies of their current conspiratorial program make it expe-

dient. A correlation of the activity and factual files of the existing state committees will greatly facilitate all counter-espionage efforts.

"These legislative investigations have been most effective in revealing to the public the secret conspiracies of the agents of the Soviet. These enemies are working under cover of the American freedoms, intended for open, above-board and loyal American parties.

"The Pacific Coast committees are planning a conference on September 20th and 21st at Los Angeles, California for their mutual information and cooperation. The conference theme will be 'Legislation to Preserve American Freedoms.' Legislation to forward counter-espionage for introduction in the 1949 legislatures will be studied and prepared. Discussion groups will be formed on technique of investigation, on record filing and on interrogation of witnesses."

It is our hope that at this conference, that we can form our battle lines for a finish fight with the Soviet conspiracy in America. And the states must fill up the line of defense. It is everybody's job today to preserve American liberties.

Now, I think that if there is one man who had most to do with the inspiration for this conference for this interstate cooperation, it is the Senator from Washington, Senator Thomas H. Bienz, and I have the very great pleasure of introducing to you today Senator Thomas H. Bienz of Spokane, Washington, who will preside at this session. Senator Bienz.

SENATOR BIENZ

CHAIRMAN BIENZ: Thank you Senator Dilworth. I hope you will bear with us if we remain seated. This is indeed an auspicious occasion, you all know. This might well be the forerunner of the elimination of the totalitarian menace in this Country.

We have two basic things to discuss, you might say, and the first is the problem that we face; what is it? The next is the program of action, if any. I don't need to tell you men here that there is a clear and present danger to our Country and it is due to the totalitarian organization, namely, the Communist movement. Everyone knows that. The United States so-called Communist Party is a party of that movement. This is a clear crisis today that we can't ignore.

The Communist Party of the United States is a secret military organization spread throughout the country. But, enough of that. We all know that. But, until and unless we make a nation-wide effort to control the current activities of this menace, certainly the menace will remain.

Now, before going further, I would like to have each person here to stand and to name the state which he represents and who they are and what they represent and their address, and may we begin from the right-hand corner of this room. Please state it plainly and clearly so that we might get it and so that the stenographers will get it down.

(Thereupon the various members of the Joint Committee who were present identified themselves and their affiliations as follows:)

- SENATOR THOMAS H. BIENZ, Chairman.
SENATOR NELSON S. DILWORTH, Co-chairman.
SENATOR JACK B. TENNEY, Chairman of the California State Committee on Un-American Activities.
A. F. CANWELL, Chairman of the Washington State Committee on Un-American Activities.
R. E. COMBS, Chief Counsel, California Committee.
MURRAY STRAVERS, Executive Secretary, California Committee.
H. B. LARKINS, representing the Alabama State Legislature.
ROBERT G. CLARK, representing the Governor of New Mexico.
WING F. ONG, member of the Arizona State Legislature, Phoenix, Arizona.
AL LINDSEY, Chairman of the Special House Committee on Un-American Activities for the House of Representatives, State of Arizona, Phoenix, Arizona.
JAMES V. ROBINS, representing the Governor of Arizona, Douglas, Arizona.
R. L. RUTTER, JR., member of the Senate, State of Washington and the Washington State Un-American Activities Committee.
GRANT C. SISSON, member of the Washington House of Representatives and also a member of the Un-American Activities Committee of the State of Washington, Mount Vernon, Washington.
SYDNEY H. STEVENS, representative of the State of Washington; also a member of the Washington State Un-American Activities Committee, Seattle, Washington.
M. F. HICKLIN, House of Representatives, State of Iowa, Wahoo, Iowa.
EARL C. FISHBAUGH, JR., representing the Iowa Senate and the Iowa National Guard, Shenandoah, Iowa.
J. B. SCOTT, member of the Arizona State Legislature, member of the Arizona Un-American Activities Committee, Clifton, Arizona.
W. A. MCBRIDE, member of the Arizona State Legislature, Arizona.
W. E. CRAIG, member of the Arizona State Legislature and member of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, Wickenburg, Arizona.
NORVAL HODGES, Governor appointee of the Un-American Activities Commission in Illinois.
HILTON T. HENDRIX, Chairman of the Committee on Un-Americanism, State Department, American Legion, Colorado, representative of the Governor of Colorado.
WILLIAM T. DEAN, President of the Georgia State Senate.
GEORGE L. SMITH, member of the House of Representatives of Georgia, Speaker pro tem.
JACK B. RAY, member of the House of Representatives of Georgia.
MUGGSY SMITH, member of the House of Representatives of Georgia.
MR. C. L. DAWLEY, Montana.

Also present were the following representatives of patriotic and civic organizations:

- L. W. BATTEN, member California Un-American Activities Committee of the American Legion, 18th District.
JAMES GAMBS, Un-American Activities Commission, Department of California, American Legion.
KARL BAARSLAG, Research specialist, Americanism Commission, National Headquarters, American Legion.
HARPER L. KNOWLES, American Legion.
TOM SAWYER, National Director of Americanism, American Legion.
ARCHIE CLAWSON, Chairman of the National Un-Americanism Commission Subcommittee on Un-American Activities.
GEORGE W. FISHER, San Diego, California, American Legion.

GENEVIEVE CRAMER, Department of California, California War Veterans Un-American Activities Committee.

N. H. PARTRIDGE, Jacoby & Gibbons and Associates, Los Angeles, California.

MRS. DELOR A. BOMBARDIER, representing the Catholic Daughters of America and Citizens Advisory Committee, Long Beach, California.

MRS. CATHERINE MEIER, representing Catholic Daughters of America, Los Angeles.

MRS. CHARLES D. BURT, member of the Citizens Advisory Committee of the Un-American Activities, Los Angeles.

MR. W. RUNYE, President of the Harmony Club of Los Angeles.

GEORGE H. BLISS, Los Angeles executive secretary of Consolidated Business Groups of California, Inc., and member of the Civic Committee in support of the Un-American Activities Committee.

MRS. ELIZABETH EYSTER, representing the Citizens Committee for the Americanism Defense League.

MRS. MARGARET TABOR, Pro America Group.

MISS GRACE GEORGE, Pro America Group.

FRED B. WOOD, Legislative Counsel, State of California.

RABBI MAX J. MERRITT, Executive Secretary, Los Angeles Chapter, American Jewish League Against Communism.

ED GIBBONS, Editor of *Alert*.

The sessions also were attended by members of the Citizens Advisory Committee to the California Senate Committee; by representatives of patriotic and civic organizations; and by numerous public officials and public and private investigators.

CHAIRMAN BIENZ: Two men at the head table here we will hear from this morning. However, I would like to present Mr. R. E. Combs, Chief Counsel for the Un-American Activities Committee from the State of California. Mr. Combs.

(Mr. Combs arose and acknowledged the applause.)

CHAIRMAN BIENZ: We will call you later Mr. Combs. And, I would like to recognize at this time the tremendous amount of effort, cooperation and work that my good friend, Senator Nelson Dilworth has put into this work that we are about to commence today.

Senator Dilworth, together with many of his colleagues, came to the State of Washington to visit us, to sit with us, to lay plans for this meeting. They sat during the hearings that we held about a month ago in Seattle, and I would like to thank Senator Dilworth for the help, encouragement and the fine effort that he has put into this work. Senator Dilworth.

(Applause.)

At this time, I would like to present a man whom you know probably much better than I, who will give the address of welcome, not only to you who are present, but to that great vast group of Governors and members of the different legislatures throughout the United States who have sent encouraging letters and have asked for information coming out of this seminar or meeting. You know Jack Tenney better than I do. Senator Tenney is a man of great courage and a man who is willing to sacrifice a tremendous amount of his time to the effort of good government and clean citizenship and what goes with it.

Without further ado, I would like to present Senator Jack Tenney, who will give the address of welcome. Senator Tenney.

SENATOR TENNEY

SENATOR TENNEY: Senator Bienz, and distinguished representatives and Senators here from the other states, and ladies and gentlemen:

I believe that this, while a small gathering, may be the forerunner of a very important event or a series of events in the history of our country. I was most happy when I first contacted Senator Bienz of the State of Washington, and when he presented his idea of an interstate legislative conference on un-American activities to be held some place in the United States. Senator Burns, a member of the California Committee, and myself made a trip through the United States this year. We contacted as many committees of similar nature as we could, representatives of various legislative bodies and many people important in this particular field, and attempted to work out some plan whereby a national, or rather a large conference might be held some place in the United States.

Senator Bienz was hopeful that we might have called this conference in Washington, D. C. In discussing the matter with the members of the committee in Illinois under the chairmanship of Senator Broyles, it was thought that Washington, D. C., would be the best place to hold a first conference of this kind. However, after we analyzed and evaluated the many, many obstacles, the lack of funds with which to lay a real conference in the Nation's capital, we finally came to the conclusion that all things have to have a small start, that we have to crawl before we walk, and that in California and in the State of Washington we did have the facilities to start such a series of conferences.

Out of that, and out of the plans that were evolved, there has come this particular conference. Senator Dilworth of our California Committee and Senator Bienz of the State of Washington Committee, were appointed the chairmen of this particular conference. They made the arrangements, and I think, when all is considered, this being an election year, many of these representatives being up for election and so forth, that we have not made a very bad showing as a commencement.

I want to meet you and every one of you gentlemen who have come from afar, from Georgia, from Iowa, and I believe there is a gentleman here from Illinois, to California, and particularly Los Angeles, and we want to do everything we can to make your stay here as comfortable as we can. I believe some arrangements have been made for your entertainment. The facilities of our office at 112 in this building are available to you and we have a stenographic staff there and anything you need or we can do for you, we want you to feel free to call on us.

We know that you have come this very long distance and we trust that the visit you make here that it will bring out of this conference a constructive program and lay the foundation for an interstate legislative conference on un-American activities next year, perhaps in Washington or some other part of the state that may be decided upon by you, and that we will bring to that conference representatives from every state and every territory and that by 1950 at least, we will have an integrated program that will once and for all put a stop to these treasonable individuals and organizations that are working 24 hours a day, 365 days a year to destroy this government of ours.

I think possibly most of you are aware of the work of the committee in California and what it has attempted to do. We are now in our ninth year in this activity, and I want to congratulate Senator Canwell of the State of Washington for the very marvelous job that he and his committee has done in that state in the last two years.

We feel that there should be more committees of this kind so that information can be gathered, and can be given to the legislatures and through the legislatures to the people. It is my hope that through this conference we will be able to set up proper committees for future activities of the conference, but more important than that, that we will bring forth from this conference some constructive ideas of legislation that we can introduce to our respective legislatures in 1949. I feel that even this representative group here, small as it is, may be able, after our discussions, and after our interchange of information to formulate, perhaps by resolution by this group, proposed legislation that will be constructive, that will be effective.

We in California have introduced many, many bills into the Legislature. We have passed quite a number of them and they are on the statute books of the State of California presently. We find in many instances that while we have these laws, we have no enforcement of them.

In 1941 we introduced—that is, members of the then existing committee on un-American activities, introduced the Subversive Registration Act of 1941 which is presently the law. That bill included to some extent the provisions of the Mundt-Nixon Bill. We have had two convictions under that act and in both instances they were members of pro-Nazi Fascist organizations, and while we have rampant in this State Communist functionaries who are openly Communist functionaries, we have had no prosecutions, no indictments, no information and no arrests. We have introduced and presently on the statutes several other acts which, if enforced, at least might perhaps curb these individuals and organizations in their activities.

We have always been confronted with the problem in legislation of just how to draft an act that will do the job without injuring the innocent individual, the innocent organization. We find in many instances when we have drafted the bill which apparently seems to do the job, that it is a sort of shotgun proposition, that while it is aimed to hit at the guilty and those who were treasonable, it may be interpreted so that innocent people who were merely perhaps in what they termed the liberal or progressive bracket, might be injured.

It is one of the obstacles all of you are going to run into when you draft this type of legislation and we feel that with all of the minds that we have here, all of the minds that have given study to this activity throughout the United States, that collectively perhaps, after due consideration and study, that we will be able to formulate a program that, if introduced and carried into law and enforced, will do the job that I think all of us want to do.

I am not going to take the time to go into the many things that our committee has found. We have issued some two thousand and more pages of reports. We have nearly fifty volumes of sworn transcript testimony. We have voluminous evidence and I do want you members of the legislatures from the various states here and the Governors' representatives to

go over our files in our office here and perhaps you can gain something from looking into the situation as we have attempted to work it out in our office here, and into the committee's investigations and files on various organizations and individuals.

We want to extend to you from the California Committee an invitation, a warm invitation to utilize our facilities in any way you see fit in the work that you are engaged in. We feel that perhaps this conference may institute for the future an interchange of information, as Senator Dilworth pointed out, that will be advantageous to each and every one of us.

There are so many things to say to you and two days is going to be a short time in which to attempt to say them. But, we will do our very best and I want to express my personal appreciation to all of you who have come long distances to be here with us, to start what I think may be a very important move in the United States.

The California State Committee, the State of Washington Committee, the House Committee in Washington, the Arizona Committee, the Georgia Committee and the other committees can do very little in and of themselves. We have found that there is a great apathy, a great lethargy among the uninformed citizens of California, and we are sure that that extends to the rest of the states, and we find little support when we get into the legislative battles to put into effect legislation that will be effective. But, I believe if we join forces, all of us, all committees and delegations of various state legislatures, and work on an integrated constructive program, that if and when that program is formulated, each committee or a representative or a senator in the several states simultaneously introduce such bills and legislation, that we will then perhaps awaken the people of all states to the seriousness of this problem and do a real service.

Again, let me say that I feel that this is a fine beginning. I want to meet and know each one of you here personally before this conference is over. You are welcome to the City of Los Angeles and the State of California, and Senator Dilworth and I and the members of our committee and attaches are here to do what we can to make you comfortable and to serve you in any way possible.

In closing I would like to say again that you are very, very welcome and we hope that before we all get through that we will have met many times, and perhaps done a good job which I think we can do if we put our heads together. Thank you.

CHAIRMAN BIENZ: Thank you, Senator Tenney.

Next, I would like to present a man whom I know quite well. I know him as a personal friend, having worked with him closely. He is a man who has given during the last two years his entire time without compensation to the furtherance of the Un-American Activities Committee of the State of Washington. I would like to present the Honorable Albert Canwell, Chairman of the Un-American Activities Committee of the State of Washington.

Al, would you just say a couple of words.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL

MR. CANWELL: Thank you, Senator Bienz and Senator Tenney. Ladies and gentlemen:

I want to add a little to what Senator Tenney has said. I am most happy to be here. I think we are traveling in the right direction when we make common cause against the common enemy. We are very much aware that it will take organization in the several states through the legislative processes used to oppose Communism, to effectively defeat it. I agree with Senator Tenney that this is a very technical field. It is one in which it is very difficult to legislate. I do feel convinced that this is the process by which Communism can be defeated in America. I think that the time honored American way to defeat this sort of thing is through legislative process. It is difficult to legislate in this field. As Senator Tenney said, it is difficult to draft straight-jacket laws fencing the Communists in without stepping on the toes of other citizens. We have found it very effective in our investigations to expose Communists. Perhaps that in itself will be one of the accomplishments of un-American activities committees in the several states. What may be necessary in the way of legislation is a problem we hope to partially solve here. And, I hope to personally become acquainted with each one of you while we are here. I have found that the greatest help to us in our operation has been the immediate assistance of men who are working in the same field of activity in other states. We have called on such men as Harper Knowles, whose name I well know, Karl Baarslag, Tom Sawyer and many others. They have given us help that was immediate and necessary which we could not afford to obtain in any other way. We drew heavily upon the experiences of the California committee in drafting a resolution, and in many of the critical steps we had to take in charting a new course in combatting Communism, we were able to turn to those who had pioneered in this field, and I think that that is what each one of you will get out of this meeting.

I will not take any more of your time. As I said, I hope to become personally acquainted with each one of you and get your counsel and we will pass on whatever we can to you and I think that this meeting will be very fruitful. I think that it is a step in the right direction, and I will get better acquainted with you as it goes along.

CHAIRMAN BIENZ: Thank you, Chairman Albert Canwell of the Un-American Activities of the State of Washington.

Before presenting the next speaker, I might say that we are going to present our speakers during the next day and a half and the last afternoon will be given over to a question period, reports probably of resolutions, model bills and such. Part of the most important part will be the last afternoon. So, I hope everyone will continue to attend every meeting that is held here.

In the State of Washington, we have what we call a lawyers council room upstairs over the legislature. There are five lawyers there and it takes five lawyers to draw bills and advise members of the committee and members of the legislature on the constitutionality of bills to be presented to the legislature.

I understand that in the State of California that one man does all that work. He is a nationally known figure. He is especially well-known

here in this State. He is Fred B. Wood, the next speaker, and he is legislative counsel for the State of California. It is my pleasure to present to you Fred B. Wood at this time.

I. FRED B. WOOD—LEGISLATION

MR. WOOD: Chairman Bienz, Senators and Representatives of the various states, Ladies and Gentlemen:

May I make an amendment to the portion of the introductory remarks. The rumor is exaggerated that one man performs all those services in California. I have 18 deputies. Even then we think that we are overworked. I have been given the subject, "The Constitutional Power of a State Legislature to Enact Statutes Dealing with Secret and Subversive Activities and a Brief Resume of Present California Statutes on This Subject."

We have to consider on a state level primarily first, the Bill of Rights of the State and of the United States. In addition, on the state level as distinguished from the federal level, if a particular proposed piece of legislation deals with aliens or in some other way deals rather directly with international relations, it comes into the question of the element of state power and also whether or not Congress has occupied the field. As concerns standards and requirements imposed by the state on its employees, there is a bit greater latitude because the state, as employer, has admittedly a good deal to say as to the standards and requirements that it will demand of its employees which is quite a bit different from the state in dealing with the average citizen or any person not in the status of an employee of the state within its territorial boundaries.

(For Mr. Woods' revised, annotated and complete analysis of the field of antisubversive legislation, please turn to pages 564-588, in Part One of this Report.)

I see my time is running pretty close. I might summarize that any such measure must be couched in explicit and clear terms. This means that it must not only meet the standards of a criminal statute, but it must clearly define the subversive activities prohibited. It seems clear that the courts will not accept a legislative determination that any particular named organization is engaged in subversive activities.

I will say now that I do not read in any of the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States or any of the states, any disavowal of the power of the United States or of the states to adopt appropriate legislation to protect its very existence. The question always is, under the particular statute that meets the subject of evil, is it too sweeping or is it narrowly and appropriately directed to the evil to be prevented? It seems clear that the courts will not necessarily accept the legislative determination that any particular organization is engaged in subversive activities. Such measures must be necessitated by a clear and present danger to the public peace.

The courts will not sanction prohibition—when I say the courts, I mean the Constitution, because the courts only interpret the Constitution—as I say, will not sanction prohibition of peaceful and lawful activities of a subversive organization in the absence of proof of its

subversive activities and purposes. This seems to be particularly significant since, if the clear and present danger standard is applied, there would be little the Legislature could do to prevent such an organization from engaging in any one of a series of peaceful and lawful activities which might ultimately result in a subversive act. I believe that if it could be shown that the series of acts together constituted a subversive act such activities might be punishable under appropriate statutes. However, regulation of isolated acts which are apparently lawful would be very limited.

I think the Legislature cannot prohibit active membership in subversive organizations unless it can be shown that these individuals know of the subversive nature of the organization.

And, the State's right to regulate activities of aliens is quite limited, unless, as I think, Congress, on legislating on the subject that might be of interest to the State Legislature also inserts the clause. I am just trying to indicate the numerous ways that you can't do it. I am not throwing any discouragement on the attempt to act affirmatively. But, I would ask to indicate the best enactment under limitation.

With that, I will conclude if I may, Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN BIENZ: Thank you very much, Mr. Wood for that very enlightening talk.

We understand that Mr. C. L. Dawley of Montana, has just arrived and I would like to present him at this time. We welcome Mr. Dawley.

We have about ten minutes, gentlemen. Are there any questions that you would like to direct to Mr. Wood? If so, make them as brief as possible and don't give a talk. We are also going to have a question period at the end of the seminar on Tuesday afternoon.

If there are no questions I would like to announce the resolution committee, which will consist of Senator William T. Dean, President of the Senate of Georgia, as chairman, the Honorable Al Lindsey of Arizona, chairman of the Un-American Activities Committee of that state, Senator Fishbaugh, of Iowa, the Honorable Norval D. Hodges, of Illinois, the Honorable Grant Sisson of the State of Washington, the Honorable H. B. Larkins of the State of Alabama. I should like them to bring in a recommendation as to any other committees they suggest that we set up at this afternoon's meeting, if possible. I am not saying or telling the Resolutions Committee what they are going to discuss, but certainly, as Senator Tenney has intimated, a model bill should come out of this session. Also a model bill—and I mean bill, and not a resolution—should come out of this seminar as a suggestion to each state to adopt, on the Un-American Activities Committee. It might well need to consider dates and places of future meetings of this group and also it might well need to consider how we can coordinate information. Now, if you men wish to have visitors, I hope you will announce it this afternoon and when they are going to meet so that if anyone else wishes to meet with you and listen in on your discussions, if you care to have them, you will announce that this afternoon.

This afternoon the featured speaker will be Karl Baarslag of Washington, D. C. Karl probably knows those who are fighting Communists in the United States today better than anyone else. He is intimately acquainted with such men as Ben Gitlow, James Felton, George Sokolsky, Joe Kornfeder and about twenty-five or thirty others,

including Admiral Zaharias. You know, Karl was in the Navy, a Lieutenant Commander in Navy Intelligence, and he is really in the know and his subject this afternoon which will be at 2 o'clock will be "Know Your Enemy."

I know you all will be extremely interested to hear Karl's talk.

Then later on this afternoon we will ask a member from each delegation from each state to present very briefly some of your problems and your suggestions, so that the Resolutions Committee might have the value of your thinking to work with tonight.

That is about the program for today.

Now, Senator Dilworth will be the chairman for this afternoon.

There will be a luncheon tomorrow for all members here from the legislatures of the various states and that includes the members here from the American Legion. I am sorry that we do not have space available to take care of everyone who is in this room. We would like to invite you certainly. But, it must be just the legislators and the representatives of the American Legion. That is a luncheon tomorrow and a dinner tomorrow evening. It also includes, that is the dinner and the luncheon includes the Governor's representatives, whether they are members of the legislature or not.

SENATOR DEAN: I would like to call a meeting of the Resolutions Committee at adjournment of this meeting.

CHAIRMAN BIENZ: There will be a meeting of the Resolutions Committee immediately after adjournment of this session.

Are there any further announcements?

SENATOR DILWORTH: We have an invitation for luncheon today and we will meet after the adjournment of this session and as soon as the Resolutions Committee meets, we will meet in Senator Tenney's office, 112 on this floor and we and all of the legislative representatives and the Governors' representatives and their wives will meet and go to luncheon. We would like to have Mr. Sawyer also.

CHAIRMAN BIENZ: We will adjourn until 2 o'clock this afternoon.

(Whereupon at 12 noon, the Joint Committee on Un-American Activities adjourned for the noon recess, until 2 o'clock p.m.)

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 20, 1948, 2 P. M.

CHAIRMAN BIENZ: Ladies and gentlemen, we will start the afternoon session. The other members will be here shortly. I would like to present at this time Mr. Combs, Chief Counsel for the Un-American Activities Committee of the State of California. You all know him. He will present the next speaker. Mr. Richard E. Combs.

MR. COMBS: Chairman Bienz, ladies and gentlemen. We have present this afternoon Mr. E. J. Davenport, a member of the Council of the City of Los Angeles, whom we have persuaded to talk to us. He has led the fight in the council to institute an ordinance to put into effect a loyalty check of all city employees. I believe Mr. Davenport will be able to give you some idea of the practical cooperation that can be created between a legislative fact-finding committee dealing with un-American activities and a council in a large metropolitan area. Mr. Davenport just came over here from the city hall and I think we are very fortunate in being able to presume upon some of his time for a few remarks. Mr. Davenport. (Applause)

II. EDW. J. DAVENPORT—THE CIVIC PROBLEM

COUNCILMAN DAVENPORT: Ladies and gentlemen, and members of the various state groups. I have looked with great interest upon this initial gathering of an exchange of ideas and procedures and methods by states. It has rightly been said that probably without question the two hot spots in the United States with regard to Communism are Los Angeles and New York. The City Council which, for the benefit of you visitors, is in the beautiful city hall across the street, meets in a very large chamber which from time to time over the years has been successfully used as a sounding board by the Communist Party and other fellow travelers. That party during the war, under its various new names, also found the Los Angeles City Council a ready rostrum because we meet every day at 10 and over there anything can happen.

THE BELTON CASE

About three or four months ago we had the experience of having announced to us that Phil Connelly of the C.I.O. had summarily replaced in the Veterans' Service Center one of the representatives of the C.I.O. who had a clear record as a competent, patriotic American, with a man by the name of Belden or Belton, who had a record that covered at least a page or a page and a half, dating back to the time that he belonged to what later became the American Youth for Democracy. I don't know what the name of it is now. Anyway, we discovered that he had been placed in charge and this other representative of the C.I.O. in the Veterans' Service Center had been removed. It was city funds that first started the Veterans' Service Center. It is now an agency of the Community Chest. At the Veterans' Service Center all of the young veterans go to seek advice. The labor unions are represented, various church groups, and so forth. I felt that most certainly Belton's reputation and his record did not fit him to advise young men, and we soon discovered he was advising them to be against the Marshall Plan, oppose the draft, and the other things that were in the offing. So I moved on this particular morning that he be removed from that office and be replaced with a man who had a better American record. We do things over there in a democratic way and we agreed that we would have a public hearing on the matter. Some one had telephoned across to the Veterans' Service Center, however, to Mr. Belton, and Mr. Belton came screaming into the council chambers demanding to be heard right then and there and he was not going to put up with this red-baiter Davenport, and so forth. He was told by the president of the council that the matter had already been disposed of and that a public hearing had been set two weeks hence and, therefore, it was not before the council and would he please sit down quietly or leave. But like so many or all of those types, he demanded to be heard right then and there. I then moved that the sergeant-at-arms remove him from the chambers. He put up a struggle with the sergeant-at-arms who is a big husky fellow about six feet five who threw him over his shoulder like a sack of potatoes. He was shouting about the Tenney Committee and the red-baiting council as he was pulled down the center aisle, just as the Yale Glee Club was coming in to sing to us. (Laughter) I can't describe to you the looks on the faces of those boys from New Haven. As you know, they were on a tour of the Country and they

told us later they heard that anything could happen in Los Angeles and after this experience they agreed that it could. (Laughter)

In the last election in the city, through the aid of the Tenney Committee, and I know the Joint Legislative Committee and his fellow Senators will understand me when I refer to it as the Tenney Committee here, because after all we have some 40 percent of the vote and we have only one Senator—of course, we recognize Senator Dilworth, and the work that all of you other people have done in connection with this committee—but through the aid of this committee and its investigators, I was able to ask the president of the council at the close of one session three weeks before the election for the privilege of the floor, the next morning, out of order. The natural question is for what purpose and I explained to the chair what the purpose was, to reveal with documentary evidence a plot of the Communist Party to put members on the Board of Education and into the City Council. Through the aid of this committee and their investigators, we were able to reveal for the first time a photostat of LaRue McCormick literature of which there were about three-quarters of a million pieces in a certain spot which I was not curious to know about as long as we had one copy. Twenty minutes after that request for the floor was made, our Assistant Chief of Police, Joe Reed, was in my office to ask me what had happened. Through various pipe lines he understood that Nemmy Sparks, head of the Communist Party in the county, and Mr. Daniels, head of the Communist Party in the city, with offices at 126 West Sixth Street, had sent out word to pack the council chambers, every seat; every Communist and every fellow traveler was to be there so that nobody else could get in to support this particular motion. Well, when I was informed of that I immediately got in touch with the various groups over here, with Mrs. Lewis Allen Weiss of the Pro-America Group, and she and her wonderful women got down there early in the morning, and at least we had some representation on our side.

It might interest you to know that the first man at the microphone that day was none other than Ellis Patterson. When he got up to the microphone he was asked by the chair, "Are you speaking for the Davenport resolution or against it?" He said, "I am speaking against it."

"Well then, you are out of order because the pro side speaks first and then the side that is opposed speaks afterwards."

His excuse was that he had a case in court and would we not give him permission to use the microphone so that he could make known his opposition even though it was out of order. Councilman Harby, who had been defeated in the Congressional election—and he felt and perhaps rightly so that Ellis Patterson who had filed in the primaries to get nominated as U. S. Senator, but then ran against him in the Sixteenth District—Councilman Harby felt that he split up the vote out there and had ruined his chances. I know it didn't help him. Well, he got up and said, "I would say no, this man should not speak out of order. He is a political reject and I suggest he go sit down and take his turn. If he has to go to court, let him go to court." (Laughter)

Well, I reasoned this way, I said, "Gentlemen, here is a man standing at this microphone who did not get elected to Congress with the aid of the Communist Party. He was elected to Lieutenant-Governor of the

State of California and he held that office with the aid and comfort of the Communist Party and fellow travelers. He ran for the United States Senate this spring with the aid of the Communist Party and I can understand Councilman Harby's anger because he also ran as a write-in candidate against Mr. Harby in the run-off. But maybe at long last Ellis Patterson is going to admit before this microphone and this audience of some two or three thousand people that he is a member of the Communist Party and I move that he be heard." So we called the roll and it was unanimous that he be heard. (Laughter.) He immediately thanked me and said, "I want to thank Councilman Davenport for seeing that my right to speak was not abridged." You know, the old stuff. But he said, "I have to disappoint him. I am not a member of the Communist Party," and he said, "I would say that his move this morning, on the eve of an election, was just the move of a clever politician seeking votes on the eve of a political campaign."

Well, I got up and said, "Now, Mr. Patterson, I will fight for your right to be heard, but you are supposed to speak on the subject. Will you admit that you are a politician? We don't know of any other profession that you follow. They say that you wear spiked shoes and you are ready to run for office at the drop of a hat, any office." (Laughter.)

He said, "Yes, I will admit I am a politician."

I said, "Well, I will admit I am. Don't you think it is silly for one politician to criticize another politician just because he is a politician?"

But the fact remained he lined him up that day with LaRue McCormick, who had the courage at least to come up to the microphone, pulled out her card and called off her number.

We have been beset by this constant use of the City Hall and it has been only within the last eighteen months and with the aid of this committee that we have been able to do something about it. As Mr. Combs, Chief Counsel of the committee, mentioned, we are about to institute a loyalty check for 25,000 city employees. I heard on the air last night over the Public Forum, of which Edward Shattuck is the moderator, two very able protagonists against the loyalty check—Mr. Zetterberg who ran against Nixon, made a very strong case—they are always making a case for those few who won't sign. I make a case for the vast majority who will sign. They are the ones I am for. (Applause.)

As Congressman Nixon said to you at the wonderful meeting in Beverly Hills the other night, he said, "The vast majority of government employees, thank God, are loyal, good Americans, and we owe them the protection of taking out of the barrel these few rotten apples."

In the county 17 refused to sign and from day to day they picketed. They picketed last Saturday. I don't know why they picketed Saturday, but they were picketing.

AN ERROR AVERTED

Here is a mistake that we almost made and if it had not been for this committee we would have made the mistake and I would have gone along with it. We have been working on this for 18 months. We wanted to see some tests in the courts because we did not want to go over this thing with 25,000 employees over and over again. If we are going to do it, let's do it right. Last week it was up for passage and all of us were impatient to

get it passed, those of us who wanted it. The night before Senator Tenney phoned me and he said that they had discovered loop-holes in it and that the Communist Party was laughing at the City Council and laughing at this particular ordinance. The next morning I got hold of the ordinance and introduced a motion that we not act upon the ordinance until we found out that it was right. In the motion it told how the Communist Party was looking upon it with complacency and amusement because they discovered loop-holes in it big enough to drive a truck through. If it had not been for this committee giving us that information we would have made that blunder. When Mr. Combs looked at it—not just taking Section F of the Federal Loyalty Check, but he found even greater weaknesses, and on this particular morning it was significant because aside from the regulars in the council, and by regulars we mean those who represent certain interests who are there every day and whom we know, such as the PTA, the League of Women Voters, the Chamber of Commerce representatives, and various other similar groups, there were only four or five people. It was a dull morning for us. One of the councilmen said, “There are some people in the audience who want to be heard and I don’t think they should be denied the right to be heard as long as they are here.” I said, “I am for it. But who are they? I don’t recognize any of these people. I think they are stooges who have been sent here. The real Communists are down on West Sixth Street laughing at us because they know they can be heard at a public hearing, but by that time we will have our ordinance in real shape.” For example, it requires an oath which involves: “I further swear or affirm that I have not been a member of the Communist Party, that I am not a member of the Communist Party, and I have not been a member of the Communist Party in the last five years.” Your committee told us that they could sign that with both arms up in the air because the Communist Party was abandoned in this Country in 1943 and was thereafter called the Communist Political Association. That was when Foster went out and Browder went in. So there was one glaring weakness. There was no mention here of the front organizations.

It also says, “I have never nor shall I advocate the overthrow of the United States Government by force or violence.” Well, the Communists did not want to do it by force or violence unless they had to. There are other unlawful means. All of these things will be gone into and we have made arrangements through the courtesy of the Joint Legislative Committee to have Richard E. Combs, the Chief Counsel, sit down with our City Attorney’s office—and they are quite willing to do it on Thursday afternoon—and go over our loyalty check that involves 25,000 employees. To you visitors here I think you will agree that that is an important function of this committee to get this thing right. It does not take long, I have discovered from my experience with these people, it does not take long for them to find weaknesses and loopholes. That is why the Council Chamber was not crowded. But a significant thing, this morning the Civil Liberties Union for the first time since its consideration, had a great big letter on my desk with a lot of citations from the Supreme Court and so forth as to why there should not be any check at all. So now we are beginning to hear the rumblings.

I have been given unlimited time by Mr. Combs and that is a dangerous thing to do to a councilman because the shadows of darkness may

fall before I finish. In conclusion I want to say I welcome the organization of any group to combat Communism effectively.

I would like, also, to tell you how the Tenney committee has been maligned and scoffed at; but in the last two years it has by its performance, by the manner of its investigation, its thoroughness, its fairness, risen in stature so that even those who used to scorn it are greeting it with the respect that it deserves. It must, therefore, be heartening to this Joint Legislative Committee to meet under these circumstances, and I hope that you gentlemen in your various states where you have committees will be able to generate the type of support that is now crystallized behind our Joint Legislative Committee. We at the grass roots of government in the City Council feel safer and more sure of our ground as we meet the agitation that is constantly brought before us, sometimes boiling up at the surface, always going on, by traitorous people who make use of our legislative hall as a sounding board for their activities. We know now we can turn with assurance and safeness to a legislative committee accredited by the State, manned by a competent staff and headed by a man like Senator Jack Tenney, our own representative here in the south.

Thank you so much, ladies and gentlemen. (Applause.)

CHAIRMAN DILWORTH: Thank you very much, Councilman Davenport, for that very dramatic and informative recital of the antics of the Communist Party here. Now, we will have a graphic display of Communist propaganda and literature collected in the last four months by Mr. Ed Gibbons of the firm of Jacoby and Gibbons, who publish the weekly report known as "*Alert*." Mr. Gibbons. (Applause.)

III. ED GIBBONS—COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA

MR. GIBBONS: Mr. Chairman, visiting legislators and leaders of civic organizations. I want to point out that Councilman Davenport and I were not engaged in a feud here when he stopped during his speech and looked over at me while I was getting this display ready. As a reporter who in the past has covered the City Hall, I am familiar with Councilman Davenport's genuine talents for expostulation. I actually got up to heckle him because I was deliberately trying to bother him. He knows that and I know that and we are not mad at each other. (Laughter.)

I would like to ask one of the officers to help me out with these panels. I will try to run through this quite quickly, as fast as I can, because there are two able speakers to follow who will talk about Americanism work in the Legion. I feel, however, that the presentation of this may make it a lot easier for them to discuss the points they are going to make.

These are a series of panels of Communist agitational propaganda originally prepared to present to the Advertising Association of the West 1948 convention and also the Legion state convention.

This Plate 1 shows basic Marxist texts as distributed through their book stores and taught in their schools, including the Communist California Labor School here. It is primarily made up of the Little Lenin Library, the famous classical texts of Marxism, by Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, Josef Stalin, and their big hero of the Russian revolution, Lenin.



PLATE 1. A collection of official Communist publication on the so-called science of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism, purchased in Communist book stores, or at front organizations and schools in California.

This material is a complete, thorough, specific and scientific statement of how to organize, operate and manipulate for duplicity and treachery; is sold in Communist book stores throughout the Country. I will show you their catalogs later. The material I have here has been printed in press runs from 200,000 to 2,500,000 copies in the United States and

that many have been distributed in the United States. If we use the advertising industry's theory that for every distribution there are four readers, some of this classical theory of how to run a revolution and overthrow the government by force and violence has reached 10,000,000 people. (Turning to the next exhibit.)

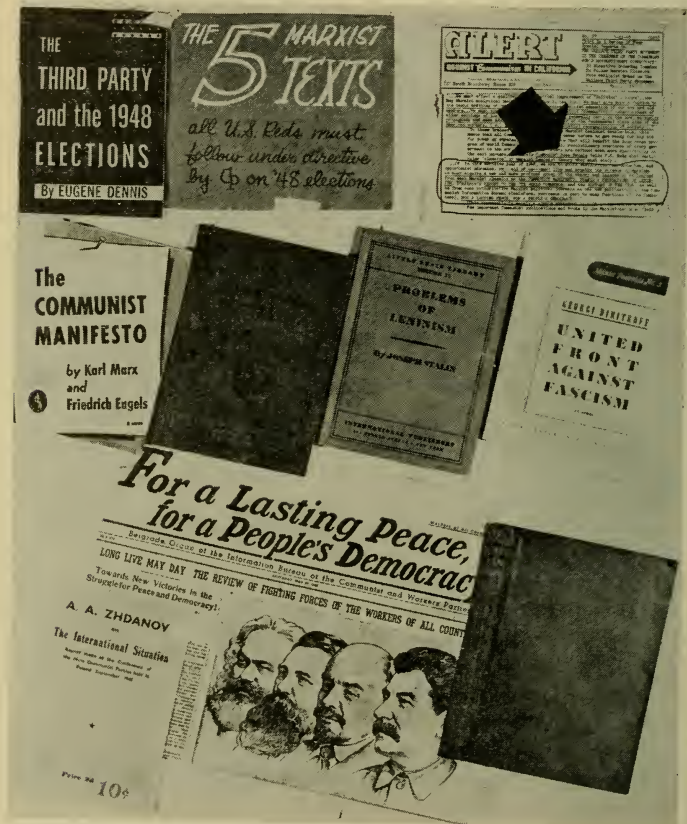


PLATE 2. A panel showing the five basic Stalinist texts and the Cominform organ, with Zhdanov's directive for a world-wide united front against the United States, all of which every U. S. Red was ordered to study assiduously in a directive by Eugene Dennis, Secretary of the CPUSA, in his *The Third Party and the 1948 Elections*.

Here we see Plate 2 of very important documents. This green book here is a directive by Eugene Dennis, the general secretary of the Communist Party, on the subject of the 1948 elections. In this directive

Mr. Dennis, who is the administrative head of the Communist Party, tells all Communists, if they are to stay on the beam and be right and keep right and have a successful operation, they must study five basic Communist texts. Here are the texts:

The Communist Manifesto, by Marx;

Imperialism, by Lenin, in which Lenin stated that imperialism was the highest stage of capitalism and was the stage in which capitalistic exploitation resulted in Fascism and war.

The Problems of Leninism, by Stalin, which is the most simple, complete and detailed statement in all Marxist literature on the tactics and strategy of revolutionary activity.

And finally, *The United Front Against Fascism*, collected speeches of Georgi Dimitrov, the present Premier of Bulgaria. Mr. Dimitrov made these speeches in 1935 when he was as unimportant in Bulgaria politically as are Mr. Foster and Mr. Dennis in this Country today. Ten years later he is a dictator in Bulgaria with the power to take anybody's life by the lifting of his finger.

I have one more which I overlooked, a large volume known as *The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*.

This book, combined with Stalin's *Problems of Leninism*, under the guise of history, is a complete textbook on revolution.

There is an important point to mention here. In 1935 the Communist International, based on Dimitrov's theory, adopted the united front from below technique against Fascism and they followed it until 1939, until the Hitler-Stalin Pact was signed. A certain Hollywood organization had in its treasury some \$80,000 based on the united front conflict against Hitler, Mussolini and Tojo. When the Hitler-Stalin Pact was signed in August, 1939, the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League disappeared, and \$80,000 disappeared. The next few days a series of Communist fronts to buck U. S. preparedness appeared. Out of that activity came the Peace Mobilization and the American Peace Crusade, and the "Yanks Aren't Coming," and the picketing of the White House.

Mr. Andre Zhdanoff, recently deceased general secretary of the Communist Party, who is supposed to have died of hardening of the arteries at the age of 51, but who many people say was murdered by Stalin because he called the wrong shots in the present international situation, in September, 1947, he held a meeting of Communist leaders in Poland in which they announced the formation of the Cominform which was a resumption of open international agitation but directed at this time against the Marshall Plan and against recovery of the independent countries and free nations in Europe. At the time Mr. Zhdanoff laid down the new Communist line now followed by Dennis and Foster in this Country. He re-instituted throughout the world the anti-Fascist technique from below, but instead of being directed against Hitler and Mussolini as it was in 1935 to 1939, it is now directed against the United States. In any piece of Communist literature or any newspaper you will find that the peace-loving peoples "democratic camp" is represented by Russia—the Soviet Union against the United States of America. The principal organ for following that policy is the famous Belgrade organ of the Cominform which was printed in Titoland until he called the wrong shots, and then they moved it over into Bulgaria. This is the paper *For the Lasting Peace in the People's Democracy*, of which 250,000 copies

are shipped into the United States every two weeks and which lays down the present anti-Fascist Communist line directing every Communist in the world to take that line against the United States. (Turning to next exhibit.)

Plate 3 shows Communist Party manuals and instruction sheets, including the pamphlet for the neophyte Communist, which contains the

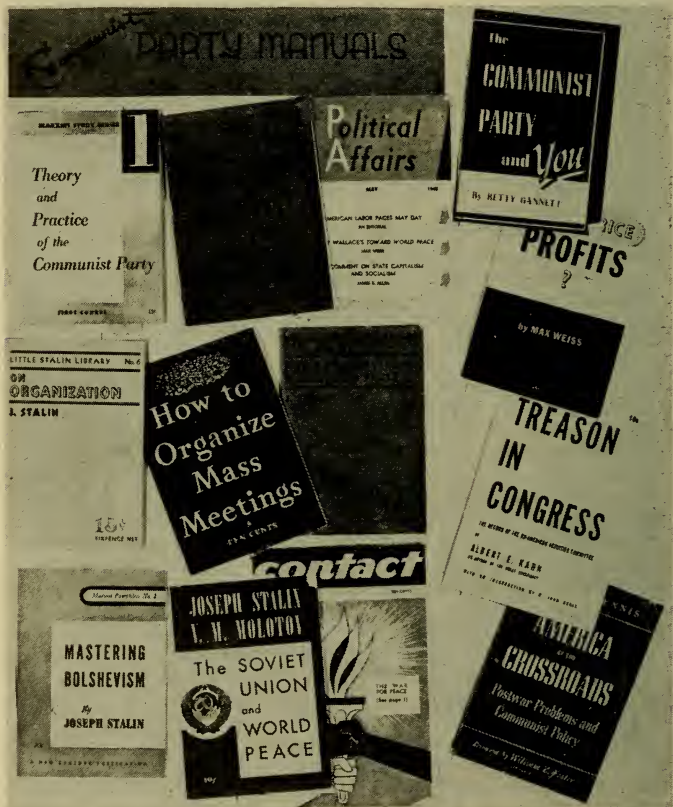


PLATE 3. A collection of official Communist Party manuals, handbooks, ideological periodicals and pamphlets with basic directives on important party line projects and agitations.

picture of a young Communist lady passing out Communist newspapers, whom most policemen in Los Angeles know by sight.

Here is the party's ideological monthly publication *Political Affairs*. Here is the manual for Communist Party leaders; and the new Marxist study series.

Here is a pamphlet on how to organize mass meetings, fund raising, speaking at meetings—used in the Wallace meetings. I assure you if you want to organize any kind of a meeting, go get the Communist handbooks and they will tell you better than anything we have on our side. They do the job very efficiently.



PLATE 4. A collection of the important Communist newspapers, including the daily and weekly *Worker*, published in New York and the daily and weekly *People's World*, published in San Francisco, featuring headlines with the Communist line as ordered in directives shown in Plate No. 2.

The rest of the material deals with the present situation, how to denounce the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and so on.

These are foreign handbooks written by Stalin and circulated in England.

This is a house organ called *Contact*, which advocates the type of agitation that will win over members and supporters to the Red conspiracy. It is just as much a house organ for Communist agitation as are some of the trade journals in business and other fields.

(See plate 4, page 619)

Plate 4 shows two major Communist newspaper operations in the Country which are the backbone of their propaganda distribution. This



PLATE 5. A collection of publications of front organizations, and publications or house organs of organizations that apologize for and appease Communist activity and Communism.

is the famous *Daily Worker*, its Sunday edition with 16 pages of tabloid. Here is the daily edition of *The Worker*. Here is the *People's World*, the West Coast daily newspaper. Here is their weekly tabloid edition.

And the *Moscow News* shipped in here, the Soviet weekly published in London.

Being "Friends" of Democracy you will notice they have abandoned the hammer and sickle, but they have the red star on the page to let the party boys and girls know they are still on the revolutionary beam. (Turning to next exhibit.)



PLATE 6. A collection of Communist propaganda and agitation material in the fields of economics, business, labor, and industrial relations.

(See plate 5, page 620)

Here on Plate 5 we see publications of the front organizations and Communist appeasement and apologist publications.

The *Nation* and *The New Republic* have long records as liberal publications. They cannot be described as Communist, but they are so

infiltrated with the Communist Party policy that they serve the interests of the Communists and confuse liberals on many issues, much more than do some of the Communist publications.

Jewish Life is another phony example of Communist activity. One of the most aggressively anti-Communist daily newspapers in the world is the Yiddish language *Jewish Daily Forward*. The *Daily Forward*



PLATE 7. A collection of Communist publications, catalogs, ideological periodicals and propaganda material in the fields of art and culture, including their key cultural magazine, *Masses & Mainstream*.

prints more anti-Communist material in one issue than any Hearst paper prints in a whole week. They agitated the Communists so much that the Communists started the *Morning Freiheit*, an opposition Red Yiddish daily; and this is the monthly organ of the Morning Freiheit Association.

The other material here—"Soviet Russia Today" is the official journal of The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, a basic Communist front. Here is the handbook of the National Committee for the Arts, Sciences and Professions. Here is the Federated Press material. The copy on the black panel reaches 600 labor and liberal newspapers every week or bi-monthly with cleverly disguised Communist propaganda. This Federated Press was started by Communists and several anti-Communist A. F. of L. unions set up such a squawk against it that it was denounced at the last meeting of the A. F. of L. Press Association. (Turning to next exhibit.)

(See plate 6, page 621)

This Plate 6 covers some of the Communist labor material. *The Letter to Americans* is one of the first pieces of fairly good printing. Up to that time they used to have the "Moscow Press" or mimeograph machine. This is about one of the first ones they printed. The rest of this display shows clever propaganda material.

Here is the notorious book *Communists on the Waterfront*, where they claim they are responsible for any advances that the workers made in the shipping industry. This material was taken to the Advertising Association of the West convention, which is the organization of the western states advertising industry. At their convention their members sent in billboards and different types of ads displayed all over the Country, and judges selected the prize-winning billboards and advertising lay-outs. It got to be a joke in Sacramento that the Communist material nearly won prizes away from the American material. I emphasize that because this is technically excellent work from a graphic arts view or a writing standing or a propaganda standpoint; it is much better than anything being done on our side of the fence. It is not the work of a bunch of crackpots with a few Moscow presses in some basement somewhere. It can print the best type of propaganda and get it distributed everywhere in the Country. (Turning to next exhibit.)

(See plate 7, page 622)

Here is Plate 7 on various pamphlets, one put out by the California Labor School. Here is a song book, *Songs for America*, which mixes the Star Spangled Banner with some of the most agitational material that would turn your stomach. If you are in town long enough and want to wander through the Communist book store, its address is 1806 West Seventh Street. Senator Tenney and Mr. Combs and I are frequent visitors there. We are well-known and highly regarded as customers. As a matter of fact, the *Peoples World* came out with a very vituperative article on Senator Tenney. He went in and bought some of the Little Lenin Library pamphlets in a nice binding and the Communists said it made their mouths water to see Senator Tenney buying the beautiful classical texts when they couldn't afford them. So you know that even

when Senator Tenney buys their books and studies them they can find something bad about it.

Here is material on youth and miscellaneous fronts, catalogs and reports on the World Youth Festival and some of the young Commies who got over there to attend the meeting in Prague. (See Plate 8.)



PLATE 8. A collection of Communist agitation and propaganda publications in such fields as youth activity and antipreparedness campaigns; and material directed to women, consumers and pacifist groups.

Here is a sample of the Communist campaign against universal military training. Here is one called *Who Ruptured Our Duck*. This is some stuff for the Kids from Stalingrad, *Uncle Vasya Is a Hero*.

Plate 9 has agitation on racial and religious fronts, including the famous directive of the Secretary of the Jewish Commission of the Communist Party, Mr. Bittleman, which says that all Communists should ruin and disrupt all Jewish organizations that do not take the party line. It is a masterful piece of tactical disruption.



PLATE 9. A collection of Communist and Communist-front group publications and pamphlets in the fields of racial and religious agitation.

This is an agitational piece of propaganda from one of the most noted fronts which we wrecked and liquidated in Los Angeles, the Mobilization for Democracy, which was headed by Robert W. Kenny.

Here is a publication to the United Nations by the National Negro Congress, a Communist front, on behalf of the oppressed Negro nation in the United States. The Communists have a map of this Country and

they promise in their propaganda to the Negroes that when the Red Army takes over they will give the Negroes a Soviet Black Republic in the 397 counties from Texas to Virginia where the Negroes are 51 percent of the population. This is done in a spirit of Soviet paternalism, but it strikes me as the most gigantic segregation in the world. Here is



PLATE 10. A collection of propaganda and agitation material by the Communist Party and important Communist-front organizations in the field of foreign affairs in support of the Soviet Union and the plots of Communists to take over nations by revolutionary force.

an analysis of how much baloney they will feed to the Negroes at any time on this particular propaganda line.

Here is some agitation in connection with the Salcido Case dealing with local alleged police brutality. (Turning to next exhibit, Plate 10.)

Here is a group on foreign affairs. Notice the symbolism of the American flag going up in flames. There were 500,000 distributed in England. It is a vicious denunciation of the United States as a center of Fascism, part of a design laid down along the line of following a united front against America. There is Mrs. Paul Robeson's Council for African



PLATE 11. A collection of official material from Communist fronts in the fields of legislation and political activity, featuring the use of movie stars to sell Red groups by endorsement technique.

Affairs; there is agitation material on China, Hungary, Poland, Spain, Puerto Rico, and Greece; they have a story for everybody.

In the center is "People's Victory in Czechoslovakia," which as you all know has been taken over as a satellite of the Soviet Union.

And at the bottom are attacks on the Marshall Plan.

(See plate 11, page 627)

Here is Plate 11 on politics and legislation which shows the background of organizations which merged into the Progressive Party. First of all, we have the material for Progressive Citizens of America, which in California, is successor to the Independent Citizens Com-

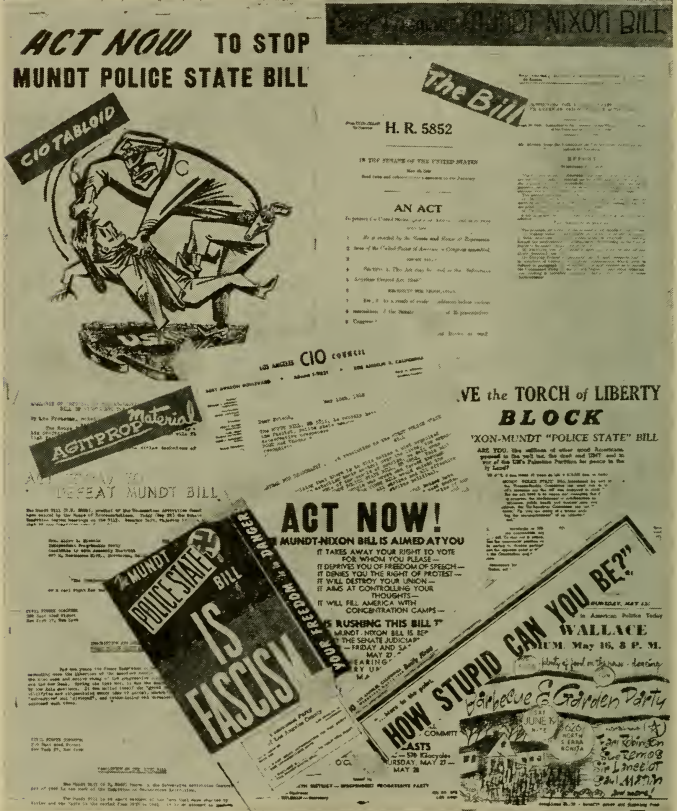


PLATE 12. A collection of Communist and Communist-front organization propaganda material in the 1948 Communist campaign of agitation against proposed Communist control legislation in Congress.

mittee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions. And the National Citizens Political Action Committee, which in turn was successor to the Motion Picture Democratic Committee, which in turn was successor to the Hollywood Democratic Committee. John Howard Lawson, the first

witness before the Thomas Committee, made a motion to change the name and led the floor strategy in every change in ten years. The Progressive Citizens of America put the center material out of which they ran about five hundred thousand copies. We got this copy from the Yugoslav hall in San Pedro. They use movie stars, such as Garfield, Robinson, Gene Kelly, Henreid, Larry Parks to sell Red fronts like you would sell soap because the slogan says, "You fit in this picture, too."

Here is the famous United Electrical Workers *Guide to Political Action* which you should get because whether you are a Republican or Democrat, if you read this you will see that they have the job done better and you will learn something from it on organization.

Here is material from the California Legislative Conference. I want to call your attention to this one. There were about a million of them circulated in Los Angeles in advance of a speech by Glenn Taylor at Gilmore Stadium where Mr. Taylor preached sedition and opposition to all United States policies.

The Marxist theory teaches that at the time of revolution, organized mobs move into sensitive places and shoot all of the people like Senator Tenney and the chiefs of police. Here is a drawing of a revolutionary mob marching, headed by Henry Wallace, with the American Flag—this is a violation of the Flag Code—not leading the parade, and it is not carried by any one. There is a lot of subtle symbolism there, but the important point is at the time this was published there were six states that refused to put Wallace's party on the ballot, so in this Communist handbill there are only 42 stars in the American Flag.

(See plate 12, page 628)

Plate 12 shows the Red campaign in this area against the Mundt-Nixon Bill. This is a tabloid of 100,000 copies distributed by the C.I.O. Council here. Here are paid ads from newspapers and literature that was passed out. Here is the Communist Party's own material.

Look at these letters and mimeographed pieces. They contain an analysis of the Mundt-Nixon Bill by Attorney Lee Pressman, sent from central distribution centers in Los Angeles where they have names on addressograph plates to virtually every organization that can be lured into supporting their campaign in the area, and some of that material was distributed in 24 hours. Mr. Combs and the investigating staff of the Tenney Committee have exposed that setup and have found that it is one of the most effective and efficient propaganda centers that exist. Instead of one Moscow press, Mr. Baarslag, they have batteries of them. They have ten dollars for every dollar we can muster and they have volunteers galore.

(See plate 13, page 630)

Finally, we have on Plate 13, material in defense of the Hollywood Unfriendly Witnesses. These trade journal advertisements cost \$175 a page.

This committee raised \$15,000 in 20 minutes at a dinner in Beverley Hills presided over by Dr. Shapley of Harvard.

We have some other material here if you care to see it after the session this afternoon. A very interesting thing often happens to me. I have taken this material to a number of affairs and some of the panels

These pictures consist of photographs of imported goons from the Communist end of the Painters Union who were slugging A. F. of L. Union people who wanted to work in the studios in the 1945 strike. These are actual pictures of Herb Sorrell's goons slugging Americans, and they ran under the heading, "Come to the Big Mass Meeting and Stop Gestapo

SMEAR ATTACKS on Joes of COMMUNISM

Stop AMERICA'S "TROUBLY POLICE"

ABOLISH THE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE

IT DID HAPPEN HERE

YOU CAN HELP ... STOP Gestapo Terror in the Motion Picture Industry ... American Fascists from breaking the Wagner Labor

MASS MEETING

MEMORIAL MEETING

Los Angeles 410 Council Report

Nix Mundt-Nixon!

THE OPEN FORUM

RED BAITING RACKET

THE UN-AMERICAN OF HEARST JOHN SENT

EUGENE DENNIS

PEACE

THE Case against DAVID DUBINSKY

RED BAITING RACKET

how it works

PLATE 14. A collection of Communist and Communist-front propaganda, attacking and smearing anti-Communists. This is a companion collection with Plate No. 15.

Terror in the Motion Picture Industry," showing the complete fraud and duplicity that these characters will engage in.

You will note here a petition, with expensive printing—widely circulated—to abolish the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, attacks on anti-Communists, including a lying attack on *Alert* by Slim Connelly's Kremlin at 54th and Avalon, which they had

to retract; and a vicious attack on the anti-Communist A. F. of L. labor leader, David Dubinsky, who fights them in Jewish organizations and political groups as well.

Here we have Plate 15 on one of the basic agitations in support and defense of Communism. This is the famous Herald-Tribune material, or



PLATE 15. A collection of Communist and Communist-front propaganda and agitation in support and defense of known Communists or agitations on which the Communist party capitalized for its own strategic and tactical objectives.

part of it, which Pegler has been beating his brains about. Here is Gerhardt Eisler's vile statement, the most insolent insult to the American people you have ever read.

Here is more of their material. This is the pamphlet that went with the petition to abolish the Thomas Committee. These are questions on

Communism answered in the *Herald-Tribune*. Here is the so-called Schneiderman case.

Many of you who are attorneys may have followed the debates with them in which the Communists say it is not against the law to be a member of the Communist Party because the Supreme Court has ruled



PLATE 16. Communist propaganda publications in support and defense of the Soviet Union, which is a main party line activity. Note the Red Dean of Canterbury's much-discussed *Secret of Soviet Strength*.

so. Or they tell you that Harry Bridges—this Mr. Lawrence whom I debated on television told me his boss had been officially declared not a Communist by the Supreme Court. A lot of people fall for that and it is a serious mistake because it is a very clever distortion of the truth. The fact of the matter is that in the Schneiderman and Bridges cases

the Supreme Court did not rule whether the Communists advocate the overthrow of government by force, or settle if Bridges is a Communist; it ruled on the immunity phase of the immigration law on a ten-year-old case where the government had to present evidence covering the five years preceding the ten-year-old case. In another decision of the Supreme Court, the famous Dunne case, the Trotskyite case in Minneapolis, the Supreme Court ruled they were theoretical Marxists, and they were walking on the other side of the street. The Trotskyites were sent to the penitentiary. In many other cases which have gone to the appellate court the Communist position has not been sustained and the American position has been sustained. In the famous Anita Whitney case pretty much the same legal principle that is involved in these legal attacks on the Communist Party was upheld and Mrs. Whitney was sent to jail, but she was pardoned by a complacent governor.

(See plate 16, page 633)

Plate 16 has material on the defense of the Soviet government. I will not take too much time on this. Some of this material is published by the Canadian publishing firm which brought out many pamphlets referred to in the Iron Curtain movie.

This is *The Protestant* which is neither Protestant nor official. It is a typical Communist front. A couple of very pinkish millionaires put up money for the publication.

Here is the material of the Red Dean of Canterbury, who was denied entry into this Country recently to give lectures. (He got in later, in December, 1948.)

Here is *Stalin's Life* and you will get a nervous breakdown if you try to read it. Here is a pamphlet put out by some Unitarian ministers who got tired of the Unitarian publication, put out by a Rev. Fritchman who has been in so many Communist fronts he meets himself going in the front door when he is going out the back door. He was fired from the Unitarian paper. We had a Reverend Caldecott at the Unitarian Church here in Los Angeles. Senator Tenney exposed him, and between one thing and another Reverend Caldecott got fired. He used to allow about one Stalinist meeting a week. And lo and behold, Fritchman is the new minister and they hold five meetings a week.

I want to emphasize again that 90 percent of their people are trained. They are tricky like the fellows in the park playing checkers who make a few moves and have you beaten. It is as simple as that. We have to learn their methods. The people on our side have to get out of the fatuous and pompous idea that you can oratorically dismiss Communism with glittering generalities, toss off a couple of Martinis and go home and forget all about it. If you do that, they just laugh at you. As Mr. Baarslag says, "They think of us as stupid idiots, and every time we push them down one place they come right up again elsewhere (indicating)."

(See plate 17, page 635)

(See plate 18, page 636)

Finally, we have what Mr. Combs refers to as documentation on Plates 17 and 18, of the tangible proof of Stalinist participation; and he has probably lost his voice reading into the record the facts about Communist activities. Behind that record and behind the propaganda

texts that those of us in public relations use against Communists, without privilege, where they can sue us for libel, it is backed up by material like this. These are the letterheads of the Communist front organizations. Over here is a documentation on Herbert K. Sorrell. These are photostats of ads where he endorsed Communist candidates, where he appeared at

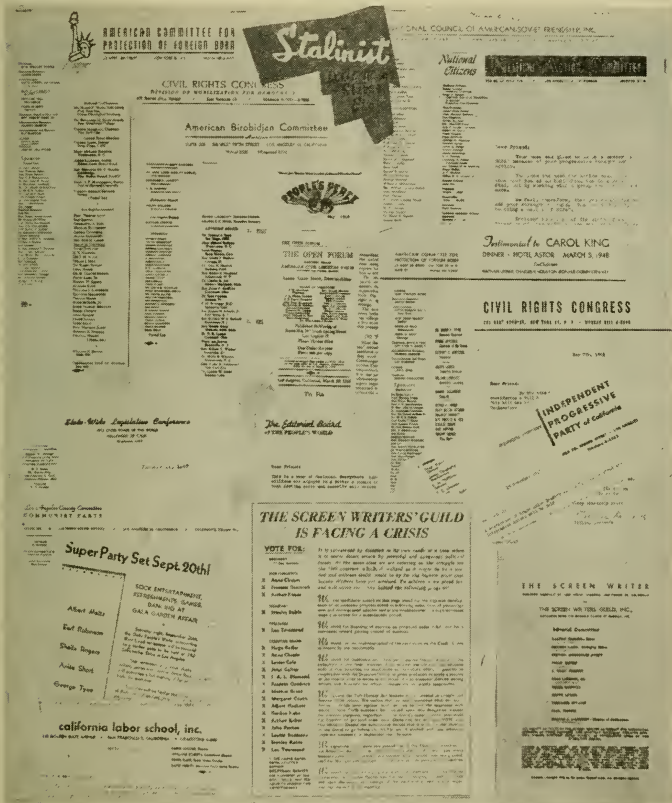
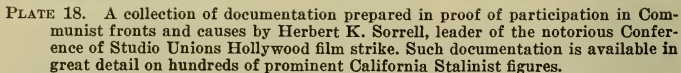


PLATE 17. A collection of letterheads of organizations and front groups in the Stalinist system of fronts and "transmission belts," known as the "letterhead brigade."

"Yanks Are Not Coming Rally," exchanges of information, the basic photostat of his Communist Party card and the Control Commission card. I see in the audience Mr. Lee Charles, well known to us in Los Angeles, who had the privilege of printing up this material on Mr. Sorrell.

Now, in conclusion I have a very brief report to make and I know you eastern legislators will be interested in this. We have worried about this problem. I myself have been in this field for 20 years and other people in the room have been in it as long or longer. The citizen organizations



in Los Angeles decided the big weakness on the American side was the failure to work together because of the lack of permanent cooperation in the community. I personally as a qualified expert am opposed to the

promotion of committees here and little groups there to fight Communism in the same way that the Communists operate with front groups, and I am opposed to handing the job over to a few individuals. I believe the only way you can do it is through the existing organizations. In Los Angeles we have the American Legion, the Kiwanis, the Native Sons, and many others. Finally, on May 20, 1948, at the invitation of the Kiwanis Club, 57 bona fide leaders of long standing in this community came together and formed a temporary committee with temporary offices, and they set to work to form an organization known as the Conference of Civic Organizations to act as a liaison between all bona fide groups so that the Americanism Committee at the Legion knows what the Elks are doing and the Elks know what the Kiwanis is doing. Secondly, we intend to have a formal and systematic exchange of information. Thirdly, we will run our own school against the Commies. We will have young executives from various organizations and civic groups go to school and they will have to learn how to fight Communism.

I am happy on behalf of that organization which I happen to have the privilege of being technical advisor to, to confirm the invitation extended to our legislative guests here to attend a private dinner sponsored by that organization at Elks Lodge 99. Mr. Murray Stravers, the executive secretary of the committee, will give the information to you on how to get there. You will meet these civic leaders and they will have an opportunity to meet you and find out whether you are going to do something about this problem. Thank you very much. (Applause).

CHAIRMAN DILWORTH: Thank you very much, Mr. Gibbons. I am sure we are all glad to see this very excellent display of the ramifications of Communist propaganda.

We are now going to have the great privilege of listening to one of the most effective champions of Americanism who will address us concerning our most dangerous enemy. He is the research specialist of that great organization, the American Legion. I have the honor to present to you Mr. Karl Baarslag who will talk to you on "Know Your Enemy." (Applause)

IV. KARL BAARSLAG—"KNOW YOUR ENEMY"

MR. BAARSLAG: Chairman Bienz, and Co-Chairman Dilworth, distinguished visitors from the various state legislatures, and representatives of governors, guests of the committee, ladies and gentlemen:

One of man's greatest failings, one that the average man has the greatest difficulty in overcoming, is self-criticism; the ability to evaluate one's own shortcomings and deficiencies and the rare ability to admit one's own responsibility or part responsibility for serious scrapes in which we may find ourselves. Rare indeed is the man or men smart and honest enough who will admit that they themselves in some sense are responsible for their own troubles. And if individual self-criticism and acknowledgment of failings is rare, mass or group admission of guilt is practically unknown. I have read a great deal of history, but frankly cannot recall ever reading of any group of people, large or small, which honestly admitted that at least part of their troubles stemmed in some degree from their own want of caution, foresight, intelligence, courage, or simple and elemental sense of self-protection, the first law of nature. It is so much easier to blame the other fellow or to load the collective sins

of omission, apathy, and indifference on the shoulders of some convenient scapegoat, individually or collectively.

WESTERN CIVILIZATION IN DIRE PERIL

Gentlemen, western civilization today stands at bay. Most Americans today sense or apprehend that there is something vast and sinister afoot threatening their peace of mind, their security, and their future; but very few of us fully understand the basic underlying essentials of the whole problem posed by world revolutionary Communism. Three thousand years of slow and painful development of western civilization embodying all that was best in Greco-Roman civilization, in the moral precepts of the prophets of Israel, and the light of Christianity today stands challenged and endangered. What we call western civilization is today in far direr peril than it has ever stood since the Asiatic tidal waves of armed invasion by Timurlane, Genghis Khan, and the Seljuk Turks of the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries. These were merely armed invaders sweeping towards the heart of Europe and ultimately stopped by armed resistance at various points on the eastern marches of Christendom. This modern day Asiatic invasion is ideological and has already during the past three decades seeped through and infiltrated most of the western world.

"What is this Communism business all about?" "Are things really as bad as our gloomy Cassandras and Jeremiahs claim? What is to be done?" These in brief are the every day questions of the average man and woman. That is why you are here today.

At the serious risk of tedium and of talking to you about something with which you are already thoroughly familiar, I have nevertheless selected the basic and very elementary subject of my address to this conference, "Know Your Enemy." I see a half dozen of my friends here in this audience, some who have experience going back further than mine. There are also present some people today to whom the basic elementary propositions of this problem are new. It is extremely difficult to speak about something which would fit the knowledge of the entire audience and I, therefore, ask you to bear that in mind when I am telling you something that you already know.

The long annals of warfare from dimmest antiquity to Pearl Harbor of infamous memory are strewn on either hand with the wreckage of empires, nations, and military commanders who had not learned the first law of war—"Know Your Enemy."

BRADDOCK LEARNED TOO LATE

Without going back too far in history or outside of our own Country let me just briefly recall to you a classic example of over-weening pride in the prowess of one's own forces and of disastrous under-estimation of one's contemptible enemy. In 1755 General Braddock was ordered to proceed through western Pennsylvania to destroy a small fort which the French were reported erecting near what is now Pittsburgh. Fort Duquesne was intended by the French to act as an advance outpost to their empire's vast holdings of what is today our Midwest. Fort Duquesne was reported to be held by a handful of French irregulars and some friendly Indian tribes. General Braddock was given two crack British regiments just landed in Virginia from the battlefields of Europe. They were seasoned, top-notch fighters.

An unknown Virginia militia officer named George Washington tried to give General Braddock some sound advice on how to guard against Indian ambush attacks as well as the best methods of forest fighting against the Redskins. Braddock who appears to have been a capable officer, but also a bit of a Colonel Blimp patronizingly brushed aside Washington's advice. Another colonial who was not even a military man also tried to advise General Braddock along lines of military strategy. Benjamin Franklin, colonial postmaster-general, had rounded up 150 vitally needed wagons and other equipment for Braddock's transport. Franklin warned Braddock that the road had just been cut through the deep forests, was narrow, and quite tortuous. The British troops with their train would stretch for almost four miles offering the Indians excellent ambush opportunities at certain dangerous points.

General Braddock impatiently snorted his disdain of such gratuitous civilian advice from a colonial bumpkin at that. He indulgently told the fussy little postmaster-general: "These savages may indeed be a formidable enemy to your raw American militia, but upon the King's regular and disciplined troops, sir, it is impossible they should make any impression."

The British brasshat then breezily outlined how he would waste not over four or five days in the destruction of wretched little Fort Duquesne whereafter he proposed to proceed direct to far stronger Fort Niagara and invade that. Then before the end of the brief summer he might decide to follow up his victories and go straight on to Frontenac itself, the keystone of the whole French defense system.

Well, you all know what happened to General Braddock. He put out no scouts or advance patrols. About one hundred trained Indian fighters and scouts attached to his army all dribbled and drifted away in disgust as Braddock intimated he had no use for such uncouth and unsoldierly frontiersmen in his glittering army. The Indians did not even bother to meet or waylay Braddock. They waited until his forces were divided crossing a river less than nine miles from Fort Duquesne. Then 400 howling, despised savages threw themselves upon the advance unit isolated from Braddock's main army by the river. They were quickly cut to pieces and sent scurrying back across the river. Their utter rout panicked Braddock's main forces and the King's regular and disciplined troops took to their legs toward the rear. As all the officers were mounted and conspicuously uniformed they were picked off almost to a man leaving the stampeded troops leaderless. Of the 86 officers, 63 were killed or wounded. Of those who escaped the massacre some did not stop running until they got back to Philadelphia, I imagine, about one hundred fifty miles away.

Before he died of his wounds, Braddock uttered those pathetic and immortal words so common to many others, "Who would have thought it possible?" Then before he breathed his last he muttered, "We shall know better how to deal with them another time." No one had the heart to tell poor General Braddock that less than 400 contemptible savages had routed and completely destroyed his fine army of 1,100 veterans from the battlefields of Europe.

Gentlemen, we have all been Braddocks. Many of us in the past have undoubtedly paraphrased his disdainful words to Franklin. "Communism may indeed be a formidable enemy to economically backward

and politically oppressed Europeans and other foreigners, but sir, it is impossible that the Reds should ever make the slightest impression on our free, intelligent, and patriotic Americans." And our own trained Communist fighters and scouts, our own modern day Washingtons and Franklins have been as airily and scurvily treated by our present day Braddocks as were our early Americans by the over-confident English general two hundred years ago.

We now know that no land or strata of society is or can be immune to Communist infiltration. The Canadian spy disclosures of two years ago and the sensational revelations of our own House Un-American Activities Committee hearings and those of the Washington and California committees have brought this home to all of us, I most sincerely hope. The curious delusion, no doubt propagated by Communists and given wider currency by loud-mouthed pseudo-liberals and alleged intelligentsia, that Communism springs from and is bred only in poverty, ignorance, and degradation has now been fairly well blown up and destroyed. As one of the Congressmen of the House Committee expressed it one day, he was simply astonished at the fact that nearly all of those who had been implicated or who self-implicated themselves by refusing to answer any questions whatever, came from so-called better class families, had excellent educations, were high in scholarship, had never toiled with their hands, suffered a day's hunger or undergone any of the abuses and hardships of our economic and social systems which are supposed to breed Communists. Most of the convicted Canadian spies were from excellent families and uniformly well educated and well off.

A classic example was the Canadian who was a professor and turned over some of Canada's top secrets to Soviet agents, a man of wealth and substance in the community and highly regarded. He was not a member of a racial minority, never worked with his hands, never had been to Russia, did not speak Russian and did not have a Russian background. He joined a front organization and from that step by step went into the Soviet camp. It is a fallacy that Communism is bred in the lower elements of society, among the dispossessed, and the discriminated-against minorities.

THE INSIDIOUS FALLACY

Let me digress briefly at this point to warn you against what I call the Insidious Fallacy. I urge upon all of you here today in your public addresses and in your conversations continuously to ridicule and destroy this most pernicious fallacy, "The Only Way to Destroy Communism is to Strengthen and Improve our Democracy by Removing Communism's Breeding Spots." The insidiousness of this fallacy is that it is of course a half truth or perhaps more correctly a one-tenth truth. Its foremost exponent has been Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, a wise and learned lady, but I have heard prominent Legionnaires, conservatives, and even anti-Communist labor leaders give currency to this utterly preposterous sophistry.

Using only such ordinary processes of logic as are available even to a high school lad let us dissect and examine the Insidious Fallacy. Step No. 1. "The only way to combat Communism is to strengthen our democracy * * * etc." Note the little adverb "only." In other words, if we Do Not improve our social, economic, and political systems then inevitably Communism will triumph.

Step No. 2. Note carefully that there is no criticism direct or implied of Communism. By tacit inference at least it is either above criticism or immune to attack. Only Democracy as we know it has failed and been found wanting. We are at fault; not the Communists.

Third deadly step. All that western civilization implies, the majesty of Roman law, the imperishable tenets of Christ, one thousand years of bitter human struggle for freedom and liberty, human dignity of man versus the state—all these priceless heritages acquired only by terrible sacrifices by countless martyrs down through the centuries are neatly equated in one clever dialectical swoop with Asiatic totalitarian autocracy. In other words, by the simple process of sophistry two totally unequal, opposite, and irreconcilable ways of life are tossed on the scales to be "impartially weighed against each other." Could anything be more fantastic?

Now, note most carefully the next deadly step in this incredible exercise in human befuddlement and chicanery. Democracy and all that human liberty and freedom embodies are brazenly likened to the commodities of the market place. What these pernicious peddlers of the Insidious Fallacy say in effect is this: "Our line of goods is not selling well in competition with the Communists. They are crowding us out of the market. We must improve our produce or we shall lose out." In short, Democracy and human liberty are saleable commodities like auto tires, soap, cosmetics, or canned pork and beans which, unless they are speedily improved will otherwise be forced to give way to a more aggressive and dynamic ideology.

I submit to you, can the human brain evolve anything more utterly absurd, fallacious, and self-degrading? Yet we have the spectacle of learned Justices of the United States Supreme Court, U. S. delegates to the United Nations, and other profound pundits of the non sequitur blandly going up and down the land offering this priceless pearl of sophistry as the last words of human wisdom. Nothing that I can think of so pointedly and devastatingly exposes the utter mental fatuity and gooselike "thinking" of some of our present-day "intellectuals" as does this preposterous and fraudulent exercise in "social thinking." You have to be a Phi Beta Kappa to cook up such an insidious farrago of sheerest nonsense.

Let us have no more of this nonsense, but let all of us knock it on its cretinous cranium wherever and whenever it raises its idiotic head. If you ever hear anyone broadcasting the Insidious Fallacy ask him or her quickly, before they make further fools of themselves, whether they know anything about Switzerland, Iceland, Denmark, and Sweden. Icelanders and Swiss have enjoyed almost one thousand years of a far purer and simpler form of Democracy than we have ever dreamt of in this Country. Neither country has a Negro question, sharecroppers, great extremes of poverty and wealth, "Wall Street monopoly capital," slums, mistreated or exploited minorities, colonies, or "war-mongering imperialism." Yet both have troublesome and numerous Communist parties. Sweden and Denmark are even more advanced socially and economically. Labor in these two countries is practically 100 percent organized and controls the government. Cooperatives are extensive among producers as well as consumers and largely control the economies of these two

countries. Public utilities are cheap and were nationalized decades ago. Yet Sweden has 25,000 Communists and Denmark with the population of New York City has almost as many Communists as the whole United States—60,000 to be exact. And, at the expense of rubbing it in, all four lands no doubt have their own profound pundits of the Insidious Fallacy going up and down the land warning their fellow citizens “The only way to combat Communism is to improve and strengthen our Democracy.”

FIGHTING REDS DEMANDS EXPERIENCE

Now, to the subject assigned to me “Know Your Enemy.” Few of us here today have had the benefit of years of Communist Party membership—and there is no adequate substitute for it. You can read all of the books ever written, but as has been pointed out, you will even then not grasp subtle dialectic—you need years of close association with and observation of Stalin’s fifth column in this Country. Most of us, and this is true of most Americans, know as much that is correct about the Reds as Braddock knew about the redskins. Even President Roosevelt, who certainly was no fool or lightweight but a man of broad understanding and sagacity, had to admit to Miss Perkins, his Secretary of Labor: “Fanny, I can understand Frenchmen, Chinamen, Italians and even Englishmen, but I cannot understand what makes the Russians tick.” I have heard similar admissions of complete incomprehensibility on the part of labor leaders, civic leaders, and others. This certainly is no fault of the Communists, but a tragic and disastrous failing on our side. Those people charged with the defense of America against world Communism, our leaders, are totally and completely often unable to grasp the nature of Communist conspiracy or what is even worse, completely indifferent to it. I exclude of course the FBI and trained, seasoned anti-Communists, who unfortunately seldom occupy positions of importance in our national life.

COMMUNISTS ARE SWINDLERS

What is a Communist? This is frankly one of the most difficult things to explain, and I am not at all optimistic that I can explain what a Communist is because even in explaining it does not sound plausible that an American can degenerate and be transposed into something you allege him to be. A Communist is a completely transformed, unrecognizable and dedicated man. While he may retain the physical characteristics of the rest of us as far as natural functions are concerned, his mental and psychic processes might as well be from another planet. He is a completely self-contained man, dependent upon us it is true, for his physical needs, but otherwise living in a complete world of his own—the world of the Marxist-Leninist class struggle for absolute power. A Communist, and I am always talking about a class conscious, seasoned, disciplined Communist and not a recent recruit or casual drifter into and out of the party, trusts no one but his own leaders. He reads and believes nothing outside of his own trusted party organs. He can neither be flim-flammed, persuaded, mollified, or shamed. A trained, cynical swindler, he is immune to trickery, blandishments, or appeals to his “better nature.”

He is completely emancipated from all moral inhibitions and is therefore above law, ethics or morality. That is to say, what he cynically derides as "bourgeois morality." True Bolshevik morality, that the ends of the revolution justify any and all means, is his sole moral guidepost. What advances the social revolution is good and therefore moral; what hinders or delays the revolution is therefore evil and to be sternly rejected. There is only one supreme good in this world—power—absolute and total power over mankind and property. Anything which might embarrass or delay seizure of power whether it be religion, morals, ethics, conscience, custom, traditions, propriety, well-being, comfort, self-interest, or even pride are necessarily evil and un-Marxist.

I have argued these things over many times with Communist friends of mine when they were working for my soul and I was struggling for theirs. That was the thing that bothered me and after that I got wise. I talked this over with a man who is a leading secret Communist whom you never see mentioned in the papers. He said, "Karl, if you were rushing your wife to the hospital in a car to have a baby and you came to a one-way street, you were going the wrong way, and you saw a red light, would you go around the block or wait for the light to change?"

I said, "Of course not."

He said, "We are obstetricians, to aid the birth of a new world. We are not going to be delayed or hampered by a few red lights." That is to say, by religion, morality, decency and fair play. Do you see the insidiousness of that total philosophy of absolute power that can so corrupt a man's mind that he actually believes in that sort of thing? He was quite indignant at one time because he received a speed ticket and he assured me that comes the revolution people would not have to worry about parking and speeding tickets, there would be enough cars for the people who were important to the state like doctors and administrators, but not for every blissful idiot to run around in a car—and they would be the elite of the world. That was his solution of the traffic situation.

WHAT COMMUNISTS THINK OF YOU

At this point it is appropriate to interpolate what Communists think of you. Many people foolishly believe that their seditious and treasonable role gives Communists a sense of guilt and shame and that they therefore hate and fear the vast majority of non-Communists. Nothing could be further from the truth. It is notorious that all sexual degenerates conceive themselves as a very superior form of elite. That normal people are essentially dumb and animal-like while they represent the rarest flowering of the human race or far finer and more exotic clay than the rest of us. Confidence men likewise despise and ridicule their victims as "chumps," suckers, boobs, marks, and similar terms of derision and contempt. The same is true of Communists. They look down on you from the Olympian heights of their Marxist egotism as "stupid bourgeois, swine or idiots."

I have seen them almost falling off of their chairs describing little swindles they put over on honest Americans and they could not understand how people could be so naive and gullible.

The very fact that we permit them to carry on openly their treasonable activities is accepted by them as evidence of our stupidity. Listening

to cynical, veteran Communists in their innermost talks is really very enlightening and extremely destructive of self-esteem and complacency.

To go a step further. A sincere Communist revolutionary has dedicated his entire life and every waking moment of the day to one single goal—the advancement of the world revolution and the complete transformation of society to what he is pleased to call a “higher level.” Marx and Lenin have assured him that the inexorable processes of history are on his side. He can’t lose. Social revolutionaries therefore are the obstetricians bringing into life a new and better world. Can anything be nobler?

Consequently, the rest of us who are merely concerned with the narrow and selfish interests of making a living, bringing up a family, buying a home, promoting a business or advancing in one’s professions or in politics are obviously very stupid, self-seeking dolts. Here is a world to overturn and remake and man degrades himself by petty personal advancement or very restricted and limited objectives of self-interest.

Always think of Communists as para-military members of a world conspiracy, blindly and totally devoted to its service and the ruthless advancement of its interests. Whether he be an Icelandic fisherman, a Hindu merchant, an Italian labor leader, an American lawyer or college professor, a Chilean coal miner, or a Canadian member of Parliament as Fred Rose, the convicted spy, was—the sole and primary loyalty of any Communist is to the Soviet Union, the workers’ fatherland and the vanguard of the world revolutionary forces. Defense of the Soviet Union is therefore the eternal watchword as well as the hard central core of faith which binds together in one world monolithic party some eighteen to twenty million Communists literally covering the face of the globe. Only the Eskimos of the Far North, the Bushmen of Australia, the Patagonians, and a few unimportant African tribes may be said to be totally free of Communist infiltration.

A great deal of naive pother has been made of the fact that Communists do not play fair and that they knife, bite, and kick below the belt in the clinches. How long do you suppose a confidence man would manage to keep out of jail or even catch a few suckers if he frankly and honestly warned his intended dupes that he proposed to swindle them? Let us not be childish about Communist amorality, but approach the problem realistically and with some degree of sophistication. God knows that the Communist conspirators have been more than open and frank in advertising in advance precisely what they propose to do and how they intend going about getting what they want. The libraries are loaded down with thousands of books and pamphlets and periodicals blue-printing down to the last minute detail the program of the Communist Party. If we, the vast overwhelming majority of Americans, have been asleep, gullible, apathetic and indifferent, don’t blame the Commies. They work full time, night and day, year in and year out advancing their interests and moving toward their ultimate goal—seizure of power. We who are dedicated to this counter-subversive fight can do no less. We have the additional duty of activating, arousing, mobilizing, and training others for the common defense.

ALL COMMUNISTS ARE ENEMY AGENTS

Always think of Communists as secret agents parachuted behind our lines and therefore totally dependent on their own cunning and devices for protection against exposure. An American OSS agent parachuted into Nazi Germany, spoke flawless idiomatic German. He carried all necessary identity, ration and other cards. He had only German matches and cigarettes on his person. Human ingenuity was exhausted to protect him and his important mission against detection. A Communist is no different. He is still separated by 5,000 miles from the supporting Red Army. He is totally dependent upon us for food, clothing, shelter, and transportation. His every wakeful moment is dedicated to his own self-preservation and the security of his Communist mission. It is up to us through every media available to alert the American public, to make them understand the true nature of Communists and the ultimate goal of the Communist Party of the United States of America.

The Communists have the advantage of about eighteen years of head start, but we are rapidly closing the gap. There are, of course, still far too many leading Americans still under Communist influence to the extent that they unconsciously support and defend the agents of Stalin under the incredible delusion that they are defending American civil liberties and traditions. Delicate and finely attuned souls, for example, their sensibilities are shocked at the very thought of "Red-baiting," or in other words, any direct, effective and positive action against Communists of their vast solar system of satellite front organizations. You have seen Ed Gibbons' display, which was only a small sample. I hope that there is someone on the agenda who will speak on the whole intricate problem of front organizations along the same lines that Dr. J. B. Matthews spoke at our American Legion seminar on subversive activities last November at Washington.

SUMMARY

As I see the problem today, there still is a tremendous amount of apathy, confusion, and misunderstanding on the part of our leadership as to the true nature of Communism. The situation, however, thanks to Messrs. Stalin, Vishinsky, Molotov, the Politburo and their agents in the Country, is rapidly clearing up. Instead of one Iron Curtain movie we need at least one a month. Instead of a half dozen poorly supported books like Gliksman's "*Tell the West*," and others, we should have the Country flooded with literally millions of copies as the Communists succeed in doing with their propaganda.

"*Tell the West*," to which I referred a moment ago, I cannot recommend too highly. It is written by a Polish Jewish Socialist, an admirer of the Soviet system, a defender of the Soviet system, who had the very bad luck during the occupation of that country by the Soviet Army to fall into the clutches of the GPU. He spent a year and a half in prison. There was a dying Trotzkyite woman in the camp, dying from a disease, who pleaded with him that if he ever escaped to tell the West. He said he didn't think the West would believe what he would set down in his book. "*Tell the West*" is a very worthwhile book. Instead of one of them, we should have dozens of them, and instead of seeing four or five thousand copies of The Red Dean's "*Soviet Power*," which you saw on display by Ed Gibbons, we should have that many books such as "*Tell the West*."

Exposes by former Communists of the inner workings of the conspiracy, Communist psychology, and how to understand and combat Communism are obviously of primary importance. News letters such as *Counter-Attack*, *Alert*, published right here in Los Angeles, and magazines like *Plain Talk* should be supported by tens of thousands of subscribers instead of by mere hundreds or a few thousand. There is much that everyone of us can do along these lines to get vital information to the opinion molding leadership of our communities, states, and Nation.

For example, the Communists have brazenly operated whole networks of schools for training subversives for over twenty-eight years. These schools stretching from Boston to Los Angeles in the course of the years must have turned out several hundred thousand partly or completely subversionists. Even with a 90 percent turnover through the years, this would still leave a couple of divisions of the Fifth Column actively working and training others for Stalin's dirty work. I have never heard of any training school, outside of government agencies of course, which specialized in training people in even the first elemental lessons of self-protection against Communist trickery and swindling. What a fantastic situation!

Further, there are in this Country about 520 foundations endowed with several billion dollars for every conceivable variety of humanitarian and altruistic purpose—general welfare, health, education, eradication of poverty, discrimination, and social injustice—in brief, alleviation of all known social ills. I have never heard of a single foundation endowed with as much as \$50,000 set up for the sole purpose of studying and combatting those subversive influences which if successful would take over the entire Country, 520 general welfare foundations and all. Reflect on that when you go home tonight and ponder over what you have heard here today. What would you think of a medical research foundation, for example, which had billions to spend on every variety of human ill and disease but which for some curious reason left out cancer?

To sum it all up we still have a long way to go before we can expect to see our way out of the densest part of the forest. But we are moving as this very conference attests. Time also is running short. The world crisis now facing us will undoubtedly be settled one way or another, the experts tell me, within the next two to certainly not over five years.

If there is time I will be glad to answer questions. (Applause.)

CHAIRMAN DILWORTH: Thank you, Karl. That was certainly a very valuable and instructive message.

Now, we have about fifteen minutes for questions or discussion.

MRS. GEORGE: I attended a meeting at Beverly Hills of the I.P.P. Has a transcription of those meetings come into Senator Tenney's hands?

CHAIRMAN DILWORTH: Would you repeat that again, please?

MRS. GEORGE: About a year ago in June I attended a conference on thought control, which was quite extensive, held over a period of a week, at the City of Beverly Hills. Have transcriptions of those meetings come into Senator Tenney's hands? If not, I would be glad to supply them.

SENATOR TENNEY: We have no transcriptions of the meeting, but we have the result of the conference which has been printed by that group. However, I would like to have transcripts of anything that occurred there.

MRS. GEORGE: I know there are actual quotations and who said them in the books I have.

SENATOR TENNEY: I will be very happy to have them in Room 112. We have a little time before adjournment, and I would like to tell this conference that one of the important organizations formed in recent months came into being in New York under the direction and leadership of Rabbi Schulz of that city. The name of the organization is the American Jewish League Against Communism and one of the publications mentioned by Karl Baarslag *Plain Talk* is published by its leaders. I will now ask Rabbi Merritt to address some remarks to you concerning his organization, what they intend to do and how they intend to do it. Will you favor us, Rabbi Merritt? (Applause.)

V. RABBI MAX MERRITT—REDS AND MINORITIES

RABBI MERRITT: As Senator Tenney has said, I think that the organization I represent, the American Jewish League Against Communism, may be looked upon as an infant organization in this particular area. As one of the speakers said this afternoon, we look upon New York and Los Angeles as really hot spots on the map of Communism in this Country. It is in New York and Los Angeles that the most active chapters of the American Jewish League Against Communism are operating today.

We Jews, I must say, feel that we have our own problem to deal with, and this organization I represent, the American Jewish League Against Communism, proposes to deal with that problem in its own way, with ungloved hands; and wherever we find there is a tendency to infiltrate into Jewish fields, Jewish organizations, and Jewish institutions, we propose to oppose that attempted infiltration with all of the energy we have.

We have some rather interesting illustrations of what an organization like ours can do in the City of Los Angeles in exposing front organizations. In the month of July an organization that called itself the American Jewish Labor Council organized the picketing of a ship in San Pedro Harbor. This was an illegitimate front organization, an organization that had no standing with either the A. F. of L. or C.I.O., but it was widely publicized as having been organized by the American Jewish Labor Council. We were absolutely certain that that was one of the many Communist-front organizations operating in the Country, but just at that particular time we did not have the data. The American Jewish Labor Council, as it was called, got away with it. We felt absolutely certain that an organization that had one success would very shortly come into the field again.

So, about ten days later that same organization came before the Board of Education. At that time, as you may have heard, the board was considering a loyalty test to be given to the teachers of Los Angeles County. This same so-called American Jewish Labor Council, came before the Board of Education, and in the arrogant manner that Communists always assume in public assemblies, made a frontal attack upon the Board of Education. At that time we had the data on this front organization. We had found that the administrative committee in New York was made up of old veteran card-carrying Communists, that the president of the national association was Ben Gold, who only the day before yesterday admitted before the Congressional committee in New York that he had been a veteran Communist for 25 years. Now, we were prepared to go

into the field with publicity in the local papers and establish the fact that the American Jewish Labor Council was a front organization, that its national administrative officers were all card-carrying Communists, that this was a splinter group that had no standing with the C.I.O. or A. F. of L., and we warned the Jewish community of Los Angeles of the dangers and menacing possibilities that lay in an organization like this.

Now, that is the sort of activity that our new young infant organization can put on in this community.

I want to correct a misapprehension that a great many people have. We know, for example, that less than 1 percent of the 5,250,000 Jews in the United States are involved in Communist or fellow traveler activities. The unfortunate thing is that this handful occupy very prominent positions in the ranks of American Communism. As I have said before, they are the organizers, they are the orators, they are the editors; in many cases they are the executives of outstanding unions and fraternal organizations in the Country; they are the guides, they are the propagandists and they are the teachers in the mis-called labor schools to which the Tenney Committee has been giving some of its very valuable attention in the past month. Unfortunately, too, they are the scenarists and scriptists and the directors and the producers in the very popular motion picture industry here in Los Angeles. I want to say this, however, that the overwhelming number of our coreligionists in this Country are opposed to Communism. They love the American way of life. They love the freedoms that lend dignity to the common life. They love the hope that this America of ours today holds forth to a suffering humanity. We feel we are giving the proper representation to that overwhelming number of my people who are the lovers of America. (Applause)

CHAIRMAN DILWORTH: Rabbi Merritt, would you like to tell us about the luncheon tomorrow noon, or do you want to leave that for us to announce?

RABBI MERRITT: Thank you, Senator Dilworth. The American Jewish League Against Communism is to have the very great privilege tomorrow noon at 12.30 of entertaining the delegates who have come from far and near.

(Further instructions and invitations omitted from the record. Mr. Dean also announced a meeting of the Resolutions Committee.

There being nothing further, Chairman Dilworth announced an adjournment until 10 a.m. tomorrow morning, September 21, 1948.)

"Legislation alone is not a complete answer to the Communist problem. An attack must be made on it on all fronts, if we are to meet it successfully. The most important element is an understanding and constant vigilance of the American citizens as to the true character, aims and techniques of the Communist conspiracy. The many civic, patriotic and fraternal organizations in the United States can be of tremendous service in emphasizing a program of education which will inform the people of this threat."

REPORT OF SUBCOMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION, House Committee
on Un-American Activities, April 10, 1948

THE COMMUNITY APPROACH

The solution of the problems that arise from the malevolent and twisted theories of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism is, in the final analysis, a community problem.

All of the legislative investigative, educational, police, and court procedures that may be taken to combat the Communist conspiracy, reflect the temper of the community, be it national or regional.

If the people are apathetic, complacent, steeped in materialistic greed to the exclusion of responsible participation in civic affairs; and if they permit themselves to be divided and disunited by their own selfishness and insularity as well as by the clever promotion of discord by skilled agitators, the Communists have an atmosphere in which they can conduct their revolutionary strategy and tactics advantageously.

If on the other hand, the people are informed of the true facts about Communism, responsive to their civic obligations, considerate of the rights and interests of all citizens, and willing to cooperate and work together when that is necessary for the community good, an atmosphere will prevail in which Communism cannot thrive.

Your committee analyzed and reported on this problem of broad community responsibility in its 1948 Fourth Report, when it said:

The committee is familiar with the complacency and apathy toward the problem of Communist conspiratorial plotting in America. This smug attitude may be summed up as follows:

"We have no Communists in our organization. We are not worried about Communist attacks. We cannot understand why everybody gets so excited about Communism. All we have to do is proceed with our own affairs and let others tend to theirs."

This is the identical attitude assumed by leaders of many organizations in Germany while Hitler was rising to power, and it was the attitude of complacent leaders in the countries now behind the "Iron Curtain," while the Communists and the traitors plotted to seize power.

The committee warns the Members of the Senate and the leaders of all institutions and organizations that the menace of Red Fascist conspiracy is a real, solemn and dangerous one.

Leaders of organizations fortunate enough to be free from immediate Communist confusion and disruption should take an interest in the problems of the many institutions and organizations that do suffer from Communist attacks. They should keep informed of the facts of Communist activity and they should, in time of freedom from Communist infiltration and disruption, prepare their own organizations to meet such problems in the future.

The committee has pointed out frequently in the past, and it again reiterates, that Communist policy is ruthless and that no organization is immune. Since the objective of Communism in American is to serve the twin program fostering the interests of the foreign policy of Soviet Russia and preparing for violent revolutionary overthrow of the American government, no individual, institution or organization can afford the luxury of complacency, apathy and unconcern toward the problem of Communism in America today. (California Committee on Un-American Activities, Fourth Report, 1948, p. 44.)

Since publication of the 1948 Fourth Report, your committee has carried on extended research and investigation into the existence, development or possibility of intelligent, practical community action against the Communist menace.

In this phase of its work, the committee and its staff and research experts have checked thoroughly into scores of organizations, programs, and activities, which, in one way or another have been attempting to do something about the menacing danger of Communism.

In addition, your committee had access to a number of reports prepared by the California antisubversive public relations firm, Jacoby & Gibbons and Associates, for California units of responsible national civic organizations; to the research material and final report of the Joint Committee on Economic Education of the Association of National Advertisers and the Association of American Advertising Agencies; and to the complete proceedings, deliberations and proposals of the Los Angeles Conference of Civic Organizations, a loosely organized liaison committee of more than fifty responsible leaders of some fifty-seven Los Angeles civic organizations, most of which have national or state-wide affiliation.

Your committee discovered two basic and important facts about most of the programs and activities that were studied:

- (1) None of them were doing successfully the job that needs to be done at the community level to defeat Communist plotting and conspiracy.

- (2) The main reason why they were not doing the job has been that anti-Communist activity was disorganized and had little or no coordination, as against the centralized, disciplined Communist conduct of strategy and tactics as laid down by Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism.

Of all the programs and activities, past, present and contemplated, four programs most clearly recognized the danger and precisely understood the need for cooperation and coordination by all responsible organized groups. The four were those of the American Legion, the A.N.A.-A.A.A.A. committee, the Kiwanis, and the Los Angeles Conference of Civic Organizations.

Your committee presents herewith highlights of these programs for the information of the Legislature, public officials and leaders of California community organizations.

The general problem that must be solved in the community to defeat Communism was described cogently and precisely in *Alert*, antisubversive weekly newsletter:

The big danger to our American institutions from Communism is not Communist plotting * * * it is the appalling complacency of those who should be alert to the danger of Communism * * * it is the lack of information, coordination and cooperation by responsible groups that should be working together to meet the threat of Communist conspiracy and treachery!

Communism is a community problem.

At one time or another—Communist activity strikes at every civic, industrial, business, labor, church, veteran, professional, fraternal organization.

Communists snipe from without and they infiltrate and disrupt from within.

No responsible organization in the community is immune from Communist attack and disruption.

Today—with the open revival of the Comintern, every Communist Party in the world is brazenly dedicated to world revolution and the violent overthrow of every non-Communist government in the world.

Communists are trained, professional revolutionists.

Communists have centralized, military discipline.

Communists have a long range program. Into this long range program they fit specific short term projects.

In contrast to the Communists, most anti-Communists are amateurs. Anti-Communists don't even have a central medium for the exchange of information. (*Alert*, September, 1947.)

OUR WEAKNESSES

Your committee learned that the inadequacies of a community approach to solving the problems arising from Communism could be summed up under four major headings:

(1) Widespread lack of understanding of our American system in contrast to the Communism of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

(2) An almost total lack of liaison, cooperation and coordination between many responsible organized groups, all of whom were concerned about Communism and many of whom actively were combating it.

(3) An equally serious absence of any training in how to understand Communism or to cope with it; and the absence of any reliable and responsible place to which persons in leadership positions could go to get such training.

(4) General ignorance, misinformation and lack of proper, factual information on nearly every phase of Communism and the problems it presents to community leadership.

In evaluating the many programs and activities at the community level, your committee attempted, therefore, to discover what responsible groups or programs clearly understood and approached the problem in terms of these four major facets; and to learn what organizations or programs presented the practical possibility of solving the problem.

CITIZENS ADVISORY COMMITTEE

The committee anticipated valuable assistance in such an investigation, as well as in recommendations for constructive legislation, from the Citizens Advisory Committee, which was established by virtue of a resolution, introduced by Senators Watson and Kraft, and unanimously adopted at an executive session in Los Angeles, November 10, 1947.

The resolution is as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities in California select from patriotic and fraternal organizations which have heretofore shown an interest in combatting un-American activities in California and the United States, an advisory committee, to meet, consult, and advise with this committee.

Pursuant to this resolution, such a Citizens Advisory Committee was established and was organized into two units with a Northern California Committee, having its headquarters in San Francisco, and a Southern California Committee, having its headquarters in Los Angeles.

After a series of meetings devoted to preliminary discussion and organization, each committee elected permanent officers.

Jesse H. Miller, Native Sons of the Golden West, was elected chairman of the Northern California Committee.

Leslie F. Olsen, Past Commander of the Los Angeles County Council, American Legion, was elected chairman of the Southern California Committee.

Meetings and conferences with these committees and discussions with many of their individual members contributed materially and usefully to the committee's thinking on necessary legislation and on the community problem.

I. THE AMERICAN LEGION

Your committee found that one organization that keenly was aware of the problem, and had a long record of intelligent study and action against Communism, was the American Legion.

Because of its forthright stand against the subversive menace, the Legion, like this committee and its individual members, viciously had been smeared and attacked with dishonest campaigns by the Communist experts in agitation and propaganda.

Your committee was particularly impressed with a definite statement of American Legion antsubversive policy, with numerous recommendations for constructive anti-Communist action, which was published under the title, *How You Can Fight Communism*, by James F. O'Neil, 1947-1948 National Commander of the American Legion, in the August, 1948, edition of the *American Legion Magazine*.

The following excerpts from National Commander O'Neil's article provide a clear analysis of many of the practical things that must be done by community organizations in meeting the problems raised by Communist treachery and conspiracy:

"HOW YOU CAN FIGHT COMMUNISM"

What can Legionnaires effectively do to combat these Fifth Columnists in our midst and yet stay strictly within the law of the land and bounds of patriotic propriety? Plenty! First let us briefly analyze the problem.

The nature and purposes of world Communism are now generally understood by all literate, informed Americans. Communists, no matter what their pretenses, are foreign agents in any country in which they are allowed to operate. The Canadian spy trials more than proved that point. But while they are plotters for revolution and ultimate seizure of power, it obviously would be foolish for them openly to advocate anything so unwanted, unpopular and repugnant.

So their first step is to disguise, deodorize, and attractively package Moscow's revolutionary products. Next, the salesmen and peddlers themselves must be skillfully disguised, deodorized, and glamorized.

Hence, Communists always appear before the public as "progressives." Yesterday they were "20th Century Americans"; last week they were "defenders of all civil liberties"; tonight they may be "honest, simple trades unionists." They are "liberals" at breakfast, "defenders of world peace" in the afternoon, and "the voice of the people" in the evening.

These artful dodges and ingenious dissimulations obviously make it difficult for the average trusting citizen to keep up with every new Communist swindle and con game.

Here is where The American Legion (and other patriotic civic organizations) can serve exactly the same important public service that Better Business Bureaus have done in the past in warning and protecting the public against all manner of swindles and rackets. With 17,000 Posts, the Legion should have at least 17,000 fairly well trained and qualified specialists on subversive activities. At least one or two in every community over ten thousand in population. These specialists should receive their basic indoctrination at seminars such as have been held in California, Georgia, Maine, Wisconsin and elsewhere.

Has your Department held a seminar on subversive activities? If not, why not? It does not require four years of college to be able to spot new Commie fronts and to keep abreast of the ever-changing party line. But it does require serious study and reading each week plus consultation with recognized experts. Legionnaires cannot devote themselves to any more valuable public service.

I want to utter a solemn warning at this point that in no field of human endeavor is it easier to make silly, dangerous and irremediable mistakes. The long struggle against Communism in this country is liberally strewn with the wrecks of well-meaning but badly informed and blundering anti-Communists. When in doubt—confer first with known experts and authorities.

Most cities today contain a nucleus of former F. B. I. men, Army or Navy Intelligence officers, former C. P. members who have come over to our side, and other trained or experienced men, many of them Legionnaires. They should be contacted and organized into an unofficial advisory committee.

Experts on Communism are available; it is your job to locate them in your Department and community. These experts generally all know each other and should be used to check on the credibility of doubtful and unknown "anti-Communists."

You cannot fight knowledge with ignorance. Communist propaganda is generally craftily conceived and is carried out with diabolic cunning and guile. Most Communists spend years in study and training for their subversive roles. You cannot expect to outwit and thwart them by reading a couple of pamphlets or even a book. You will simply have to know your stuff. Merely hating them is not enough.

The Americanism Division at National Headquarters has prepared a recommended reading list of books and periodicals for those undertaking a serious preliminary study of the problem of subversion.

The following ten books are recommended by the American Division, National Headquarters, American Legion, as elementary or basic reading for those who know little or nothing about world Communism and its threat to America today:

Title	Author	Publisher	Price
<i>American Communism</i> , Oneal & Werner, Duttons, N. Y.			\$5 00
<i>Blueprint for World Conquest</i> , Human Events, Inc., Chicago, Ill.			3 50
<i>I Chose Freedom</i> , Kravchenko, Scribners, N. Y.			1 49
<i>Out of the Night</i> , Jan Valtin, Alliance, N. Y.			3 50
<i>Red Fascism</i> , Senator Tenney, Federal Printing Co.			8 75
<i>Soviet Spies</i> , Hirsch, Duell, Sloan, Pearce			1 00
<i>Struggle for the World</i> , Burnham, Day & Co., N. Y.			3 00
<i>Tell the West</i> , Gliksman, Gresham, N. Y.			3 75
<i>Three Who Made a Revolution</i> , Wolfe, Dial, N. Y.			5 00
<i>The Whole of Their Lives</i> , Gitlow, Scribners, N. Y.			3 50

The following titles are recommended for those seeking more advanced information or specialized knowledge on various aspects of the whole Communist problem, i.e., life in the Soviet Union, U. S. S. R. foreign policy, Communist espionage or demoralization work, front organization and infiltration techniques, etc.:

Title	Author	Publisher	Price
<i>Ally Betrayed</i> , David Martin, Prentice Hall, N. Y.			\$3 50
<i>Dark Side of the Moon</i> , Anonymous, Scribners, N. Y.			2 75
<i>Defeat in Victory</i> , Ciechanowski, Doubleday, N. Y.			3 50
<i>Forced Labor in Soviet Union</i> , Dallin & Nicolaevsky, Yale Univ. Press			3 75
<i>The Great Retreat</i> , Timasheff, Duttons, N. Y.			5 00
<i>The Great Globe Itself</i> , Bullitt, Scribners, N. Y.			2 75
<i>I Saw Poland Betrayed</i> , Arthur Lane, Bobbs-Merrill, N. Y.			3 50
<i>The Iron Curtain</i> , Igor Gouzenko, Duttons, N. Y.			3 00
<i>Lenin</i> , Shub, Doubleday, N. Y.			5 00
<i>Last Change in China</i> , Freda Utey, Bobbs-Merrill, N. Y.			3 50
<i>Lost Illusion</i> , Freda Utey, Fireside Press, Phila.			3 00
<i>One Who Survived</i> , Barmine, Putnams, N. Y.			3 75
<i>Pattern for World Revolution</i> , Ypsilon, Ziff-Davis, Chicago			3 50
<i>Red Prussian</i> , Schwartzschild, Scribners, N. Y.			4 00
<i>Russia's Europe</i> , Lehrman, Appleton-Century, N. Y.			3 75
<i>Stalin</i> , Trotzky, Harper Bros., N. Y.			5 00
<i>Struggle Behind Iron Curtain</i> , Ferenc Nagy, MacMillan, N. Y.			6 00
<i>This Is My Story</i> , Budenz, Whittlesey House, N. Y.			3 00
<i>Tito's Imperial Communism</i> , Markham, Univ. North Carolina			4 00
<i>The War We Lost</i> , Fotich, Viking, N. Y.			3 50
<i>World Communism Today</i> , Ebon Martin, McGraw Hill, N. Y.			4 50
<i>Reports, House Un-American Activities Committee</i> , Washington, D. C.			
<i>Reports, California Legislative Joint Fact-Finding Committee</i> , Sacramento, Calif.			

All of the above titles excepting only the last two Reports can be secured directly from the American Legion Book Service, 1608 K St., N. W., Washington, D. C.

PERIODICALS AND PAMPHLETS

<i>Alert</i> (weekly) Jacoby & Gibbons, 127 S. Broadway, Los Angeles, Cal.	\$25 per year
<i>Counterattack</i> (weekly) 55 W. 42d St., New York, N. Y.	25 per year
<i>National Republic</i> (monthly) 511 11th St., N. W., Washington, D. C.	2 per year
<i>New Leader</i> (weekly) 7 E. 15th St., New York, N. Y.	3 per year
<i>Plain Talk</i> (monthly) 240 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y.	3 per year
<i>Show Up</i> (monthly) P. O. Box 429, Phoenix, Ariz.	10 per year
<i>Communist Infiltration in the U. S.</i> , U. S. C. of C., Wash., D. C.	\$0 25
<i>Communists Within the Government</i> , U. S. C. of C., Wash., D. C.	0 50
<i>Communists Within the Labor Movement</i> , U. S. C. of C., Wash., D. C.	0 50
<i>Program for Community Anti-Communist Action</i> , U. S. C. of C., Wash., D. C.	0 50
<i>Communist Trade Union Trickery Exposed</i>	
Argus Pub. Co., Box 577, Benj. Franklin Sta., Wash., D. C.	1 00
<i>Booklets on Communism</i> , Cath. Info. Soc., 214 W. 31st St., N. Y.	26 pamphlets 1 00
<i>100 Things You Should Know About Communism</i> , G.P.O., Wash., D. C.	0 10
<i>Communist Party As Agent of A Foreign Power</i> , G.P.O., Wash., D. C.	0 15
<i>Communism in Action</i> , G.P.O., Wash., D. C.	0 25
<i>Imperial Communism</i> , Dr. Wilcox, Unitarian Church, Lynn, Mass.	1 00
<i>How You Can Fight Communism</i>	

Americanism Division, The American Legion, Indianapolis, Ind. Free

I suggest that your Post form a small library of its own. See that your Post members read some of these basic books and then circulate them in your community among your community leaders—clergyman, newspaper and radio station people, teachers, labor leaders, etc. Advertise your Post and the Legion by stamping on the flyleaf "By Courtesy of American Legion Post * * *."

The monthly *Summary of Trends and Developments* in subversive activities put out by the Americanism Division is now available at \$3.00 per year to Post Americanism and other officers. This subscription rate also includes such topical studies as the Americanism Division publishes and distributes from time to time. Subscribe to it. The Department of Indiana has printed and distributed an excellent handbook on how properly to combat subversion. Send for it. Every Department should distribute such a manual of Americanism.

See that your Post also subscribes to such few periodical and papers as specialize in exposing communist activities. They are listed in the recommended reading list I have already mentioned. See that these publications are also circulated thoroughly

around your community where they will do the most good. Legionnaire doctors and dentists should stock their waiting rooms with such literature. Literally every American passes through a doctor's or dentist's waiting room in the course of a year. Put copies in your local libraries, particularly colleges and schools. Communists are assiduous in planting their well-disguised propaganda in such libraries. Do likewise with exposures of such subversive propaganda.

These news letters and publications will keep you and your community informed from week to week on the latest shifts in the Communist Party line as well as the newest fronts and booby traps set up to ensnare the unwary.

When a known pro-Soviet apologist is slated to lecture in your city, to address a meeting, speak over a local station, or make any kind of public appearance, form a small delegation, assemble all your facts (having first made doubly sure that they are facts), then call upon those responsible for importing the out-of-town peddler of Soviet propaganda and in a friendly, helpful manner call their attention to the fact that they evidently have been misinformed as to the background and record of the individual in question or to the true intent and purpose of the allegedly bona fide organization.

Or if some of your local prominent people have sponsored or lent their names or contributed money to indubitable Communist fronts, perform the same friendly advisory service. Remember that you are trying to protect a local citizen from being made the fool, so belligerence and blustering are entirely out of order. *If your local organization or citizen rejects your friendly, documented advice, then obviously you are dealing with a wilful fool or with people who know exactly what they are doing and don't care. In other words, you will have uncovered another Communist fronter.*

Let me also at this point offer a warning against indiscriminately calling people Communists if you do not have legal evidence that will stand up in court to support your charge. Communists are now in such deservedly low repute that many State courts have started to rule that unwarrantedly calling an innocent person a Communist is libelous in itself. Any lawyer or judge advocate can suggest alternate terms for fellow travelers and Communist sympathizers and stooges. For accurate definitions see *Communists in the Government*, a U. S. Chamber of Commerce pamphlet. The Americanism Division at Indianapolis has a limited supply available for distribution to Americanism officers.

* * * * *

I think it would be an excellent idea for each Post or district or county council to have a strong Press Liaison Committee which would keep the local newspapers and radio stations informed on the latest shifts in party line as well as to warn against new fronts as they are set up.

Exposure in advance is naturally far more effective than exposure after the fact—and needless to add, far more disconcerting to the comrades of the Kremlin front.

Communists make continuous and adroit use of the "letters to the editor" columns to inject their poison and to boost and whitewash each other as "liberals," "progressives," or "union leaders." Utilize these columns for countering and exposing their activities.

Likewise, when newspaper editors, radio news commentators and others favorably mention or plug some Communist book, speaker, organization, movement, or Communist enterprise, be quick to draw their attention to their mistakes and ask for a rectification.

Many newspapers and other publicity media have secret Communists on their staffs who regularly slip in a neat-hypodermic needle full of Moscow virus. They simply neglect to mention that "So and So" is a well known Communist or that "Such and Such Organization" is a Communist front and a fraud. Call their attention to their "mistakes" in a friendly manner. Honest and patriotic people appreciate such friendly tips. Those who keep right on making similar "mistakes" should have their employers or sponsors notified.

* * * * *

Movie producers and producers of nationally advertised products have extremely sensitive pocketbook nerves. Communists discovered this years ago and have been highly successful through sheer fraud and bluff into scaring these people into firing anti-Communists and others on their blacklists.

It is high time that we, the overwhelming majority of Americans, demand that national advertisers cease subsidizing indirectly the Communist Party by employing at fancy salaries clearly proven party members or consistent camp followers and supporters.

All Communists must "kick back" heavy percentages of their salaries to the Party; so every time you buy a book, a magazine with an article by a Communist in

it, listen to a lecturer, attend a play or movie written by or in which known Communists and fellow travelers play any part, or otherwise contribute financially to a Commie, *you* are subsidizing the Communist Party.

The Communists keep a flock of pro-Soviet apologists and confusionists traveling around the country as lecturers and speakers. All lecturers and speakers not known locally should be checked before contracts are signed or arrangements made for them to appear in your community.

Know who you are listening to!

All fund collectors and ticket sellers should be required by the local police to identify themselves and their organizations in order to protect the general public against being flim-flammed on phony Communist fronts. All street solicitors should be made to identify themselves.

* * * * *

I suggest a national circuit of anti-Communist experts, such as those who addressed the American Legion Washington Seminar last November, to follow each other in regular sequence bringing to every American community authentic and enlightening information on every aspect of the whole subversive problem. *The cost would be very small and could be reduced still more if five or six local patriotic organizations formed a committee to secure such speakers and divide the expense between them.*

Communist fifth columnists in this country are pure parasites in that they are totally dependent on us for the funds necessary for them to carry on their subversive work. Cutting off or at least materially reducing their annual "take," running into millions of dollars, is obviously one of the most effective and quick means of drastically curbing their activities.

Every contributor to Communist fronts should be continuously exposed by every possible legal means. Never forget the fact that Communists operating in our midst are in effect a secret battalion of spies and saboteurs parachuted by a foreign foe far inside our lines at night and operating as American citizens under a variety of disguises just as the Nazis did in Holland and Belgium. Every art of human cunning is therefore necessary on their part to protect themselves and their subversive mission from exposure.

* * * * *

Far from their homeland and base of supplies, they are totally dependent on us for cover, food, munitions and transport. The front organizations continually set up by the Communist Party are, therefore, nothing more than screening auxiliary forces which keep the secret battalion supplied, clothed and fed.

Mercilessly and tirelessly exposing and putting these fronts out of business is manifestly almost as vital as detecting and exposing actual Communists and spies. Actual *official investigation* is obviously beyond our jurisdiction and under the law it is the proper field of the F.B.I., while the *exposure* of front organizations and Communist supporters is the function of the House Un-American Activities Committee, and similar state bodies.

This critically important Congressional Committee is badly understaffed and has been able barely to scratch the surface of the whole vast problem of subversion in this country, carried on as it is by a secret battalion of some 75,000 or 80,000 trained Communists and an estimated auxiliary corps of 750,000 to one million dupes, camp followers, secret sympathizers and casual supporters.

American citizens therefore must protect themselves from being flim-flammed into joining, sponsoring, contributing to, or otherwise supporting a host of apparently worthwhile, humanitarian movements and organizations, a high percentage of which may turn out to be Communist fronts.

The Detroit Board of Education performed a signal service recently in sending 30,000 copies of the Attorney General's subversive list to all school teachers and other prominent Detroiters as a public service. Any one who had innocently joined such a front now knew the full facts. Anyone who subsequently joined could hardly plead innocence.

No doubt a number of patriotic, sincere people contributed money to the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee under the misapprehension that their money was helping keep alive starving and miserable Spanish refugees in France. *Subsequent disclosures showed that the Communists themselves boasted that the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee supplied the funds for Tito's transportation from Moscow to Yugoslavia and that the leading Comintern agent in the U. S. A., Gerhard Eisler, drew at least \$6,000 from this organization to carry on his nefarious anti-American activities.*

One of the eighteen Canadians involved in the atomic spy cases testified that he first was snared into the American League for Peace and Democracy "because of his

sincere interest in peace and combating fascism." He started out stuffing envelopes. A few years later Russian agents had "developed" him into an important atomic spy.

A large percentage of Legionnaires are union members, yet at least a dozen or more large, national unions are completely Communist-controlled or influenced. It is quite plain that at least in these unions Legionnaires have taken it lying down.

Communists seldom exceed 3 percent of the membership of any union, nevertheless with this insignificant minority they have been able to seize absolute control in many unions. Legionnaires in these unions, many of them critical in national defense, have a man-sized job cut out for them. Let them take heart and example from the recent house-cleaning of Communists in various C. I. O. unions. It can be done.

Legionnaires in Communist-controlled unions should band together into a real United Front with every other loyal American on a common denominator program of cleaning out the Stalinists.

* * * * *

All Departments and Posts should be eternally vigilant against any attempts to sabotage or wreck the House Un-American Activities Committee, the Washington State Legislative Committee on Subversive Activities, or the Fact Finding Committee of the California Legislature, also known as the Tenney Committee.

Communists have made the destruction of the House Un-American Activities Committee their top priority objective. The U. S. Federal Courts have recently upheld its powers and constitutionality.

The legality of the Washington State Committee has been seriously challenged by the zealous stooges of the Communist Party in that state and the task of undermining and wrecking the Tenney Committee goes on night and day.

The American Legion should be in the forefront in demanding that similar subversive investigating committees be set up by the state legislatures in every Department where Communism is a serious threat.

Despite Legion support in the passage of Michigan's Callahan Act, this law requiring Communists to register as foreign agents has been nullified by pressure lobbies to the point where Michigan's Attorney General has indicated that he will not attempt to enforce the law. In other words, we are still fighting a losing, defensive rearguard action in Michigan.

It was the threat of a paralyzing general strike that made the Communist coup in Czechoslovakia an assured success. I am sure that American labor has read well this lesson and is setting its house in order so that such a bloodless revolution or seizure of power can never be attempted by Stalin's agents in this country.

* * * * *

The American Legion is composed of men who risked their lives on the field of battle for their country in two world wars. Military wars of aggression have now been replaced by a far more insidious form of warfare—political or psychological war. Shooting wars have been turned by the Communists into "cold wars." Cold wars require even a greater degree of vigilance and militancy on our part than shooting wars. The fight against America's enemies goes on.

There is work, important work, for every loyal Legionnaire as I have outlined in this article. Everyone is now familiar with the Communists' fanaticism and their ruthless, dynamic drive for power. If 75,000 fanatical Communists can indoctrinate, control and activate an estimated million dupes and camp followers, surely The American Legion's more than three million members can arouse, warn and instruct the remaining 139 millions of our citizens. The task is clear, the weapons and tools are available—let's go!

II. KIWANIS INTERNATIONAL

Kiwanis International long has realized the dangers of Communism and has worked through its Public Affairs Committees to meet the problem by education and circulation of factual information.

Much of its program takes the same shape as that outlined by the American Legion in the preceding section. Additionally, Kiwanis is distinguished for two unique contributions to the fight against Communism.

It staged a practical demonstration of how Communists can take over an organization in one of its important clubs, that in Allentown, Pennsylvania, and publicized the fact; and it initiated as host, the first U. S. community caucus of responsible civic groups to plan concerted and

cooperative community opposition to Communism. This second project, by the Los Angeles Downtown Kiwanis Club, is described in a following section on the Los Angeles Conference of Civic Organizations.

Your committee presents herewith as a warning to California civic leaders, the Kiwanis report of its experiment in Communist trickery, reprinted from an article in the April, 1949 edition of *The Kiwanis Magazine*, under the title, "*Red Letter Day*", by J. J. McGraw, a member of the Allentown, Pennsylvania, Kiwanis Club:

"RED LETTER DAY"

There was a moment of stunned silence that day at the regular luncheon meeting of the Allentown, Pennsylvania Kiwanis club. "My Lord!" whispered an awed member. "Listen to the low-down on the new president we've elected. He's a Communist!"

Yes, he was a Communist. He was many things more, too—and all bad for the members of the Kiwanis club that eventful day several weeks ago. They listened keenly with seeming disbelief, and yet with a dreadful certainty that this was all happening to them—and right here in America.

"Yes, gentlemen," the speaker was relating at the head table. "This new president of the Kiwanis club has been many things. I have here before me his complete record as taken from the files of the FBI. I intend to read them before this entire club. It shows that the name of your new president is not J. Herbert Stahl. It shows many aliases—Trachtenberg, Stachel, Yankanin and Bittleman. This man, your president, was arrested a score of times for crimes ranging from assault to suspected murder. He became a member of the Communist Party in 1932 and became party holder 123-431 in a mass swearing-in ceremony in Columbus Circle. * * * Now this gentleman has successfully capped the record of his accomplishments by being elected to office in this Allentown Kiwanis club."

How did all this come about? Just how in the world could a Communist ever possibly gain entrance into a Kiwanis club—and above all, how could he possibly become president of that organization?

"Well," said a small group of Kiwanians one day, "they've ferreted their way into a great majority of the labor unions of the country; they're to be found in several of the departments of the federal government; two acknowledged members have even been elected to the House of Representatives. Now here we are," they reasoned, "a part of the service clubs of America which contain almost a million of the actual and potential leaders of every town and city in these United States. We represent an organization of tremendous intrinsic strength which is daily devoted to the service of its country. If these Communists have been so extremely successful in infiltrating into these other organizations, what would prevent them from burrowing into the service clubs, gaining positions of power, and using this power to further weaken the structure of the country itself for their own nefarious ends?"

Several of the group argued this point with natural vehemence. "We're not a bunch of exploited servants," they explained. "We're pretty aware of what's going on in our club—personally acquainted with every man who gains elected office—and it's just about impossible to even imagine their gaining a foothold anywhere in any service club and especially in so democratic an organization as this Allentown club."

"COMMUNISTS" ALL FORMED

"Let's put this thing to a serious test," suggested one member. "We will form an alleged Communist 'cell' within this organization. The number must necessarily be small and there must be complete secrecy, for if one word of our intent leaks out we're goners. Let's read and study the rules of Kiwanis as we've never read them before. Let's make as our aim the presidency of the Kiwanis club."

The idea was finally adopted, each member was sworn to complete secrecy, and several small meetings were held in the members' homes—with even the wives being deprived of the knowledge of the purpose of these meetings!

After a general plan of attack was developed, the scheme was presented to the board of directors for their opinion. "It's a daring plan," they said. "Unless secrecy is maintained absolutely, this thing will blow up in your faces. And unless the plan is carried out in detail you'll do the idea more harm than good. But go ahead—and we'll back the idea one hundred percent—and gamble that everyone will realize the

lesson you are trying to teach to the extent that no one will feel he has been taken advantage of."

Gradually the plan began to be carried into careful execution.

First, the weekly bulletin announced that the vice president, who was to assume the office of president at the end of the year, had been forced to resign for reasons of ill health. The notice likewise stated that the following week's meeting would schedule his successor's nomination and election. To the members' surprised questioning, the vice president, now up to his neck in the plot, could only say "ill health"—although to every member's gaze he presented the complete opposite in appearance.

Fully in accordance with the rules of Kiwanis, the nominations committee presented a ballot at the subsequent meeting, containing the names of five nominees for the office—every one a representative member in good standing and thoroughly competent to assume the office. "Gentlemen," explained the president, "the regular program will be held, after which the ballots will be filled out and turned in." *No one noticed that the luncheon had started rather late, and that the service was exceedingly slow—but even this had been set up in the plan.*

The program that day was in honor of the erection of the new Allentown High School Stadium, a truly beautiful structure of which all were quite proud. "Miss Stadium," a pretty high school student, entertained the members and was followed on the program by several others with equally excellent presentations.

TYPICAL RED STRATEGY

But as the entertainment continued, the question uppermost in the minds of the "Communist band" was, "How soon are they going to start to leave; will we be able to swing it?" As the hour drew to a close—and the membership still remained—their tension grew. At the end of the program a few members reluctantly left, not having time to wait for the balloting. But not enough—for exactly 178 Kiwanians were in attendance and there were but a total of seventeen of the "Communists" who hoped to assume control—a seemingly impossible job!

"There will be a few short announcements," the president said with a dead-pan expression, "after which we will get on with the balloting. First, I want to give some of the details of the coming district convention a few weeks from now." And on and on he droned, giving the pertinent facts of the affair. With a resigned air a few more members arose and left, being carefully counted out by the observers. By now the meeting had progressed twenty minutes beyond the regular time, but a clear majority of the regular members was still in evidence.

"Oh, gentlemen, I forgot," continued the president, "there is another request from a member for a few words." With that, another of the group arose with a complete lack of expression and proceeded to relate his tour of the Philadelphia Zoo with the Cub Scout pack. This was just too much of a delay for the members, and a growing stream of departures was increasingly evident, practically resulting in a general exodus.

By careful counting, the membership present was determined to be sixty-seven at this point. Amid all the confusion one member casually arose to call for the election. A motion had previously been made to add to the list of nominees the name of "J. Herbert Stahl," and the motion was carried. Striking swiftly now, the "Communists" banded together their seventeen votes for the fictitious Mr. Stahl, while the balance of the members divided their votes among the five regular member candidates. The result was obvious. However, no announcement was made. It was explained that the vote outcome would be announced by means of the regular club bulletin.

The following week was even more of a strain on the "Communists." Fearful lest a word of their plot leak out and ruin the scheme, they daily pledged each other to continued secrecy.

But the lieutenant governor of their division had heard something was brewing in Allentown. Grabbing a phone, he called Allentown in an attempt to learn just why the vice president had resigned. "Just don't know," was the noncommittal answer he received. "We thought it couldn't happen here—but it sure did!" "Now just what are you talking about, anyway?" he yelled. "Why don't you come on up to our next meeting and find out?" "Don't worry!" shouted the now alarmed lieutenant governor, "I will!"

WHAT J. H. STAHL MEANT

The meeting that week was a nervous one for the conspirators. Some reaction had been noticed throughout the membership, but as yet no spontaneous or concentrated opposition was evident. The luncheon was convened—not by the president, but

by the secretary. He read a letter from the absent president who said that his physician had ordered him to resign all of his civic responsibilities immediately.

By now the evident was dawning on the members present. "And so, gentlemen," said the secretary, "the vice president elected by you last week now becomes the president of this Kiwanis club, that man being J. Herbert Stahl." Then calling upon one of the original "Communists" he added, "There will be a few words by the following speaker in connection with the election."

Then it was that the blow fell! To the startled members the speaker, after listing the criminal record of the new president, hammered at the self-interest of all the members present, who, by their greater attention to leaving the meeting early, and failing to remain a few moments longer to safeguard the security of the club, had truly been willing agents in its destruction.

Carefully he outlined the entire plot, its execution and the obvious result to the dumbstruck members. "Remember, gentlemen," he said, "all this was done within the rules of the club and was perfectly honest—by Communist standards."

Then he assured the relieved audience that not only was every one of the conspirators one hundred percent American, but even the "J. Herbert Stahl," whom they had elected, was fictitious. "Stahl," he reminded them, "is Pennsylvania Dutch for steel, the Russian of which is—Stalin!"

Both the American Legion and the Kiwanis programs—and a number of praiseworthy programs of similar character—while excellent in themselves, failed to provide two important ingredients the committee had learned were missing from the community approach to the problem of Communism.

These two ingredients, still missing, were:

- (1) Consistent emphasis on positive and clear understanding of our system, and
- (2) Specific planning for cooperative and coordinated action by *all* responsible groups.

The committee found, however, that one national group, the joint special committee of the organizations of American advertisers and advertising agencies, had become concerned about the first of these problems; and had done something about it.

In fact, the Association of National Advertisers and the American Association of Advertising Agencies has set up a joint creative committee, in 1946; and had secured the voluntary effort of the best brains in the industry, plus the assistance of an advisory committee of outstanding leaders in all phases of national life, to prepare a precise report to American leadership on this problem.

III. THE A.N.A.-A.A.A.A. PROGRAM

After two years of study, this report, titled *How Can the American People Be Given a Better Understanding of Our Economic System*, was published by the Joint A.N.A.-A.A.A.A. Committee in 1947; and the National Advertising Council, a public service institution of the American advertising industry, took up the task of translating the recommendations of the report into action.

Because of its tremendous significance in the present world-wide cold war between our system and the Communist system, your committee publishes herewith the complete text of this important document:

UNDERSTANDING OUR SYSTEM

FOREWORD

Early in the summer of 1946 the two memberships of the A.N.A. and the A.A.A.A. held their annual meetings. At both meetings long sessions were devoted to

a problem that has been bothering many segments of American industry: How can the American people be given a better understanding of business?

Both memberships were fully aware of the complexity of the problem. Both realized that any program they embarked on might very well stand at least a fifty-fifty chance of failing.

However, the experience of the two organizations with the War Advertising Council had proved that advertising techniques could be used to sell ideas as well as products. Perhaps those same techniques could be used on this problem.

Consequently, it was finally decided to authorize the appointment of a joint committee from the two organizations. This committee was instructed to "study the possibilities of improving public understanding of American business through advertising." This committee then appointed two subcommittees from agency personnel.

Soon after their appointment, these committees went to work. The following is a report of the steps through which their investigation led them and the conclusions that they reached. It represents about one year's study of the subject, literally hundreds of hours of meetings and some truly exhaustive research. We give it to you from here on out in the words of the committee's final joint report.

REPORT WENT THROUGH EVOLUTIONARY PROCESS

All the members of the combined committees would like to emphasize again that this report has gone through an evolutionary process. So have the committee members. All of us modified or changed our opinions as the work progressed.

During the months of September and October the Research Committee was given the task of collecting all the material they could lay their hands on that dealt with our subject.

Consequently, when the rest of us held our first working meeting at A.A.A.A. headquarters in November, we found a truly staggering amount of material awaiting us.

If this wasn't enough to give us pause, the results of the first day's meeting were.

At the end of that first day we found ourselves farther away from a solution than when we'd started.

Most of us had come to the meeting with a vague idea that we were going to build some kind of a presentation that would show advertisers how to devote a portion of their budgets to an explanation of American business.

However, we hadn't been in session more than an hour before we gave up this idea as impractical. We decided unanimously that if a program of this kind were to be really successful, it would have to be built, not in the interests of business or management or any other group, but in the interests of the American *people*.

First, this was a very serious responsibility we were contemplating, and we doubted if we had the right to approach it from any point of view other than the interests of the nation as a whole.

Second, if we did succeed in putting together a program it would be far more effective and less vulnerable to attack if it could be sponsored by labor unions, educational groups and anyone else who was interested—as well as by business.

Therefore we changed the title of the committee from "Joint A.N.A.-A.A.A.A. Committee on Improvement of Public Understanding of Business" to Joint A.N.A.-A.A.A.A. Committee on Improvement of Public Understanding of Our Economic System"; gave up the idea of trying to do the whole job with individual company advertising alone; and started out from scratch.

First we went over most of the plans, programs, public opinion surveys, campaigns and so on that our own Research Committee had collected.

Then we interviewed all the country's top public opinion research men individually.

We met with Dr. Henry Link of the Psychological Corporation, Everett Smith of Macfadden Publications, Dr. George Gallup of the American Institute of Public Opinion, Elmo Roper of the Fortune Survey of Public Opinion and Dr. Claude Robinson of the Opinion Research Corporation. These meetings were far and away the most valuable thing we did. For we asked each man to give us a summary of his public opinion findings on this subject and his suggestions as to what could be done about the situation.

All of the research men were more than cooperative and their suggestions played a large part in formulating our program. We are very deeply indebted to them.

In between these interviews the committees met.

By the end of the third week it became apparent that two things were necessary.

TWO THINGS WERE NECESSARY

- (1) A Definition of Our Economic System
- (2) An Over-all Analysis of the Problem

First, we decided we ought to have a description of the product. Too many times we would be arguing furiously about some phase of our economic system and find out thirty minutes later that we were all talking about the same thing. Therefore we decided we'd better put down a definition of this economic system of ours. Because if we couldn't get a definition that we could agree on ourselves, we wouldn't stand much chance of explaining it to the public.

The second thing that seemed imperative was an over-all analysis of the problem. Most of the suggestions we had considered were good. But as a rule each one tackled only one phase of the problem. What seemed to be sorely needed was an over-all analysis on which an over-all program could be based.

Consequently we set out to do those two things. To begin with, we wrote this definition of our economic system:

DEFINITION OF OUR ECONOMIC SYSTEM

No economic system, American or otherwise, is a natural law. Every one is man-made—just as legal systems or political systems are man-made. Consequently, the system we live under today is neither inevitable nor necessarily permanent.

The only thing inevitable about any economic system is that neither we, nor any other country, can conduct a civilized society *without* one.

In order to exist at all, people have to have such things as potatoes, shoes, houses, teakettles and tenpenny nails.

If they live apart, each family has to provide these things for itself. But if they live together, in an organized society, one man can *specialize* in building houses for the community, another in making nails, a third in growing potatoes, etc. Then the whole group can have more of everything because each can produce more efficiently.

The moment this takes place, however, people face another very knotty problem: Who grows potatoes and who makes nails? And what does each get in return for making this contribution to the group?

Consequently, as soon as people start living in groups, they have to adopt some kind of an economic system. They have to set up some kind of a social contract which will:

- (1) Force or persuade people to work so that the group can have the goods and services it needs to maintain its existence.
- (2) Determine *what* goods and services will be produced and in what *quantities*.
- (3) Decide *who* shall produce what goods and what services.
- (4) Determine how the goods and services produced by the group will be distributed among its members.

There have been several different "systems" or social contracts drawn up by different peoples to solve these four economic problems which face every organized society.

Since they are all man-made, they all suffer to some degree from the frailties of human nature. But in spite of the fact that no system will ever be completely satisfactory, we can't live without one—any more than we can live without laws.

PRINCIPLES OF THE AMERICAN SYSTEM

As we saw it, in words of one syllable, our American approach to this problem had evolved gradually and is continuing to evolve. But in the years between the passage of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act and 1929 it was based on five fundamental principles:

- (1) PRIVATE PROPERTY.
- (2) A FREE MARKET.
- (3) PROFIT AND WAGE INCENTIVES.
- (4) COMPETITION.
- (5) GOVERNMENT REGULATION—BUT NOT GOVERNMENT CONTROL.

1. PRIVATE PROPERTY

The first problem, of forcing or persuading people to work so that the group can have the goods and services it needs to exist, was taken care of by our agreement to let people own and control their goods and labor. Under this concept of *private property* no man was forced to work or told what work he must perform. But if he did choose to

work he got to keep the fruits of his labor, and he could pick the occupation of his choice.

In other words, we used persuasion, largely, rather than force. We did employ some compulsion, however. In return for the privilege of keeping the wealth he created, and picking his own occupation, every man had to take his own chance of succeeding or failing. And, generally speaking, every man had to provide for himself.

2. A FREE MARKET

The question of what goods and services would be produced by the group, *how much* of each would be produced, and how much the people who produced them would be *rewarded* was determined by our *free market*.

This was probably the most democratic institution ever developed by man. For we were continually polling the combined opinion of *all the people* in America on these questions every hour of every day. *For example*, it would be very difficult at any given moment to determine whether a pair of shoes is worth five or ten or fifteen pounds of butter; whether the day's services of a bricklayer are worth more or less than the day's services of a shirtmaker. It would be difficult enough if you were starting out from scratch, but it becomes infinitely more difficult on a day-to-day basis when the needs of society vary with the condition of people's shoes, food supply, housing and clothing.

Yet the problem has to be settled in a complex economy such as ours. For the farmer, the worker in the shoe factory, the bricklayer and the shirtmaker are all *specializing* full time at one job. And they have to trade their *one* product or service for everything else they consume.

In a planned economy some man or some group of men has to decide what each of those people will *get* for the things he *provides* for the group.

But under our free market this was settled by the vote of *all the people*. Each day they cast their combined opinion of what shoes and butter and houses and shirts were worth to society, at that moment, by the price they were willing to pay for them.

The question of *what* goods and services America would produce was settled in the same democratic fashion. No one decided whether we would produce more refrigerators and fewer sewing machines this year or vice versa. *All* the people decided that in the free market each day by their demand for refrigerators or sewing machines in comparison with other commodities.

Profit and wage incentives influenced people to produce goods and services society needed and wanted.

If an article or a skill was scarce and society needed it, the price went up and the profit on that article, or the wage for that skill, became more attractive. Consequently, more people diverted their efforts to meet that demand until the supply became normal.

3. PROFIT AND WAGE INCENTIVES

If we were producing too much of anything, or too many people entered a trade, we got more of that product or service than society needed and the reverse took place.

If a business was comparatively safe, the profits were small. If it involved a good deal of risk, society rewarded the risk-taker with higher profits, just as it would pay the structural steel worker higher wages than it would pay the craftsman who never risked his neck 45 stories above the ground.

In other words, when our system was working most efficiently, profits and wages fluctuated just as prices did to indicate what society *as a whole* needed and wanted produced.

The principle of competition in our economy was really a point in our concept of a free market. But we listed it separately because of the importance the American people attached to it. We used competition to prevent people from creating an artificial demand for their products and services, and consequently an unfair reward, by controlling the supply.

4. COMPETITION

It also preserved people's right to choose their occupation by keeping the market open to anyone who wanted to try his luck at producing a commodity or a service for society.

And it guaranteed progress by forcing people constantly to improve the products and services they offered on the free market.

The American system recognized in the early 1900's that a free market had to be policed if it were to be kept free. To do this required a power *outside* the economic community greater than any single unit taking active part in the economic life.

5. GOVERNMENT REGULATION

We realized that we needed a referee to enforce the rules who had enough authority to handle the biggest player. Otherwise that big player might start making the rules over.

On the other hand, we recognized that once the referee gets into the game *he* immediately becomes the biggest player, and there is no one left to call *his* fouls.

Therefore we believed that our government should take as little part in our economic life as possible—referee the game but not play in it. We believed that it should regulate our economic practices but not control them—enforce the rules but not call the plays. And we believed that it should govern these activities by law and not by men—base decisions on the rules in the book, not on the personal opinions and judgments of the referee.

ADVANTAGES OF OUR SYSTEM

Now this system we had evolved was unique to America. Many of its principles were similar to others, but no other system had preserved the free market to the extent that we had. Most other capitalistic countries *avored* rather than *prohibited* monopolies and cartels.

It was a *voluntary* system. It used the carrot instead of the stick.

It was the most democratic system—political or economic—that existed in the world. All the people in the country voted continually on the course it should take every hour of every day.

It preserved the liberty of the individual to a degree no other economic system ever has.

Finally, it succeeded in achieving *production*—the primary purpose of an economic system—to a point never approached by any other system men have lived under.

First, it enabled the American people to create more wealth—to provide more goods and services for each other's use—than any system history has ever known. With less than 8 percent of the world's population, our nation produces 42 percent of the world's wealth.

Second, from the standpoint of distributing this wealth fairly, it brought all these goods and services *within the reach* of more people than any system the world has ever known.

And *finally*, it made it possible for the average American to earn more with an hour's labor than any men had ever been able to earn in all history. For our system so encouraged the introduction of machinery, labor-saving devices and improved production techniques that year after year the average American was able to produce more and more wealth with less and less work.

SHORTCOMINGS OF OUR SYSTEM

With all this, however, our system developed one particularly serious shortcoming. As we approached a higher and higher degree of technological development we became more and more specialized—not only in business, farming, manufacturing and mining but in *occupations*. This enabled us to become more and more efficient, and consequently to produce more and more with the same amount of effort. But, at the same time, we became more and more *interdependent*. No community or area could suffer an economic setback without all communities feeling the effect. No industry or occupation could hit the bottom of the cycle without all industries and all occupations feeling it to some degree. Consequently, the over-all business cycle—which we haven't yet been able to divorce from our free market—became far more severe than it had ever been before—so severe that its effect on *people* became too great to ignore.

For example, in 1907 a blacksmith shop in Marion, Ohio, fabricating iron products for the surrounding community, wasn't too seriously affected by the panic in New York. Money got tight, but life in the community went on pretty much as usual.

But by 1929 that shop had become a foundry making castings almost exclusively for General Motors. Consequently, economic conditions in any part of the country *served* by General Motors affected that foundry *directly*.

In 1907, if a tinsmith in Davenport, Iowa, got laid off at the stove factory for a while, he could pack up his tools and switch employment in Davenport or take temporary work in another town.

But by 1929 a general layoff in Detroit put a hydraulic press operator out on the street with thousands of other craftsmen who had no place to market their highly-specialized skills. Since these men were concentrated in great numbers in industrial communities, those communities were simply unable to absorb all of them. And since those who were absorbed were shut off from their tools, their production was limited largely to what they could turn out with their bare hands.

As a result, the nation's production spiraled downward, purchasing power followed right behind it, and the one kept affecting the other until the cycle went far lower than the pure economics of the situation probably justified.

ATTEMPTS TO CORRECT THE SHORTCOMINGS

So in 1932—with the inauguration of the R.F.C.—we embarked on a program of trying to find a way to cushion the violent effects of our free market business cycles. Since then we have violated from time to time—in one measure or another—every one of the five fundamental principles on which our economic system was based. And the arguments that have raged over these violations have centered largely around how much security you can achieve without wrecking the powerful productive capacities of our free market—to say nothing of the political liberties that go hand in hand with the economic system a people live under.

It is the opinion of our committee that very little of positive value has been proved on this subject during the last 17 years.

As a matter of fact, there is considerable evidence that we are in one of those periods of historical transition which may last for several more years before we finally determine what course our future will take.

At any rate, the American people are still in the process of making up their minds whether they want to modify the American economic system or not, and what steps, if any, they will take.

NEXT STEP IN THE ANALYSIS

So it seemed to us that the next step in the analysis was to find the answer to question No. 1:

Do the American people believe in the basic principles of our economic system—generally? If they don't, any further perusal of the problem might be strictly academic.

On this score, it was the unanimous opinion of all the research men consulted by the committee that the American people *do* believe in their system.

As Dr. Gallup pointed out, for example, "Findings of the American Institute of Public Opinion, or Gallup Poll, during the past year or more point fairly conclusively to the fact that the American people are as sympathetically inclined today toward the American system of free enterprise or American opportunity as at any other time in U.S. history."

We collected much more documentary evidence on this question than we are giving here, but we know that most of you are as familiar with it as we are.

So, with this first question answered in the affirmative, we proceeded to question No. 2:

If people believe in the principles of the American economic system, do they understand enough about how it functions?

This has almost as much bearing on the subject as question No. 1. For, unfortunately, the American people have never been asked, or never will be asked, to cast their vote directly for or against the "American way." Instead they are asked from time to time to cast their vote, or the weight of their opinion, for or against specific issues. In the economic field these issues consist, or have consisted, of such questions among others as these:

1. NRA.
2. The peacetime continuance of OPA.
3. Subsidies for certain agricultural products and certain industries.
4. Confiscatory taxation.
5. "Feather-bedding."
6. Protective tariffs.

Every proposal of this kind can have a very real effect on the health of the economic system in which Americans believe. For each one violates, or modifies to some extent, one of the five basic principles on which our economic system has been functioning.

For the sake of this analysis it isn't necessary to argue whether the American people decided these issues wisely or not. What is important is the *basis* on which they were decided. And it seemed apparent to us that all too often they have been decided on the basis of labels rather than logic.

All too often people seem to have acted in the belief that they were voting for or against "planned production", "keeping prices down," "the ever-normal granary," "encouraging new industry," "redistributing the wealth," "spreading jobs," "protecting home industry," etc., instead of making an intelligent appraisal of the step they

were about to take, how it proposed to modify their economic system and what its probable effects would be.

We believe that the only reason the American people have exhibited such obvious confusion on issues of this kind is because they lack the necessary knowledge to appraise those issues accurately. Otherwise they wouldn't vote so often against the very principles in which they believe.

Therefore we felt it was reasonable to conclude that the *actions* of broad masses of the American people prove they *do not* understand the economic system under which they live.

Furthermore, people's attitudes—which indicate what course this nation will take in the future—are even more uninformed. The results of various surveys made on profits, the division of corporate incomes, farm subsidies, the effect of improved machinery on jobs, and so on, prove this beyond much question.

All the evidence indicates that the American people are woefully lacking in a knowledge of the basic principles on which our economy functions. Since this is borne out by their *actions* as well as in their *attitudes*, we felt that it was fairly conclusive that they do not understand enough about the economic system under which they live.

This led us to question No. 3:

What are the underlying causes for this lack of knowledge?

If we were going to lay out a program to correct this situation, it was essential that we try to isolate the principal causes. From the evidence we had collected, there seemed to be five. The first two have been psychological in their effects on people, and the other three have been more or less logical in their effects.

REASON NO. 1: THE DEPRESSION

First, the Depression. The experiences that so many people went through during the Depression have had a profound and apparently permanent effect on this generation of Americans. A person can bear up under a calamity that comes as a result of his own actions. But the Depression threw millions of people out of work *through no fault of their own*. They were powerless to anticipate it, plan for it or *do* anything about it. Shut off from their tools and with no market for the specialized skill that many had spent years in learning, they were reduced to earning what they could with their two bare hands. Under the circumstances, it's not surprising that today, more than a decade later, many people are still uneasy about their economic future under the American system.

REASON NO. 2: THE PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF AN INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY ON PEOPLE

Second, the psychological effect of an industrial society on people. Specialization has increased our capacity to produce. But it has robbed many Americans of their pride in workmanship, their feeling of economic significance and their sense of belonging on an economic group. This has had a very bad effect, psychologically, on many people—particularly the industrial worker.

Our mass production methods have increased his capacity to produce. But at the same time they have robbed him to some extent of his pride in workmanship. He no longer gets the satisfaction of turning out a complete product. In fact, in many cases he can't even identify the *part* he has worked on by the time the finished product comes off the assembly line.

Specialization in our industrial society has also robbed more and more people of their feeling of *importance* or *economic significance*. To be happy a man has to feel that his work *means* something. With many industrial workers—and some white collar workers as well—this feeling has practically ceased to exist. The operation they are engaged in is too complex—the number of people involved too large. Consequently it is hard for them to see *any* significance in the small part they play in the operation each day or to feel that they are making a tangible contribution to society.

Finally, this concentration of large numbers of people in a single plant or a single office has made it very difficult for the individual to feel that he *belongs to the group*. This is a very real need in human nature. The problem has been further aggravated during the last generation by the migration of people to large cities where they have no roots, no ties and no more sense of belonging to the *community* than to the *plant*.

REASON NO. 3: SPECIALIZATION HAS TAKEN MANY PEOPLE OUT OF CONTACT WITH THE WORKINGS OF OUR SYSTEM

The over-all effect of these psychological factors has been to give many American workers a psychological frustration. This frustration is something the individual is

seldom aware of himself. It is usually evidenced, however, in a vague unhappiness and dissatisfaction with life in general. People in that frame of mind are much more apt to listen to the promises of a demagogue than to the logic of a thinker.

The *third* reason why so many Americans lack the simplest understanding of our economic system is that this same *specialization* which came about as a result of our technological progress has taken many of them out of personal day-to-day contact with the workings of our system.

You very seldom find a farmer or an independent merchant who doesn't have a pretty good appreciation of American economics—the way our free market functions, the benefits of competition, and so on. They see them at work every day. Consequently, they system continually *sells itself*—to them.

But the industrial workers—and large segments of the white collar class—have become so immersed in their own specialized bit of a large operation that they no longer have this daily contact. They can no longer see the way our economic system affects the business in which they are employed. Furthermore, they don't have the opportunity they once had to get this experience as consumers. The housewife, for example, who used to buy much of her food directly from the farmer is now three or four distribution levels removed from the source of supply. And the whole operation is too complex to be visible.

REASON NO. 4: NO ORGANIZED EFFORT TO PRESENT THE POSITIVE SIDE

The *fourth* underlying cause is the fact that our system has no inherent machinery within itself for communicating with the general public. The American economic system—in contrast with most of its competitors—has neither a public relations department nor a propaganda bureau. And as Dr. Robinson maintains, "Good deeds don't speak for themselves." In a complex modern society these good deeds have to be brought to the public's attention and explained—continually.

This has been further aggravated down the line in the individual economic units. American management has been sadly remiss in communicating with its own employees.

As a result, there has been no organized effort to answer people's questions and to present the positive side of the argument.

REASON NO. 5: SUBVERSIVE PROPAGANDA

The *fifth* and final cause of the situation we find ourselves in today is subversive propaganda. For the last 25 years the American people have been diligently bombarded with Communist propaganda. Not all of this by any means has come directly from Communist Party members. As J. Edgar Hoover says, " * * * for every member there are ten others ready to do the party's work."

This propaganda might not have had so much effect were it not for the fact that nature abhors a vacuum.

But when you have large segments of people (1) who are worried about their future under the American economic system and aware of the effects of the last depression, (2) who are working under conditions that tend to make them psychologically frustrated and (3) who by the nature of their work have lost all day-to-day personal contact with the workings of our economic system, you have a public state of mind that demands some explanations and some answers. If the affirmative side refuses to speak, the arguments from the negative are going to fill the void. That's why the Communists have been able to wreak untold damage in this country already. Many honest Americans—with only one side of the evidence on which to form their opinions—have fallen victim to Communist propaganda and trick reasoning.

With that analysis of the basic problem completed, we asked ourselves the fourth question:

Is there any danger to the welfare of the American people in this situation?

We believe the American people *want* what the American economic system gives them. They have indicated as much by an overwhelming majority whenever they've been polled on the subject.

We believe an *enlightened* American electorate is perfectly capable of making its own decisions.

But with the lack of knowledge that they exhibit today, the American people run a very real danger of unwittingly modifying their economic system bit by bit until it is no longer the social contract they thought they had.

As everyone knows, there is a very real war being waged throughout the world today between the forces of collectivism and those who believe in the freedom of the individual.

Since America is the world's last great stronghold of free economy and free men, the final issue of this world-wide struggle will probably be settled *here*. In our opinion the final outcome of this struggle may depend as much on *economic* events as on *political* ones. In fact, it may depend *primarily* on *whether or not the American people are able to solve the problem of the business cycle and still retain a free economy*. We say this because anyone who analyzes the situation carefully comes face to face with this inescapable logic:

In order to preserve a reasonably free economy in our highly industrialized society, we have to work out some method of cushioning the effects of the business cycle.

If the American people can't work out some method of cushioning the effects of the business cycle under a *free* economy, they may be strongly impelled to adopt a controlled economy.

In order to control an economy, you have to direct the economic activities of the individual.

Once you begin to direct the economic activities of the individual, you inevitably come to direct most of his other activities as well. (History knows no exceptions.)

When most of the individual's activities are directed, individual freedom and liberty no longer exist.

Therefore, as long as human nature remains as it is, there can be no freedom of the individual without a reasonably free economy.

If this is true, we are in an extremely serious position.

For what chance does this country stand of solving the business cycle—and preserving our freedom—when the American people are as ill-informed on economics as they are today?

Unless the American people can be prepared for the problems that lie ahead—unless they can be given adequate information, and understanding, and knowledge, *on which to base their economic decisions*—the future for our free economy—and our freedom—looks very grim indeed.

This led us to the fifth and final question:

"If this situation is dangerous to the welfare of the American people, what can be done about it?"

In reviewing the five underlying causes revealed by our analysis it seemed apparent to us that what was badly needed was an over-all program—a program that recognized all these five underlying causes and approach them in an orderly fashion—instead of attacking them piecemeal from a hundred different angles.

With this in mind, we set out to analyze all the other programs and suggestions that had come out of the country as well as those that had been proposed by the research men we interviewed and by our own committees.

After a while it became apparent that everyone recognized—consciously or unconsciously—that the problem broke down into three parts:

- (1) Tackling the problem in the individual plant.
- (2) Driving home to broad masses of the general public—both in and out of plants—the "merits of the product"—*what* the American economic system *has done* for them and what it *can do* for them if they keep it.
- (3) Educating the general public on *why* our economic system has been able to do what it has for them—and educating them on how and why it works so that *they would have sufficient knowledge of its basic principles to be able to judge future issues*.

Therefore we decided that the over-all job could be accomplished—and all the underlying causes dealt with properly—if we recommended the following three-point program:

PROGRAM NO. 1

A complete, well-planned and permanent program in each plant and plant city.
This plant program to have as its objectives:

- (1) To correct the economic misinformation and lack of information that exist in the industrial worker's mind about profits, production, dividends, etc.
- (2) To restore his pride in his job, his feeling of importance or economic significance, and his sense of belonging to the group.
- (3) To give him a better appreciation of the benefits our American economic system brings him.
- (4) To give him a better understanding of the fundamental principles on which our economic system operates.

PROGRAM No. 2

Our second recommendation *was that we develop a broad, general, product-type campaign on what the American economic system has done for us and what it can do—if we keep it.*

This campaign, addressed to the general public, would illustrate the strength of our system; what it means to the individual American's everyday life and to his future; and the great benefits to be gained by cooperation between management and labor.

It would use all the avenues of mass communication, including advertising, magazine and newspaper editorial cooperation, radio programs, posters, direct mail, motion pictures, and so on.

This method of approach would, we felt, give us a dynamic campaign—one that promised something for the future, not just defended the past.

It would counteract subversive propaganda.

And it would answer the collectivist arguments that Capital and Labor must constantly be at war.

PROGRAM No. 3

"Our third recommendation expressed the Joint Committee's belief that sooner or later someone is going to have to tackle the problem of educating the American people on the basic principles of our whole economic system—*why* and *how* it is able to provide what it does. Programs Nos. 1 and 2 would help meet the vital needs of the immediate future. But in the public debates that lie ahead—how to achieve a degree of security without loss of too much liberty; how to cushion the business cycle without restricting our free market; how to raise the world's standard of living without ruining certain home industries; etc.—people will have to have *information on which to base their decisions.*

Therefore our committee recommended that we develop a project that is admittedly one of the most difficult ever attempted:

That we build a nation-wide educational campaign on how and why the American economic system is able to do what it does—using advertisements, booklets, motion pictures, radio and any other media of communication that fit our purpose.

And that such a program be limited only to the amount of time it takes to re-educate this generation of the American people.

Finally, we made this *last recommendation*: That some means be found to make all three programs absolutely *fair* and *unbiased*—programs that could be supported by labor unions as well as by business, or by any other groups in the country who could be interested.

We put particular emphasis on this final recommendation because we believed very strongly that the success of the entire venture would depend as much on the *manner* in which the discussion was placed before the American people as on the *material* which was presented.

That means the programs would have to cut both ways. They would have to discuss bad management practices as well as bad labor practices. They would have to treat tariffs as impartially as farm subsidies. Otherwise we would run the risk of alienating our audience before we ever got under way.

Obviously, all of these goals are not going to be easy to achieve. But our committee sincerely believes that they must be achieved if this country is going to meet the challenges that lie ahead.

This is our problem!

NATIONAL ADVERTISING CAMPAIGN

Responsible business, labor and civic leadership joined in cooperation to support the programs advocated in the conclusion of this A.N.A.-A.A.A.A. report on economic understanding—*This Is Our Problem.*

More than 200 plant level programs now are in operation with excellent results. Through an informal liaison arrangement, a pilot community level program, embracing all the features of the Legion and Kiwanis suggestions, and including those in the report, now is being tested and perfected in the Los Angeles area, and is described in the immediately following section of this report.

The initial recommendation for creation of a national advertising campaign at a minimum area of agreement level, also has proceeded

beyond the planning stage. Starting in the fall of 1948, a series of 12 full page advertisements, signed jointly by Evans Clark, for the public, by Paul G. Hoffman, for management, and by Boris Shishkin, for labor, are appearing in national magazines and in organization, regional, labor and plant publications, as well as in the daily press.

The Senate committee has been informed that all participants in creation and support of the program realize that it is but the first step in the full development of such a project, and must be evaluated as such. It is a good beginning—but only a beginning.

A sample advertisement in this program is published herewith on the next page of this report.

Your committee sincerely believes that all who have contributed to this first American joint program by business and labor leadership to meet together and plan together to combat and repudiate the sinister Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist concept of perpetual class struggle, bitterness and hatred, are deserving of the highest commendation.

Your Senate committee is aware that many patriotic and sincere citizens devoted much time and money, with no thought of personal gain or recognition, to this serious and valuable study, and the committee points out that such meritorious public service is in the highest American tradition.

The Senate committee particularly calls to the attention of all those concerned in the direction of our American educational system that there is a desperate and vital need for a sound approach to the complex problem of providing our citizens and particularly our youth with a clear understanding of our American system in contrast to the bloody and reactionary record of the Communism of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

We urge that educational leaders seriously study this program by responsible leaders of American advertising, business and labor and apply themselves to the solution of this problem in their own important sphere of public service.

Thus far in its investigation of the community approach to the problem of combating Communism effectively and intelligently, your committee had discovered and was able to report accomplishment to solve three of the basic needs of such a program.

The fourth and still missing ingredient was the achievement of a practical program to secure coordination and cooperation by all responsible groups in a particular community.

Such a program was found in the Los Angeles Conference of Civic Organizations.

IV. THE LOS ANGELES CONFERENCE PROGRAM

Late in 1947, responsible leaders in Los Angeles of such civic organizations as the Kiwanis International, American Legion, Native Sons of the Golden West, and Sons of the American Revolution began to discuss informally the failure of individual organizations to be effective in meeting the centralized, militarized and disciplined Communist conduct of Marxist strategy and tactics.

They consulted with public officials and business, labor and minority group leaders, and also called on technical experts for advice and suggestions. Public relations counsellors, attorneys, and civic leaders who

had served on boards and committees were called on for advice and specific proposals.

The Downtown Kiwanis Club of Los Angeles reviewed the entire subject before its Public Affairs Committee and submitted to its board of directors a proposal that leaders of responsible organizations be invited to meet, upon invitation from Kiwanis, to discuss the over-all problem.



COMES THE REVOLUTION!

It's here—now—today!

For you—the American citizen—are the greatest revolutionist in history!

You have met those age-old tyrants—cold, hunger, dirt, disease—and hurled them back.

True, they have not surrendered. We still have poverty. We still have sharp ups and downs of prices and jobs. The revolution still goes on.

But it has gone farther here. We have won for ourselves more comfort, more convenience, more security and independence, than any other people since the world began.

Right now the people of many nations are faced with a choice—between dictatorship and a free economy.

And they are taking a long look at us.

At the promise of individual reward that has stimulated American invention and business enterprise.

At American technical progress, which

has made mechanical energy perform miracles of mass production, reflected in constantly lower costs—and in the long run, lower prices.

At American workers—free to organize, to bargain collectively with their employers, to choose their jobs and to change them at will—with no ceilings on advancement and constantly increasing real wages for shorter working hours.

If we continue to make that system work—if we constantly turn out more for every hour we put in—if we keep on creating more wealth for all of us and more jobs for more people—then other nations will follow us.

Let's make our free, dynamic American system run so well at home that others will want to follow our example.

If we do that we will give new hope to millions everywhere.

**THE BETTER WE PRODUCE
THE BETTER WE LIVE**

Approved for the **PUBLIC POLICY COMMITTEE** of The Advertising Council by:

EVANS CLARK, Executive Director, Twentieth Century Fund PAUL G. HOFFMAN, Formerly President, Studebaker Corporation BORIS SHISHKIN, Economist, American Federation of Labor

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—Why the mainspring of our system is
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—How a better living can be had for all

MAIL THE COUPON to Public Policy Committee, The Advertising Council, Inc., Dept. K, 75 West 45th St., New York 18, N.Y.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

OCCUPATION _____

More than fifty ranking leaders of Los Angeles civic organizations, or their personal representatives, met at dinner in the Biltmore Hotel, May 20, 1948, and created an informal caucus, with temporary officers and special committees, to study the problem and make recommendations.

The deliberations of the caucus produced unanimous agreement on the following points:

(1) Any central organizations would have to be confined to acting as a service institution to the existing established groups and could not attempt to interfere in their autonomous operation.

(2) The conduct of such a service institution should fulfill three specific functions:

(A) It should provide adequate liaison between all responsible civic groups through regular and special meetings and information bulletins.

(B) It should provide adequate and up to date information on Communism and how to combat it to all groups.

(C) It should provide practical training and educational facilities for leaders, officers, committeemen and other officials of organizations in the community, on every phase of the subversive problem.

(3) Because of numerous complications, nationally and locally, business, labor, racial and religious participation would have to be handled carefully to slowly and effectively achieve unity of agreement on a practical anti-Communist program.

The most important point on which unanimous agreement was reached was a clear understanding that any effective community program would have to secure participation by many leaders and groups, who were involved in natural conflict and disagreement on many matters, but who could and must unite to work together against their common enemy—Communism, and its subversive threat to all our liberties and freedoms.

Leadership of the Los Angeles group discovered that the problem they were attacking had many parallels to the problem of organized private charity as it has been met in our American Community Chest organizations.

They reported that an antisubversive program, like a community charity program, was faced with these tasks:

(1) It must eliminate racketeers, promoters, dollar patriots, and dangerous agitators and inciters of vigilante methods that played into the hands of the Communists.

(2) It must attract the support of the widest amount of responsible organization leadership, even though that leadership might be widely divided and in sharp disagreement on many other matters.

(3) It must provide a medium for all responsible leadership to get together and know each other as persons rather than as names on a letterhead, and thus develop mutual confidence and cooperation by personal contact.

(4) It must confine itself to being a central service institution to the established, bona fide, permanent community organizations.

With this blueprint in mind, and unanimously agreed on by a thoroughly representative cross-section of all Los Angeles community leadership, the Los Angeles caucus, in the summer of 1948, established liaison with the National Advertising Council and the A.N.A.-A.A.A.A. Joint Committee.

The caucus maintained this liaison through the Los Angeles Ad Club, and also developed wider liaison between units of the national and state-wide organizations and the ad clubs that were affiliated with the Advertising Association of the West.

One practical and immediate benefit of this liaison arrangement was the unpublicized but effective contribution of these groups to the success of the Freedom Train visit to the West through the effective counteraction of Communist strategy and tactics directed against the Freedom Train.

Upon this foundation of careful, serious study over a six months period, the Los Angeles conference caucus finally completed the drafting of a formal constitution and by-laws and secured tentative approval from responsible leadership of more than fifty organizations.

The Los Angeles Conference of Civic Organizations formal structure was patterned after the organizations of Community Chests, Veterans Service Centers and Councils of Veterans Organizations.

Following is the Preamble to the Articles of Incorporation of the Los Angeles Conference of Civic Organizations:

We, as the representatives of the millions of Americans who love, believe in and pledge our unfailing allegiance to our Nation, hereby voluntarily associate and dedicate ourselves to the following objectives and purposes among others: To uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States of America and of this State; to foster and perpetuate the letter and spirit of Americanism in the Community, State and Nation; to provide for the common defense of our State and Nation against Fascism, Communism, or any other totalitarian ideology or state; to combat all subversive or other un-American activities; to aid, assist, cooperate with, and provide service and information to administrative and executive officers and persons of established and recognized business, civic, commerce, charitable, fraternal, historical, industrial, labor, patriotic, professional, religious, service clubs and veterans organizations and other organizations whose objectives or duties are concerned with securing and advancing the principles of Americanism and combatting and opposing subversive individuals, groups, or activities which endanger American peace, security, domestic tranquillity and unity; to promote, insure, and maintain domestic unity and welfare under our established American ideals and our republican form of government and its democratic processes; to combat and resist to the utmost all persons, groups or organizations which seek to destroy by force, violence, sabotage, propaganda or other subversive activity our American heritage of freedom, and seek to subject the American people to the control or domination of any foreign power or ideology; to safeguard and preserve by our mutual cooperation, efforts and devotion, the American principles of justice, freedom, democracy, and government under our Constitution and laws to the end that we may help maintain for all Americans the inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness and that these may be secured and transmitted to our posterity.

Your committee has been informed, as this report goes to press, that approval of this formal structure and the election of the initial officers and committees is in the process of completion. Upon the formal adoption of the program and installation of the first set of officers, the Los Angeles Conference will make the details of its program available to community groups in California and the West through liaison by leaders in established national and state-wide organizations.

SUMMARY

Your Senate committee is convinced by long study and experience, and it asserts to the people of California in the most emphatic terms that the only conclusive and effective answer to Communism's bloody program of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism is an informed, citizenry, keenly aware of the techniques of Communist confusion, proudly imbued with the highest traditions of their own land and its institutions, and dedicated in a spirit of deep appreciation of our wonderful political heritage, to defend it by concerted action together from subversive attack by enemies and traitors who would split us apart.

Your Senate committee, in its 1948 Report, discussed this problem and made the following recommendation:

The basic strategy of Communist agitation * * * is to convince every American that capitalism has failed; that parliamentary government is incapable of picking up the pieces; and that the only recourse is the violent revolution to oust the "oppressor" class. This can only be done by violence as the capitalists will never surrender to the "new democracy" of Communism peacefully.

The Communist answer to high prices, low prices, unemployment, manpower shortages, and other symptoms of a free economy is to propose the total expropriation of all property and the establishment of a dictatorship by a minority of the population. They ask that those who, through incompetence, neuroses, inability to adjust themselves to their environment; those who have been complete failures, be entrusted with the problems of economy and government.

The committee warns that Communism feeds on dissension, discord and disunity. Nowhere is patriotic tolerance and cooperation more important than in the work of solving the manifold problems of a free economy in an industrial civilization.

The world Communist conspiracy proposes to liquidate every freedom and liberty, for which mankind has struggled for several thousands of years, and to replace them for the dubious promise of economic security—a promise that no totalitarian state has been able to fulfill.

The committee calls upon the members of the Legislature and the citizens of California to awaken to the insidious pattern of disruption, confusion and discord that is the daily work of the Communist Party. *The committee urges that every citizen join in a crusade to inform, educate and propagandize for the benefits of the American system and to prevent Communist conspirators from insinuating their unholy doctrine of hate, class-struggle and statism into the natural free disagreements and contentions that provide the checks and balances in the American system.*

The committee again warns the people of California that the safest and surest way to prevent Communist disruption is to proceed with programs and policies through the bona fide, basic and permanent organizations to which they belong, of which there are many; and to regard with caution the promotion of fly-by-night "letterhead organizations" staffed with known Communists and fellow-travelers, created by the Communists incessantly to serve their conspiratorial, criminal program for revolution. (1948 Fourth Report, p. 77.)

In another section of our 1948 Fourth Report, the committee issued this specific warning:

We are all aware that modern life creates conflicts between groups. Many are healthy and proper. Others are based on prejudice and intolerance, and provide material for manipulators to spread disunity and to practice their unholy doctrine of hate and conflict. Wisdom and temperance in interorganizational affairs are equally as important as alertness and forthrightness in meeting subversive disruption head on.

The committee has stated previously and the committee again reiterates, that the most completely vicious, unholy doctrine of hate, discord and strife in world history is the pseudoscientific theory of Marx as practiced by world Stalinists in their conception of the class-struggle.

Communism plays upon all conflicts, disagreements and group tensions to divert organized groups from the sane solution of specific problems. The intensification of group hatreds is the Communists' solution to all problems. The destruction of all classes, said Marx, is the only road to the "classless society."

It follows, therefore, that conflict and disagreement is lush soil for Red Fascist revolutionary manipulation. Where there is no conflict the Communist must create conflict.

It is important that every citizen understand how the Communists play upon discords and conflicts for the purpose of manipulating and bending organized groups toward the Red Fascist twin program of serving the interests of the foreign policy of Soviet Russia and of preparing the way for violent revolution at home.

Only on the basis of thoughtful judgment and analysis through factual determination of the proportion of Communist influence in a particular organization, together with a thorough understanding of why the infiltration and corruption of such an organization is important in the strategic pattern of revolutionary Communist plotting, will responsible citizens be able to adopt correct decisions in interorganizational relations.

The committee is well aware of the fact that this places upon all citizens a burden of effort and the expenditure of time and money. However, the benefits of the American system carry with them responsibilities of loyalty and devotion. Every American is under sacred obligation to act for the protection and preservation of the institutions and ideals that have protected his liberties and freedom throughout our Nation's existence.

Californians cannot, and will not, fail in this period of crisis. They will meet the problem of Communism intelligently and bring to its solution the same pioneer spirit of determination, vigor and cooperation that marked the creation of this great State as a shining star in the Star Spangled Banner.

The committee calls attention to the fact that California is in a key position in national defense; in economic and agricultural contributions to national defense; in aviation, motion picture, radio, shipping and transportation; and that it has become a crucial state in major political decisions affecting the welfare of the Nation and the future of the world.

The unprecedented growth in California's population has created conditions and groupings that provide lush material upon which Communist disruption can feed.

California's great past and imposing future, presents a challenge to both the Communists and the Americans, marking the division of world-thinking between the two ideologies of totalitarianism and of freedom.

The final record of how that challenge will be met will be determined by the energy, devotion, courage and morality of the advocates of these two utterly contradictory philosophies. (1948 Fourth Report, pp. 45-46.)

The California Senate Committee on Un-American Activities, commends unreservedly, with deep admiration and appreciation, the patriotic and sincere Americans in the American Legion, in Kiwanis International, in the Advertising Council of the A.N.A.-A.A.A.A., and in the Los Angeles Conference of Civic Organizations, who have contributed to the programs cited in this report.

They have devoted patient study, unselfish service and sound reasoning to the planning and organization of community projects that are indispensable to any intelligent opposition in this Country to the murderous philosophy of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism.

They have provided to their fellow-citizens programs and procedures that should be adopted in every community in California. The Senate committee urges that every responsible organized group in California take steps to learn about these programs and to put them into effect in their own communities.

EVERY CITIZEN'S RESPONSIBILITY

No public official, no legislator, no police officer or prosecuting agency can protect and preserve from destruction a social fibre that is rotted with materialism, selfishness, greed, irresponsibility, complacency and apathy toward civic responsibility.

And no citizen in a society, under liberties and freedoms in a constitutional framework, can assign to any other man or woman his own personal responsibility to respect and serve the national heritage that has given him or her freedom and opportunity.

The solemn obligation on all to serve is summed up in the National Advertising Council's general slogan for the broad educational and information campaigns it has prepared as a public service.

This slogan should be the watchword of every citizen in the crucial years ahead:

"Freedom Is Everybody's Business!"

"Anyone with even the slightest knowledge of Communists and their way knows that their one outstanding and universal feature is in sheer, triple-distilled gall and crust."

KARL BAARSLAG, *Communist Trade Union Trickery Exposed*

INVESTIGATION AND EXPOSURE

The investigation and exposure of Communism by Congressional and legislative committees is a task carried on by amateurs for the information and guidance of amateurs in a field in which those who are under investigation are trained professionals.

The field of activity is that of world revolution.

Since the average American is neither a trained professional revolutionary nor a trained anti-revolutionist, and since the Communists devote most of their waking hours to the study of every phase of the strategy and tactics of revolution, the achievements by patriotic amateurs in investigating and exposing the trained professional experts in deception, trickery and evasion, have been remarkable.

We cite, for example, the accomplishments of the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities during the past two years.

1. For the first time in the 30-year history of the Communist Party of the United States, the committee made a full exposure of the activities of a representative of the Communist International, operating illegally in this country for more than a decade, namely Gerhart Eisler, alias Hans Berger, Edwards, Gerhard, Samuel Liptzen, etc., and now a subject of prosecution by the Justice Department.

2. Extensive hearings dealt with Communist penetration of the motion-picture industry.

3. The operations of the International Music Bureau with headquarters in Moscow and reaching into Hollywood through Hanns Eisler, were the subject of public hearings.

4. Leon Josephson, for many years an international operative for the world Communist movement and official procurer of false passports, was brought into the public spotlight for the first time and brought before the bar of justice.

5. The proceedings in connection with Gerhart Eisler, Leon Josephson, Hanns Eisler, and others, demonstrated the operations of a vast Communist passport ring.

6. Continuing its efforts to demonstrate the aims and methods of Communist penetration of labor unions, the committee conducted hearings dealing with such activities in the United Automobile Workers Union, CIO, the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, CIO, and the Food, Tobacco and Agricultural Workers, CIO.

7. Eugene Dennis, general secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, was brought before the committee. His full record and many aliases were noted. He has been cited and convicted for contempt of Congress.

8. For the first time in the history of Soviet-American relations, the House of Representatives was apprised through the committee of the practice of "legal" espionage by the Amtorg Trading Corp., an official Soviet commercial agency.

9. For the first time in the history of Congress, the committee inaugurated a series of public hearings on bills to curb or outlaw the Communist Party of the United States. The Attorney General and outstanding members of the legal profession, as well as leading public men, participated. As a result, an authoritative body of data was collected on this hitherto neglected subject and the committee introduced H. R. 5852, known as the Mundt-Nixon bill, which was adopted by an overwhelming vote of the House of Representatives.

10. The committee initiated an exhaustive investigation into espionage in the field of atomic energy and its findings were embodied into a report entitled "Report on Soviet Espionage Activities in Connection With the Atom Bomb."

11. The operations and activities of Communists in the United States were the subject of testimony by J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and such witnesses as Louis F. Budenz, former managing editor of the *Daily Worker*, and Victor A. Kravchenko, former Soviet representative.

12. In a series of hearings the operations of a Communist espionage ring operating through top-flight government officials during the past 10 years were revealed through the testimony of Elizabeth T. Bentley and Whittaker Chambers, former members of the ring.

13. The committee also published a series of reports on various phases of the Communist problem in the interest of public enlightenment in this field, notably:

The Communist Party of the United States as an Agent of a Foreign Power (26,000 copies).

The Communist Party of the United States as an Advocate of Overthrow of Government by Force and Violence (8,000 copies).

The American Youth for Democracy (6,000 copies).

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare (3,000 copies).

Report on the Civil Rights Congress as a Communist Front (3,000 copies).

100 Things You Should Know About Communism in the USA (507,000 copies).

100 Things You Should Know About Communism and Religion (17,000 copies).

100 Things You Should Know About Communism and Education (23,000 copies).

100 Things You Should Know About Communism and Labor (22,000 copies).

100 Things You Should Know About Communism and Government (20,000 copies).

Citations by Official Government Agencies of Organizations and Publications Found to be Communist or Communist Fronts (2,300 copies).

The intense interest of the country in these publications is demonstrated by the fact that the supply of these publications is almost exhausted at this time. In a number of instances committee reports were reprinted in full or in major part by newspapers throughout the country.

In the State of Washington, the Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities conducted an intensive investigation of Communist activity that uncovered a large mass of important evidence about

Communist activity in the educational system, trade-unions, political organizations, in the legislature and in public employment.

In California, your committee has compiled extensive and documented analysis and factual information, which has been presented in four reports, in 1943, 1945, 1947 and 1948.

All of these investigations and reports have been sabotaged when possible, and denounced, smeared and attacked by the Communist Party and its fellow-travelers with a systematic, scientific and costly campaign of distortion and confusion. The total lack of any truth or merit in this smear campaign is discussed in the following section of Part Two of this report under the title, *Repudiations and Condemnations of Communism*.

The sabotage and smear campaigns that have been directed by the professional agitators of the Communist Party, who frequently make use of gullible dupes to further their objectives, present a serious problem to legislators, such as the members of your committee, who are amateurs in an unpleasant arena of conflict.

Your committee exposed the Communist program for sabotaging investigation and exposure in its 1948 Report, when it published the details of the Communist campaign to fight "thought control."

THE FIGHT "THOUGHT CONTROL" STRATEGY

A major feature of the Communist Party's current defense program is its nation-wide campaign against what they have termed "thought control." *In view of the brutal, murderous suppression of free speech, freedom of association, and the free exchange of news and ideas behind the Iron Curtain, imposed by the Kremlin, this Communist smoke screen becomes a tragic joke of cosmic significance.*

The current Communist strategy for the defense of its treacherous activities is neither improvised nor casual. The entire program was carefully worked out as far back as 1946, and thoroughly organized in 1947.

An aroused American public was anticipated, when the Communist Party was reconstituted as a revolutionary party after the war ended, and the "Political Association" was abandoned.

The Communist Commissars did a lot of streamlining and reorganizing in order to get back on the beam as a revolutionary party and an instrument of the Soviet Union. The American Communist leadership realized that the resumption of the revolutionary class war and treachery in the United States would necessarily provoke indignation, suspicion and *investigation*, plus determined action on the part of governmental agencies.

American Communist Party strategists consequently planned in advance to make an asset of a liability. An immediate attack was decided upon as the best possible defense.

"Fight Thought Control" was launched publicly in December of 1946. A series of forum meetings were held at the El Patio Theater in Hollywood under the general title "Counter-Attack Against the Plot to Control America's Thinking." (See Committee's 1947 Report.) The Communist front, Hollywood Writers' Mobilization, sponsored the series. Among those who participated in the "Forum Series" were John Howard Lawson, Howard Koch, Dalton Trumbo, Irving Pichel, and Robert W. Kenny.

Both Lawson and Kenny demanded an "investigation of the investigators." The purpose of the forums, of course, was to condition so-called "liberals" and "innocents" in the film industry to accept official investigations of Communist activities as an effort on the part of the "bosses" to impose "thought control" upon the nice, kind people who only want to destroy the Government of the United States in a bloody civil war.

Following the "Forum Series" the Communists launched a public rally at the Gilmore Stadium in Los Angeles, starring Henry Wallace and Katherine Hepburn. Robert W. Kenny introduced Wallace, who was billed as the principal speaker, but Katharine Hepburn stole the show. Her subject, of course, was "thought control." (1948 Fourth Report, p. 58.)

Part and parcel of the "thought control" campaign is the Communist directive to all members to, (1) refuse to answer questions concerning their affiliation with the party, and, (2) to boldly challenge the right of any committee or agency to inquire concerning such affiliation. It has become increasingly evident to the members of this committee that the adoption of these directives by a witness indicates, better than the display of a Red card, that the witness is a member of the Communist Party acting under orders from Communist Commissars.

The current line, as disclosed by recent Communist directives, may be summarized as follows:

(a) Smear any hearing by investigating agencies as invasions of the Bill of Rights, privacy, free association, and free speech.

(b) Challenge conduct and procedure of all hearings and investigations as illegal, and as a suppression of free speech in "*an atmosphere of intimidation.*"

(c) Challenge the right of Congressional or legislative bodies to ask questions of anyone concerning their "political" affiliations. (This directive includes the process of always amalgamating "political" with "religious," in order to insinuate that "religious" persecution is contemplated.)

(d) Attack all evidence against Communists as *hearsay*.

(e) Demand that Communist attorneys be permitted to cross-examine witnesses and that the rules of evidence be strictly applied in legislative hearings.

(f) Make every effort to create the impression that Communist witnesses are actually accused of crimes and that they are on trial and are being deprived of all their rights without due process of law.

(g) Charge that investigations of Communism are "witch hunts" and a waste of the taxpayers money. All investigations of Communism are to be charged as directed against labor and racial minorities.

(h) Fill the investigating agency's transcripts with protests and charges; claim intimidation, and, on every occasion, liken the investigating agency's methods to Hitlerism.

AMERICANISM VS. STALINISM

In spite of our amateur standing in competition with the Communist experts in the market place of public opinions, the members of your committee have determined over a period of years that certain indisputable truths about Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist activity can be checked and proved.

Any person who supports the program of the Communist Party in any nation as part of the program of world revolution laid down by the Comintern in Moscow is a Stalinist. Any person who consistently works to serve the interests of the foreign policy of Soviet Russia, and who promotes discord, disunity, dissension and class strife, for the purpose of preparing the way for revolution, is a Stalinist.

In spite of millions of words written about Communism, it is as simple as that; and in its practical application today as formal world Communism, it is Stalinism.

The committee has discovered, as have many other responsible governmental and police agencies, that persons who advocate, support or work for Stalinism have committed themselves to a course of conduct that consistently comes in conflict with the aspirations, beliefs and ethical concepts of normal human beings. Stalinism, like Fascism, Nazism and other totalitarian concepts of human living and government, is unequivocally and irrevocably in complete and total conflict with the conceptions of human living and government embodied in the American Constitution and our way of life by the founding fathers of this Nation.

The conflict between Americanism and Stalinism is irreconcilable and cannot be compromised. This conflict has been demonstrated by many specific instances in the past and it will continue in the future. Consistent subservience to the pattern of conduct laid down by world Communism, stamps a person or organization indisputably as either a Stalinist or non-Stalinist. It is a conflict so sharp and clean that there will never be a middle ground.

It is impossible for an organization or an individual to exist, except in a total vacuum, without coming in contact with the ideas, issues, policies and programs that test its or his attitude toward Stalinism. Furthermore, Stalinism is so foreign to the ideas and concepts of Americanism, no matter how sharply Americans may differ on ideas, issues, policies and programs, that only a devoted follower or a complete fool can pursue a pattern of consistently supporting the Stalinist position on a wide range of foreign policy and domestic issues, in view of the openly avowed objectives of Stalinism.

THE STIGMA OF STALINISM

Actual Communists frequently are not easily identified as such because of the secret and conspiratorial nature of the Communist Party. Identification of an individual as a Communist should not depend solely upon legal proof of membership in the Communist Party. Identification of an individual or an organization as Stalinist can be made on the basis of his or its public activities. It is impossible to be a Stalinist without stamping oneself as a Stalinist.

The one thing that marks off a Stalinist and sets him aside from his fellowmen is consistent, undeviating devotion to the so-called "party line" of the Communist Party, and adherence to the self-professed ideas and objectives of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism.

The 1948 report of this committee has established clearly and factually that U. S. Communists, as part of the program of world Communism, continuously and consistently operate behind a façade of front organizations, and that these front organizations espouse causes and programs and policies that are part and parcel of the Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist "party line."

A Stalinist stamps himself as such by his own acts in lending his name as a speaker, sponsor, donor, chairman, executive board member, fund-raiser, writer, and official of organizations that follow the Stalinist pattern.

Stalinists will be found in the membership of defense committees, victory committees, celebration committees, and other committees, for the honoring and support of known Communists and the Soviet Union and its Communist satellites.

Stalinists also will be found signing their names to resolutions, protests, denunciations, publicity releases and quotations to the Communist press, general press statements, meeting calls and manifestoes, all in defense and support of known Communists, and for the honoring or support of the Soviet Union.

When Stalinists set up an organization, union, committee, rally or other Communist activity, they invariably welcome Communists into membership; and the individual who proposes in any such movement to ban Communists, immediately is denounced by Stalinists as a "red-baiter" and a promoter of "splitting tactics" and "disunity."

Stalinists always attack critics of Soviet Russia, or of World Communism as "imperialist war-mongers, who want to separate the American people from friendship with their great wartime ally." Stalinists never criticize Soviet Russia, but they find everything wrong in the United States.

Communists will be found at the center of every organization of a Stalinist character, and usually in the key positions, controlling access to membership lists, calling of meetings, issuing of statements and handling of funds.

SABOTAGE OF HEARINGS

During 1948, your committee held hearings in Los Angeles, San Diego, and Sacramento, in all of which we encountered the operation of the Communist Party's strategy and tactics for the confusion and disruption of public hearings.

It was obvious that one of the major Communist tactics was to consume time and lengthen hearings so that the limited funds of the committee quickly would be exhausted. It was another version of the standard Communist technique of "talking a meeting to death."

Another feature was the insolence and abusiveness of the Communist and fellow-traveler witnesses in their presentation of the standard Stalinist pattern of refusing to answer questions.

SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS

The net result of this experience has convinced your committee that important and radical changes must be made in the conduct of public hearings to insure practical and useful results.

Among the indispensable steps that must be taken are:

- (1) Enlarge the committee to make it thoroughly representative of all sections of the State, both geographically and by economic and other organizational divisions; and reconstitute the committee as a Joint Senate and Assembly Committee.

- (2) Secure precise and authoritative legal determination of every right of the committee to call witnesses and conduct examinations bearing on subversive activity that have been and are being challenged in hearings and in the courts by the Communist legal experts.

- (3) Obtain the cooperation of the legal profession to examine, study and recommend procedures to overcome the brazen misuse by Communist and leftwing attorneys of their privileges as officers of

the court, through their participation in advising and guiding their clients to engage in open defiance of the law.

(4) Provide sufficient funds for adequate investigative, research, technical and other essential facilities and services; and for permanent liaison and exchange of information with and between all prosecuting and police agencies of the State, the counties and the cities and with the federal governmental agencies and Congressional and Legislative investigating committees.

(5) Provide sufficient funds for the publication, when needed in the future, of individual reports on important Communist activities and organizations and for the publication of complete transcripts of important public hearings.

Your committee is convinced that our previous four reports, when combined with the comprehensive documentation and reference information contained in this present report, have provided the Legislature and the people of California with all of the fundamental information that is needed to understand the issues involved in the conflict between Communism and Americanism.

Your committee believes that future annual reports should be presented in the form of a brief progress report and that an improved committee publication program, adequately financed, should enable the committee to issue such special reports that are called for as circumstances of the Communist conspiracy and appropriate investigation should require.

The Legislature will have to face the fact that the Communist problem in California is one of monumental importance in the perspective of the present world situation. It can no longer rely on a small committee of amateurs, inadequately financed, and in the main dependent on volunteer assistance and cooperation from other official agencies and patriotic citizens.

One of the most important tasks to be undertaken by a committee with adequate funds should be the arrangement of a series of hearings at which the responsible leaders of the basic organized groups in the State would be given an opportunity to testify about their views and desires about how to deal with Communism and to the facts about their experiences with Communist disruption.

In the past your committee has not had the funds or facilities to call as witnesses the Communists and fellow-travelers who should have been examined under oath, let alone to hold the type of hearings at which substantial leadership of business, labor, veteran, church, educational, fraternal, professional, service club and similar civic groups could express themselves and make recommendations. It was in lieu of such a program that your committee established the Citizens Advisory Committees described elsewhere in this report.

The other major problem to be solved in future hearings is the handling of unfriendly witnesses.

This will require the most careful study of all of the Communist strategies and tactics for the disruption, confusion and flouting of legislative investigations.

Your committee has arrived at a number of important and useful suggestions to solve this problem but for obvious reasons does not desire to disclose the strategic and tactical phases of such a program in a public document for the information of the Communists. Your committee is preparing a confidential report to the Rules Committee of the Senate on this problem.

KNIGHT PUBLIC OPINION SURVEY

The first survey of public opinion, known to your committee, on the subject of legislative investigation of Communism was made during recent months by John B. Knight and Company, a public opinion testing organization, headed by former Assemblyman John B. Knight of Los Angeles.

The survey was conducted by the Knight organization without any knowledge or request by the committee and for informational purposes in their own work. Your committee is indebted to Mr. Knight for permission to publish the results of the survey for the information of the Legislature.

Following is a tabulation of the classifications of individuals questioned in the survey:

	<i>Survey</i>	<i>* Census</i>
<i>Sex</i> -----	100.0%	100.0%
Men -----	50.6%	50.9%
Women -----	49.4	49.1
<i>Age</i> -----	100.0%	100.0%
20-29 -----	24.0%	23.8%
30-39 -----	22.7	22.8
40-49 -----	20.4	20.1
50-up -----	32.9	33.3
<i>Occupation</i> -----	100.0%	100.0%
Owner-manager-official-professional -----	25.1%	25.2%
Clerical-sales -----	21.4	20.8
Skilled workers -----	38.9	38.6
Unskilled workers -----	14.6	15.4
<i>* Census Bureau of the United States.</i>		
	<i>Survey</i>	<i>* Registration</i>
<i>Party</i> -----	100.0%	100.0%
Democrat -----	59.3%	57.5%
Republican -----	31.0	37.8
Other -----	9.7	4.7
<i>Home owner-renter</i> -----	100.0%	
Owner -----	57.2%	
Renter -----	42.8	
Are you or head of house a member of a union?		
Yes -----	100.0%	
No -----	29.3%	
	70.7	

** June 1, 1948.*

Four questions were asked in the survey. They were:

(1) Have you ever heard about the State of California Un-American Activities Committee headed by State Senator Jack B. Tenney?

(2) If "Yes," do you think the State should do away with the committee, or should it be continued?

(3) If you believe "Should Do Away With the Committee," Why?

(4) If you believe "Should Be Continued," Why?

The answers to this opinion poll present some interesting facts about the extent of public knowledge of your committee and its work and the views of those who are informed about the committee's work.

It will be noted that in spite of the loud and noisy smear campaign that has been directed against the committee by Communists, fellow-travelers and their dupes, the poll disclosed that 14 percent of the people of California believe the committee should be discontinued. This percentage factor tallies closely with the voting percentage accorded to the Communist controlled Henry Wallace third party movement in the 1948 elections and with the standard estimates of Communist direct and indirect influence in California affairs.

Following are the tabulated responses to the four questions asked in the opinion poll:

Have you heard or read about the State of California Un-American Activities Committee headed by State Senator Jack B. Tenney?

	Total	Democrat	Republican	Other party
Interviews -----	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Yes -----	54.9%	51.5%	62.8%	50.8%
No -----	45.1	48.5	37.2	49.2

(If yes.) Do you think that the State should do away with this committee, or should it be continued? (Un-American Activities Committee.)

	Total	Democrat	Republican	Other party
Those who have heard or read about the State of California Un-American Activities Committee----	(54.9)	(51.5)	(62.8)	(50.8)
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Should be continued -----	52.2%	49.4%	59.3%	45.7%
Should do away with committee -----	25.7	29.5	18.8	29.3
Don't know-----	22.1	21.1	21.9	25.0

(If "should do away with committee") Why?

	Total	Democrat	Republican
Those who believe committee should be done away with -----	(25.7)*	(29.5)*	(18.8)*
Not accomplishing sufficient results-----	33.5%	34.6%	31.3%
Against civil rights-----	22.2	25.3	16.4
Inefficient management -----	18.4	21.0	16.4
Should be handled by federal government----	16.9	15.4	23.9
Does more harm than good-----	9.8	9.9	10.4
Dislike Tenney -----	7.1	5.6	11.9
Gestapo methods -----	6.4	6.8	3.0
"Red herring" -----	3.8	4.3	1.5
Miscellaneous -----	4.9	3.7	4.5
Don't know -----	3.0	2.5	4.5

* Totals to more than 100.0% because of multiple answers.

(If "should be continued") Why?

	<i>Total</i>	<i>Demo- crat</i>	<i>Repub- lican</i>
Those who believe committee should be con- tinued -----	(52.2)*	(49.4)*	(59.3)*
Combat Communism -----	56.7%	53.8%	58.3%
Exposure of subversive elements -----	32.0	31.1	33.6
Doing a good job -----	8.5	9.2	7.6
Needs improvement, cooperation with F. B. I.	5.9	6.6	3.3
Miscellaneous -----	2.2	2.6	2.4
Don't know -----	5.5	5.5	6.6

* Totals to more than 100.0% because of multiple answers.

"Our American history is full of occasions of biting and derisive name-calling, but throughout its crowded pages there have always appeared men of courage who feared neither the names nor the callers-of-names. Only a few men during the past several years have had the courage to stand up under the paralyzing accusation of being a 'redbaiter'."

CALIFORNIA COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
1943 First Report, Page 17

REPUDIATIONS AND DENIALS OF COMMUNISM

No group of men in California history have been subjected to the systematic, scientific, concentrated, vicious abuse and vituperation that has been heaped on the members—past and present—of the California Legislature's Committees on Un-American Activities, to all of which your committee is the direct lineal successor.

Your committee analyzed this problem of Communist inspired attack on informed and effective critics and opponents of the Red conspiracy in its 1943 First Report (pages 16-18); in its 1945 Second Report (pages 66-67); in its 1947 Third Report (pages 139-143); and in its 1948 Fourth Report (pages 56-63).

Communist technique for sabotaging, disrupting, smearing and confusing investigation and exposure of Communist treason and treachery is analyzed and reported further under the preceding section titled, *Investigation*, in Part Two of this report.

After nearly a decade of experience in investigating Communism, your committee is even more firmly convinced that responsible Americanism demands specific, courageous, informed, intelligent and persistent open showdown opposition to Communism and to any appeasement of Communists and Communism in any quarter.

The members of this committee have been denounced with every epithet in the Stalinist catalog. We have been threatened with every possible form of dire punishment, retribution and extinction.

From the moment any of the members of your committee accepted the duty to serve in this most conspicuously controversial committee of the Legislature, none of us has faltered once under Communist abuse and threats. *But we have been sorely tried by the apathy, complacency, ignorance and gullibility of many individuals who stand to lose everything they hold dear—in refusing to study and understand the Communist danger and to act decisively against it.*

What has perplexed and annoyed us most in the difficult work we have performed under continuous abuse and attack by the Communist traitors and their apologists and fellow-travelers, has been the amazing gullibility of people, who should have more sense and patriotism, in accepting without critical examination generalized attacks upon this committee and upon its reports.

The true facts about this astounding situation will shock and enlighten even the most confused and ignorant.

First, no other committee of comparable tenure in service to the Legislature and the people of California has had so few specific challenges to the fact citations in its reports.

Second, no ten comparable committees of the California Legislature over the past decade have been subjected to such widespread abuse and attack in generalities with such a minimum of challenge in the particular.

Third, no group of critics of a legislative committee—be they Communists, fellow-travelers, friends, apologists or appeasers, or merely confused and uninformed individuals—have gone to such lengths to avoid and evade open, public debate of the actual facts in contention, as have the foes and critics of this committee.

Fourth, no committee of the Legislature comparably has been attacked by individuals and organizations with charges that the committee is falsely reporting facts about them but who brazenly continue to compile by their own actions day by day an identical record of what the committee has been reporting.

We cite herewith only a few names from the indexes of our preceding four reports and we call the attention of the Legislature and of the people of California to the unique fact that *these individuals all persistently, viciously and dishonestly have attacked and denounced this committee and its members without once directly challenging a single finding of the committee.*

THE COMMITTEE'S CRITICS

Among the committee's more notorious critics have been:

Dr. Thomas Addis, Larry Adler, Joseph Aidlin, Mrs. Mary Aidlin, Gregory Ain, John Allard, Mrs. Fay E. Allen, Sam Houston Allen, Mischa Altman, George R. Andersen, George Anthell, Dr. David Appleman, William Axelrod, Ayeroff Brothers.

Lee Bachelis, Roger Baldwin, Sam Balter, Dr. Harry Elmer Barnes, Andrew Barrigan, Edward K. Barsky, Charlotta A. Bass, Rene Battaglini, Dr. Ralph Beals, Max Bedacht, Sanford S. Beldner, Cedric Belfrage, William "Bill" Belton, Sam Berland, Averill Berman, Jack Y. Berman, Lewis Alan Berne, Alvah Cecil Bessie, Edward Biberman, Herbert Biberman, William R. Bidner, Henry Blankfort, Michael Blankfort, Prof. Franz Boas, Roman Bohnen, Reuben W. Borough, Anthony Boucher, Richard O. Boyer, William Patrick Brandhove, Louise Bransten, Carl Brant, Sophronisba P. Breckinridge, Harry Bridges, Joseph R. Brodsky, J. Edward Bromberg, Earl Browder, Archie Brown, Bishop William Montgomery Brown, Hugh Bryson, Pearl S. Buck, Henrietta Buckmaster, Germain Bulcke, James Burford, Sidney Burke, Norman Byrne.

Reverend Ernest Caldecott, Harry Carlisle, Morris Carnovsky, Jacobina Caro (Mrs. Jacobina Davison), Al Caya, Revels Cayton, Charles Chaplin, Prof. Haakon M. Chevalier, Edward Chodorov, Jerome Chodorov, Leslie E. Claypool, Leon Clifton, Lee Coe, Lester Cole, Phillip M. Connelly, Norman Corwin, John Cromwell, Bartley Crum.

Howard da Silva, Dr. Frank C. Davis, Sidney Davison, Albert Dekker, Edward Dmytryk, Helen Gahagan Douglas, Muriel Draper, Paul Draper.

Bertram Edises, Hans Eisler, William Elconin, Florence Eldridge, Edward E. Elliott, Ted Ellsworth.

Dr. Franklin Fearing, Lion Feuchtwanger, Abram Flaxer, Meyer Frieden, Reverend Stephen H. Fritchman.

Leo Gallagher, Herbert Ganahl, Virginia Gardner, John Garfield, Richard Gladstein, Charles Gladstone, Louis Goldblatt, Eleanor Grennard, Elliot Grennard, Aubrey Grossman.

Dashiell Hammett, E. Y. Harburg, Hugh Hardyman, Augustus F. Hawkins, Don Healy, Dorothy (Ray) Healy, Ned Healy, Aaron Allen Heist, Lillian Hellman, Donald Henderson, Katharine Hepburn, Rose Hobart, Dr. Harry Hoijer, Lena Horne, Kenneth Howard, Maurice Howard, Dr. H. Claude Hudson, Langston Hughes, John Huhn, John Huston.

George F. Irvine, Sam Jaffe, David Jenkins, Albert E. Kahn, Charles J. Katz, Danny Kaye, Gene Kelly, Robert W. Kenny, Jeff Kibre, Patricia Killoran, Freda Kirchway, Herbert Kline, Howard Koch, Raphael Konigsberg.

Rudy Lambert, Millard Lampell, Vicki Landish, Ring Lardner, Jr., Pauline Lauber, John Howard Lawson, Canada Lee, George Lohr.

Elizabeth McCandless, Mrs. LaRue McCormick, John T. McTernan, Katherine McTernan, Carey McWilliams.

Jerome W. MacNair, Albert Maltz, Dr. Thomas Mann, Frederick March, Ben Margolis, Burgess Meredith, Loren Miller, Judge Stanley Moffatt, Karen Morley, Ed Mosk, Steve Murdock, Edward Mussa.

Mort Newman, Clifford Odets, William E. Oliver, A. Olken, George Olshausen, Samuel Ornitz, Seniel Ostrow, Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam.

Isaac Pacht, Dorothy Parker, Larry Parks, Bishop Edward L. Parsons, Ellis E. Patterson, Gregory Peck, George Pepper, Pettis Perry, Irving Pichel, Paul Pinsky, John Pittman, Abe Polansky, Anne Pollack, William Pomerance, Vincent Price.

Prof. Max Radin, Mervyn Rathborne, Anton Refregier, Herbert Resner, Ann Revere, Al Richmond, Ben Rinaldo, Dr. Holland Roberts, Paul Robeson, Earl Robinson, Edward G. Robinson, Sidney Roger, O. John Rogge, Judge Ben Rosenthal, Aaron Rothblatt, Reverend Clayton D. Russell, Reverend E. P. Ryland.

Harold Salemsen, Waldo Salt, Harold Sawyer, Henry Sazar, William Schneiderman, Bernard C. Schoenfeld, Frank Scully, Rose Segure, George Seldes, Howard Selsam, Victor A. Shapiro, Harlow Shapley, Artie Shaw, Irwin Shaw, Reverend Guy Emery Shipley, Herman Shumlin, Julian Sieroty, Mrs. Julian Sieroty, Frank Sinatra, Albee Slade, Ruth Slade, Gale Sondergaard, Herbert K. Sorrell, Nemmy Sparks, Frank Spector, Lionel Stander, Joseph Starobin, Johannes Steel, Henry Steinberg, Donald Ogden Stewart, George Stiller, Celeste Strack, Anna Louise Strong, Gloria Stuart.

Harry Tanner, Senator Glenn H. Taylor, Mrs. Jessie L. Terry, Oliver Thornton, Clara Towne, Dalton Trumbo, Milton S. Tyre.

Mary Van Kleeck, Mortimer Vogel.

Henry A. Wallace, Dr. J. Raymond Walsh, Estoly Ward, Dr. Harry F. Ward, Clore Warne, Prof. Colston E. Warne, Morris Watson, Hymen Elliott Wax, Eric Webber, Orson Welles, Gene Weltfish, Anita Whitney, Alvin Wilder, Albert Rhys Williams, David Rhys Williams, John Williamson, Dolph Winebrenner, Henry Winston, Ella Winter, A. L. Wirin, James Waterman Wise, Bert Witt, Dr. Mary E. Woolley.

Oleta O'Connor Yates, Jack Young.

Jacob Zeitlin, Bronislaus Joseph Zukas.

These persons cited above are typical of the individuals within the various Stalinist orbits, about whose activities in Stalinist programs and causes, your committee has presented factual reports or has taken sworn evidence.

Without exception, they are representative of an element in California that has two things in common:

(1) They have conspicuously followed or appeased some of the Communist Party line program over a long period of time, and quite naturally—in view of this committee's specific, factual, irrefutable investigation and reporting of their activities in Communist fronts, causes and agitations—they all have participated in programs, meetings, protests, denunciations, resolutions, publications, committees, and organizations specifically working for and publicly advocating the destruction of the Senate Committee on Un-American Activities and the smearing and discrediting of the committee's personnel and staff.

(2) Not one of them ever formally has protested, denied or repudiated any testimony by witnesses before this committee; or any reporting, documentation or analysis by this committee; nor has any one of them ever challenged, denied, repudiated or

attempted to refute a single fact cited before this committee or by this committee on any specific day at any particular time and place or on any page of the committee's extensive reports.

What is even more impressive and startling is the fact that—over and above this amazing fear of factual discussion by the Stalinist-minded, vindictive critics and propagandists, who attack the committee—in nearly a decade, hardly anyone else specifically has challenged the committee's reports or repudiated use of their names in Stalinist activities.

This almost total failure to specifically deny, challenge or attempt to refute facts about Stalinist, fellow-traveler, apologist and appeasement activities in California, that have been revealed and exposed by this committee, is unprecedented in the history of political-legislative controversy.

We cite specific facts to emphasize this vital point, which should impress the Legislature and the people of California with the fraudulent nature of the smear campaign against the committee.

THE STATISTICS OF DENIALS AND REPUDIATIONS

Since the creation of California legislative Committee on Un-American Activities, the combined reports of all the committees, including the present Senate committee, have totaled more than 1,500 published pages.

Testimony before the committees now totals more than 15,000 pages, supported by a voluminous file of documentary evidence; and a comprehensive collection of Communist and Communist-front publications.

The committee has in its possession newspapers, magazines, letters, letterheads, booklets; meeting calls in the form of letters, printed announcements and telegrams; proceedings and minutes of conventions, conferences, meetings, caucuses and secret gatherings; resolutions, protests, denunciations, petitions, registrations and other documents signed by individuals and organizations; pamphlets, dodgers, fund-raising appeals, and other written, printed, and mimeographed material officially produced, circulated and distributed by individuals and organizations advocating Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism, and supporting and defending Soviet Russia and known Communist individuals and organizations.

The official material of Communist organizations and fronts reveals their conduct in competition in the market place of public opinion and provides a huge mass of indisputable evidence to document and substantiate the committee's reports. This material is separate and in addition to confidential information on Communist activity in the possession of the committee or available to it.

During the period of approximately a decade in which the various committees have compiled this collection of positive documentary evidence, and have published approximately 1,500 pages of printed reports, more than 10,000,000 words have been written attacking the committees and seeking their destruction.

The committee has in its possession more than 5,000 individual items of untrue abusive attacks upon the various committees and their reports;

and this sampling is only a small part of the total amount of abuse that has been directed at the committees.

During this same period, while the committees and their individual members have been calumniated and denounced with systematic and scientific agitation and propaganda attacks, all of which have been conducted in vague generalities, *only four organizations and eleven individuals ever have taken the trouble to specifically deny, repudiate or refute any facts taken in public testimony before the committees or published in the reports.*

One of these individuals, the late screen star, Wallace Beery, whose Americanism was beyond any cavil or dispute, merely requested that the committee make clear that he was not a "Wallace Berry," who participated in a Communist activity cited in the 1948 Fourth Reports; and a good humored correction was received from Benjamin Stolberg.

Two of the protesting individuals, Msgr. Thomas J. O'Dwyer and D. R. O'Neil, never were mentioned in any of the reports!

One of the individuals, Rev. Paul Covey Johnston, denounced and condemned Communism and denied that one organization in which he had been active had Communist influence. One person, Henry Fisher, challenged statements made in an affidavit.

Three individuals denounced and repudiated use of their names by Communist fronts as having been done without their knowledge and consent. They were Orville R. Caldwell, Dave Foutz and Alfred Wallenstein.

The repudiations cited above were in connection with the 1948 Fourth Report, with the exception of Mr. Stolberg, which is discussed below, and which was corrected in our 1947 Report.

Two individuals, John Sargent, and Dr. Samuel Marcus, filed affidavits denying and repudiating Communism and denying statements made by a witness in a lengthy affidavit to the committee, published in the 1943 Report, and these affidavits were cited in the 1945 Report on pages 6-7.

AN AMERICAN PROTEST

Many important Communists, while thoroughly under the discipline of the Communist hierarchy in America, are rarely carried on Communist Party books as such.

Guided by Communist lawyers, such as Aubrey Grossman, Leo Gallagher and others, the party functionaries are instructed to keep their records in such a manner that they are of little value within the strict rules of the laws of evidence. The legal-lights of the Communist Party have seen to it that exposure of important comrades is almost impossible, at least, as far as the courts are concerned.

Committee investigators have had access to Communist Party membership records in recent years and realize the futility involved in attempting to prove anything by them. One well known Communist is carried on one such list as "John 4-X." The Communist Party legal staff, versed in American jurisprudence, has arranged matters so that such records will make poor evidence in the legal sense.

Every investigating body has been faced with this problem of evidence. Exposure of Communists such as Herbert K. Sorrell through his application for membership in the Communist Party and his dues-books have put the party particularly on guard.

Outstanding functionaries, such as Archie Brown, Celeste Strack, William Schneiderman, Dorothy Healy and Aubrey Grossman, necessarily avow their Communist affiliation and will do so as long as the party remains partially above ground.

The committee, throughout its nearly ten years of investigation, has attempted carefully to distinguish between American *liberals* and American *Communists*. Experience has convinced the committee that this is not too difficult a task.

An American Socialist, for instance, is probably the most anti-Communist individual in the country. Contrary to the generally accepted public belief, the Labor Party of England constitutes a substantial bulwark against Communism in the British Isles.

The *New Leader*, published in New York by American Social Democrats, is probably one of the most effective periodicals in the United States fighting Communism. The contributors to this weekly are all liberals and progressives in the true sense of the word. They fight for trade unionism and vigorously oppose discrimination because of race, color or creed and stand squarely for the rights of minority groups, whether in the political or economic fields. While advocating socialistic reforms in the field of economy they wage an effective and telling fight against Stalin abroad and the Stalinites at home.

The liberal American will rarely become indignant when accused of being a Communist. He will set you right and join with you in a vigorous condemnation of everything Communistic. On the other hand, nothing makes an undercover Communist more angry than to be called a "Communist." He will circumvent every question and demand that you "define your terms."

Indicative of the attitude of a real American liberal is the case of Benjamin Stolberg, noted American journalist and outstanding fighter against Communism.

In the Committee's 1945 Report, at page 150, in the part of the report on the 1946 *CIO Political Action Committee*, the following lines appeared:

Benjamin Stolberg, once having been a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, was able to shrewdly predict a liquidation of Mr. Lewis when he stated in his article, "*Communist Wreckers in American Labor*," which appeared in the September 2, 1939, issue of the *Saturday Evening Post*. * * *

The statement that Mr. Stolberg had once been a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party was, of course, an error. The mistake was made in the rush of proofreading and the phrase "once having been a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party" was a line that became misplaced in the process. The error was not discovered until the reports were bound and distributed.

Benjamin Stolberg's attitude is not only interesting, but illustrative of both his character and his Americanism. The chairman received the following letter from Mr. Stolberg under date of June 27, 1945:

DEAR SENATOR TENNEY: The other day I called on Mr. Herbert Hoover, who gave me a copy of your Second Report on Un-American Activities, which he suggested that I read.

That night it was steamingly hot, sleep was out of the question and I spent most of it reading your fascinating report, which is not only learned and sound but clever.

But, when I got to page 150, I fell out of bed from sheer shock, broke my ankle and passed out, for which I shall of course sue the State of California for a couple of millions. For there, black and white, I was quoted—quite approvingly—as an expert on Communism on the ground that I once was “a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party.”

Now, I never was a member of the Communist Party, let alone its national committee. I never was a member even of the Socialist Party. In fact, I never was a member of any political party until last November when I joined the Republican Party.

I pride myself that way back in 1922, Earl Browder wrote an entire little pamphlet, showing that I was nothing but a miserable “Bourgeois” progressive and capitalist “apologist.” Of course, that was very mild criticism of my spiritual corruption, for 10 years later the *Daily Worker* called me a “street-walker,” a very low priced one at that. Naturally, I feel very honored by this evolution-in-depravity in Communist eyes—and correspondingly humiliated by being mistakenly called a former high functionary of the C. P. racket.

More seriously: If there is another edition of your report, can you make the correction? And if there is no other edition, can you correct the statement in your next hearings?

I expect to be in your city within a month or so and I shall take great pleasure in looking you up.

Very sincerely yours,
(Signed)

BENJAMIN STOLBERG.

The committee stated in its 1947 Report that it was “happy for this opportunity to correct its error of 1945 and humbly apologizes to Benjamin Stolberg. If there were more journalists with the vigorous wit and the powers of analysis exemplified in the outstanding work of such men as Benjamin Stolberg, Eugene Lyons and George E. Sokolsky there would be a lot less muddle-headed thinking in these United States.”

THE PARTY LINE TEST

An independent thinking American, no matter how radical his views may be, follows his *own* particular convictions. All views on political and economic subjects change from time-to-time as long as the mind is free to develop.

Many people are led to believe, through Communist propaganda, that similarity between an individual's political and economic beliefs with the Communist Party program is merely incidental. Some people will usually argue that because the Communist Party advocates a certain reform espoused by the individual that the objective must not be abandoned merely because it has Communist support. What such individuals *do not know* is that through the processes of Marxian dialectic the Communist Party program has been evolved to *fit the thinking of the non-Communist individual*. The important difference is that, while the non-Communist may advocate and advance reforms with the intent to *strengthen* the economic or social structure, the Communist utilizes the program for the purpose of creating *dissension, chaos and collapse*.

The application of Marxian dialectic and the materialistic interpretation of history to current events, crusades and reforms, with Soviet foreign policy in the forefront and carried forward without any regard for American interests, brands any individual continually following the “line” with the hammer-and-sickle label of Marxism-Leninism.

It is the mark of a Stalinist Cain and, whether the individual carries a Communist Party book or not, his regimented thinking and acting marks him for what he is. It is at this point of ironbound adherence to

the party line that the non-Communist independent thinker parts company with the Communist Party.

In addition to the few specific protests cited above, the committee, over this same period, has received approximately thirty-five written or personal protests against facts cited in the reports. Every one of these protesting individuals was informed by letter that the committee would welcome the opportunity to correct any mistake that might have been made. Each protestant was offered the opportunity to file a specific answer or be granted a hearing.

Not one of the protestants in this group ever replied in writing to the communication sent them or accepted an opportunity to repudiate Communism or challenge the reports factually in an affidavit or in a hearing.

DENIALS AND REPUDIATIONS

Your committee is pleased to present denials and repudiations of Communism officially received and to correct technical errors of nomenclature and cross-identification in the following instances.

I. AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

The committee is in receipt of a series of lengthy communications, with documentary supplements, publications and interorganization communications, from Mr. Clayton Lane, who recently was appointed executive secretary of the Institute of Pacific Relations, with the avowed intention of providing an executive leadership that would be aggressively and soundly American on the issue of Communism.

Mr. Lane particularly protested the reference on Page 168 of the 1948 Fourth Report to the institute as one of a group of "Communist and Communist-front organizations" that were recipients of funds from the pro-Communist American People's Fund.

Mr. Lane is a prominent Californian, who has had a distinguished career, and the committee sincerely hopes that he will make an important contribution in his position as executive secretary of the institute. However, the committee has in its files a large amount of documentation on the existence of Stalinist activity and the participation by known Communists in the institute's affairs in the past.

We sincerely hope that in the present troubled world situation, Mr. Lane, and the other sincere, patriotic and able men in positions of importance in determining the institute's programs and policies, will provide a supervision of its affairs that will exclude Communist infiltration in the future.

The Institute of Pacific Relations is an important and influential competitor in the market place of public opinion. While it may be an exaggeration to describe it as a Communist front, it is indubitably true that it has been infiltrated by Communists and fellow-travelers in the past. The committee extends its sincere good wishes and the offer of any possible help it can render to protect against such infiltration in the future.

II. AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

The committee received protests from George J. Mintzer, of New York, and Lawrence Bloomgarden, of Los Angeles, both officers of the American Jewish Committee, over an obvious clerical error on Page 146 of the 1948 Fourth Report.

Pages 145-149 of the 1948 Report dealt with the American Jewish Congress as an organization infiltrated by Communists and which had adopted resolutions and taken other actions following the Communist Party line. In this section, on Page 146, the American Jewish Committee was referred to. It was a clerical error not intended by the committee. The intended reference was to the "Congress" and not to the "Committee" and the Senate committee is happy to publish this correction.

The Americanism and the official positions taken by the American Jewish Committee against Communism are well known, and in fact, the Senate committee has in its files numerous samples of vicious Communist propaganda attacks upon the American Jewish Committee.

III. WALLACE BEERY

The committee received a communication from Wallace Beery, the motion picture star, since deceased, calling its attention to the mention of a "Wallace Berry" on Pages 280 and 338 of the 1948 Fourth Report as a participant in Communist-front activity.

The committee is happy to report that the Wallace Berry referred to is an entirely different person, who never in any way was associated with the late Mr. Beery.

IV. ORVILLE R. CALDWELL

The committee received a communication from Orville R. Caldwell, executive deputy to Mayor Fletcher Bowron of Los Angeles, protesting a citation at Page 309 of the 1948 Fourth Report, as a participant in the activities of the Communist-front, Mobilization for Democracy.

The committee is pleased to publish Mr. Caldwell's communication repudiating the misuse of his name by this Communist front in its false statement to a Communist newspaper that he was a member of a "conference program committee", which was cited in the 1948 Report. Mr. Caldwell also was provided with a photostatic copy of the untrue Communist statement on which the citation was based.

OFFICE OF THE MAYOR, CITY HALL
LOS ANGELES 12, CALIFORNIA, May 7, 1948

Hon. Jack B. Tenney, Chairman

*Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities
State Building, Los Angeles 12, California*

DEAR SENATOR TENNEY: In casually reviewing your "Fourth Report, Un-American Activities in California, 1948" I have found my name mentioned at Page 309, on which I am listed as having attended a meeting. I have never attended any meeting sponsored by "Mobilization for Democracy", and never was in company with the other parties named.

The matter does not appear to me to be of such importance as to warrant any publicity, which might embarrass the work of the committee. However, I believe that I am entitled to a retraction by correction of the record in some subsequent issue of your Committee's Report, and a letter which can be placed in my files as answer to any persons who would attempt to embarrass me because of this unwarranted inclusion of my name in the Report.

Very truly yours,

ORVILLE R. CALDWELL
Executive Deputy

V. HENRY FISHER

The committee received a protest communication, and also heard Henry Fisher of San Francisco testify in person, to dispute statements made about him in the affidavit of William P. H. Brandhove, which was published on pages 161-167 of the 1947 Third Report.

Mr. Fisher categorically denied Communist membership and repudiated Communism, as well as challenging the statements made about him by Mr. Brandhove in his affidavit as false and untrue.

VI. DAVE FOUTZ

The committee received a communication from Dave Foutz, a member and officer of the Democratic County Central Committee of Los Angeles, protesting and repudiating a citation on page 279 of the 1948 Fourth Report, as a member, listed on the letterhead of the Communist-front, Los Angeles Emergency Committee to Aid the Strikers.

The committee is pleased to publish Mr. Foutz's denial and repudiation of participation in the Communist front, which used his name on its letterhead without his knowledge or consent:

March 9, 1949

*Hon. Jack B. Tenney, State Senator
State Capitol, Sacramento, California*

DEAR JACK: Confirming our telephone conversation of today, I was quite surprised to learn that my name had appeared on a letterhead of the Los Angeles Committee to Aid the Strikers, which you have exposed as a Communist-front organization.

I categorically deny that I was ever a member of such a committee, did not even know that one existed, and have never at any time given permission to anyone to use my name on any organization for or against any labor controversy in the State of California.

I know as well as you that oftentimes organizations of that nature use people's names without ever getting their consent. They do this to add some prominence to their cause and mislead other people. I have always fought that type of tactic and would never, under any circumstances, become a party to any of their workings.

Your willingness to run this retraction is appreciated, and also I knew that you would advise anyone who contacted you that I was never involved in any way.

With kindest personal regards and with every best wish, I am

Sincerely,
DAVE FOUTZ

VII. INSTITUTE FOR AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

The committee's 1948 Report, under its general designation of Communist-Front Organizations, listed the Institute for American Democracy and the Institute for Democratic Education (pages 263-265).

The continuing investigation of these organizations reveals that both are sponsored by responsible individuals and groups of unquestioned loyalty.

The programs of both the Institute for American Democracy and the Institute for Democratic Education are in full keeping with the best American traditions and ideals and it is the design of the sponsoring individuals and groups to inculcate and preserve in the hearts and consciences of the American people love and loyalty for and to our country and the great principles of American liberty and democracy.

Because of the similarity of names, Harold Franklin, the program director of the Institute for Democratic Education, was confused with a Harold Franklin who attended a meeting of the National Emergency Conference Against the Government Wage Program in Washington, D. C., in 1935. The committee is happy to make this correction and to

clear the program director of the Institute for Democratic Education, Harold Franklin.

The committee finds, however, that in the past the two organizations have unwittingly utilized several theatrical and other well-known individuals who have been charged with questionable affiliations. However, there is no evidence that such persons ever influenced the original democratic objectives or activities of either agency.

The committee was assured that the two organizations will give careful consideration to the information brought to their attention and take such action as is deemed appropriate to maintain their American democratic principles and objectives.

VIII. INSTITUTE FOR DEMOCRATIC EDUCATION

For a revised report on this organization, see the immediately preceding Item VII.

IX. D. R. O'NEILL

The committee received a communication on March 5, 1949, from D. R. O'Neill, of San Francisco, protesting inclusion of his name in an affidavit by William P. H. Brandhove; and flatly denying and repudiating any personal connection with or sympathy for Communism.

The communication contained this statement:

My only explanation for the fact that my name was listed by Brandhove is that I on two occasions refused employment to this man.

William P. H. Brandhove filed an affidavit with the committee, which was published on pages 161-167 of the 1947 Third Report.

An examination of this affidavit, of the indexes to all the reports, and of the texts of the reports, discloses that Mr. O'Neill never was mentioned in any of the committee reports, and specifically, was not mentioned in the 1947 Third Report.

X. MSGR. THOMAS J. O'DWYER

The committee has received several informal protests over the asserted inclusion in its reports of the name of Msgr. Thomas J. O'Dwyer, a Catholic priest of Los Angeles, who is prominent in welfare work, locally and nationally.

The committee also has received numerous complaints that Communist propagandists frequently make the statement, in attacking the committee and its reports that "even such prominent Catholics as Msgr. O'Dwyer are called Communists in the Tenney Reports!"

An examination of the indexes and texts of the committee's reports disclosed that the name of Msgr. Thomas J. O'Dwyer never has been mentioned in any connection.

XI. BENJAMIN STOLBERG

See preceding comment on pages 691-693.

XII. ALFRED WALLENSTEIN

The committee received a communication from Alfred Wallenstein, the noted orchestra conductor, of Beverly Hills, relative to citations on pages 316-317 of the 1948 Fourth Report.

The committee is pleased to publish Mr. Wallenstein's letter, which is a self-explanatory repudiation of Communism and of Communist-front efforts to snare unsuspecting liberals.

Senator Jack B. Tenney

*State Building, 217 West First Street
Los Angeles 12, California*

In the "Fourth Report, Un-American Activities in California, 1948, Communist Front Organizations," copy of which Mr. and Mrs. Howard Verbeck were kind enough to send me, my name appears in three different places, one in connection with an organization known as "Musicians' Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy" (page 311), and the other two in connection with an organization known as "Musicians' Congress Committee" (pages 316 and 317).

The object of this letter is to give you the facts regarding my connection with these two organizations and to request you to include these facts in your next Report.

1. Musicians' Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy

At the time this committee was formed, I was Musical Director of the Mutual Network Station WOR in New York, and because of this position, and the publicity attending it, was endlessly solicited by all sorts of groups desiring committee sponsorships, donations, etc. I have only the vaguest recollection of the Musicians' Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy and cannot recall meeting any member of that committee or conferring with anyone regarding the cause. It is possible that I was called on the telephone regarding a donation or the use of my name as a member, but I can positively assure you that, in keeping with my standard handling of all these matters, I never gave any authority to use my name as a member of the committee or as a sponsor of the cause, and that my records do not disclose the making of any donation. From the foregoing you can see that if my name was used as appears in your Report, it was wholly without my knowledge, much less acquiescence.

2. Musicians' Congress Committee

In 1943, my first year as Director of the Southern California Symphony Association, I was approached by Mr. Lawrence Morton and Mr. Ingolf Dahl regarding a proposal to bring the musicians of the world together in a "congress" to be held in Los Angeles. At that time I was very busy organizing the orchestra, and indicated to these gentlemen that I could not possibly spare the time to participate in such a movement.

They then asked if they could use my name and send out letters to prominent musicians throughout the United States bearing my signature. To this I reluctantly consented. Whereupon Messrs. Morton and Dahl prepared many letters to important figures in the musicians' world, such as Koussevitzky, which, at their urgency, I signed as "chairman" of the committee.

This represents the full extent of my activities with the committee. I did not attend any of the meetings, nor did I attend the "congress" itself, which I understand met in Hollywood sometime during the year.

A few months after the letters were sent out, information came to me that the committee and some of its sponsors were leaning towards the "left." I immediately made up my mind to disconnect myself with the committee and wrote to the sponsors insisting that my name be withdrawn as chairman and member, inasmuch as, in my opinion, the committee was not accomplishing its musical aims, and the achievements set forth as objectives in the letters and literature sent out by the committee. The sponsors replied to this letter urging that I permit the committee to continue to use my name, but I wrote instantly in reply with an emphatic "no." This ended my connection with the committee as far as I am concerned. I understand that the finality of my second letter was accepted by the sponsors and that my name was not used again. In any event I received no further requests and personally did nothing further in connection with the committee.

(S)/ALFRED WALLENSTEIN

WHO ARE THE SMEAR GROUPS?

The gigantic propaganda apparatus of Fascism and Nazism at its peak never approached the efficient and extensive operation of the network of Red Fascist propaganda.

Equally important with the task of proselyting carried on by the Communist press, is the fundamental requirement for machinery and methods for attack and smear. Anyone who opposes or exposes the Communist conspiracy must be destroyed.

A continuous program of character assassination is conducted by the Communist publication system designed to discredit anyone who attacks or exposes Communism. Public officials and law enforcement agencies are to be constantly smeared and discredited in the minds of members of mass organizations.

A characteristic of the Communist conspiracy is the unbroken program for vilification; the smearing of non-Communist radical, liberal, progressive, and even revolutionary movements. Non-Stalinist socialism is attacked with the same fury as capitalism and parliamentary government.

The committee has in its voluminous files innumerable Communist publications devoted to attacks on individuals, organizations and institutions, who refuse to kowtow to the Moscow brand of "progress, peace and prosperity."

Your committee has been subjected to the most vicious and false smear campaign ever directed against a committee of the California Legislature. We consider this dishonest and false smear campaign, totally unsupported by facts, an insult to the Senate and to the people of California.

Your committee believes that the time has come, however, when honest Americans must insist that every individual in public life must stand up and be counted decisively on one side or the other.

Your committee believes that the majority opinion of patriotic and informed citizens is expressed clearly by the following lead editorial, published in the *Hollywood Citizen-News*, June 20, 1948:

SMEARING!

A subcommittee of the Presbyterian Synod of California recommends the replacement of State Senator Jack B. Tenney and the other members of the State Legislature Committee on un-American Activities with "more judicial-minded men."

The committee calls the Tenney group a "smear group which in the name of Americanism destroys the traditional American right of a good name and the freedom of conscience."

The Presbyterian committee cannot sustain its charge against the Tenney committee and thereby, in its own language, it becomes a "smear group." * * *

To sustain its smear of the Tenney committee, the Presbyterian group must provide the public with the names of persons whose "traditional American right of a good name" has been destroyed.

The Tenney reports are full of names. If there is any basis for the Presbyterian committee's smear of the Tenney committee it can pick out some of those names and show how their possessors have been denied the "traditional American right of a good name."

If there is any basis for the Presbyterian committee's smear it will point out names of persons whose "freedom of conscience" has been denied to them.

We venture the guess that none of the members of the Presbyterian committee has ever read all of the Tenney reports.

We venture the guess that none of the members has ever given any thought to means and methods of exposing the operations of the Communists through various false fronts. Otherwise the Presbyterian group would not, in our opinion, be condemning the Tenney committee for exposing the fact that some innocent people get into the Communist false fronts.

Innocent people who find themselves unwittingly in a Communist front ought to be grateful to the Tenney committee for exposing the front.

Good citizens do not want to assist Communists in the destruction of American democracy and its liberties including freedom of religion. If a good citizen learns through a Tenney committee that unwittingly he has been a member of a Communist front he should be most grateful to the Tenney committee for opening his eyes.

"The proletariat in the imperialist countries must not only fight for the defeat of their own governments in this war (any war with Russia), but must actively strive to secure victory for the Soviet Union."

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR, Resolution of the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International], 1928

FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The first legislative recommendations to meet the problem of Communism in California by a program of investigation and control legislation were made in 1940 by the special Assembly Relief Investigating Committee.

The committee became known as the Yorty Committee, after its chairman, Assemblyman Samuel William Yorty. It was the predecessor of the California committees on Un-American Activities. The committee concluded its 1940 report with the following recommendations:

1940 REPORT

We must not permit ourselves to be fooled by the Communist Party, into thinking that it is anything else than a part of a lying, scheming, pernicious army of international gangsters, determined to destroy and desecrate human dignity and civilization.

The American people have already been fed with so much propaganda, ridiculing and "smearing" those who have endeavored to expose the "Fifth Columns," that it is difficult for anyone to describe the unbelievable extent to which subversive activities have been carried on in this country without being accused by the uninformed of being either an alarmist, or guilty of exaggeration. But real, shocking facts of the situation must be brought home to the people of the United States.

Only an aroused and patriotic America can in the last analysis, end the march of the "Fifth Column" through this nation. The fight against the "Fifth Column" must be carried on with firm and unswerving determination.

Your committee recommends:

1. That a thorough investigation of all subversive activities in California be undertaken as soon as possible.

2. That laws be enacted both by the United States and by the State to force the "Fifth Column" propagandists to march out in the open where their promises and proposals can be judged with full knowledge of what is back of them. Laws must also be enacted to strengthen our defense against those columns of the international army of gangsters, which are assigned to duties calling for actual physical sabotage.

3. That constant vigilance must be maintained to detect, expose, and bring an end to, every new phase of subversive activity devised by the marauding international gangsters.

4. That a complete analysis of our educational system be undertaken to determine the cause of its failure to inculcate students with a true appreciation of American Democracy.

5. That laws eliminating politics in the relief administration be strengthened, kept in effect, and vigorously enforced.

6. That laws be enacted to prevent transfers of employees by the State Relief Administration to counties where such employees are not known to the citizens. Local political subdivisions must be given a voice in the employment of relief personnel, in order to enable them to keep constant guard against infiltration by subversive groups under the cloak of official state positions.

7. And that most important of all, a sound constructive program of reemployment be determined upon and executed through the cooperation of Government, business and labor. This is a necessary defense measure. Subversive groups feed the fires of discontent created by economic break-down. Their lying propaganda and promises

are doubled in effectiveness during periods of economic uncertainty. The combined intelligence and patriotism of all Americans must cause them to support whatever equitable economic adjustments are necessary to put an end to this scourge of unemployment. Doles are not the answer. Doles and demoralization go hand in hand. The great morale that has always characterized the American people must be safeguarded. The calamity howlers must be met by a deafening roar of American industrial activity.

The Assembly Relief Investigating Committee was composed of Samuel William Yorty, Chairman, Jack B. Tenney, Lee Bashore, Chester Gannon, James Phillips.

The California Legislature's first Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities was established by the Legislature in January, 1941. It conducted extensive investigations and numerous public hearings and issued a 394-page report in 1943.

The 1943 First Report concluded with the following comment and recommendations:

1943 REPORT

The committee finds that Communism, Naziism, and Fascism are distinguished one from the other only in minor details. Each ism is fully as subversive and un-American as the other.

The committee finds that all three isms have been directed and subsidized by foreign governments.

The committee finds that the sympathies of the adherents of the three groups are wholeheartedly with the foreign government to which they owe allegiance.

The committee finds that the philosophies, activities and objectives of all three groups are inimical to the Constitution, Democracy and traditions of the United States.

The committee finds that the Communist Party, the German-American Bund and the Fascist organizations in the United States have a common objective in the destruction of our form of Government by sabotage, force and violence. The general and ultimate objective of the three groups is the substitution of the totalitarianism of their respective fatherlands for our constitutional Democracy.

It should be emphasized that the committee has barely scratched the surface of subversive activities in California. The members of the committee and the committee's attaches have labored diligently, and in many cases at their own expense, in ferreting out the facts.

Due to lack of funds members of the committee traveled to Los Angeles in the latter part of 1942 at their own expense in order to conduct hearings on certain phases of the investigation. The committee, during its existence, has continually been under the handicap of insufficient attaches to carry on compilation, filing and coordination of evidence and material. In spite of these handicaps, the committee has gathered voluminous evidence, as this report indicates.

The very existence of a committee such as the Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities in California has acted as a deterrent to un-American Activities in California, has acted as a deterrent to un-American groups and, to some extent, has served as a brake to more brazen and open activities against the Government and our institutions.

An energetic and active committee in this field is the greatest bulwark of protection for Americanism and Democracy. Subversive organizations wither and die under the glaring light of publicity. The Communists, the Nazis and the Fascists have little influence among Americans who are aware of their tactics and objectives.

All of these "isms" will live after the war. The Nazis and the Fascists may be beaten on the battlefields but the vicious and inhuman ideas they have unleashed will live to plague the world after their originators have disappeared.

Communism will be activating the minds of ignorant men and women, offering escapes to frustrated and inferiority-complexed people who grope through fogs of confused thinking hopelessly seeking a place in a topsy-turvy world of their own making. Those of us who cherish our America, the Constitution and the American Way of Life, dare not relinquish, through smug apathy, all that our forefathers have established for us. Eternal vigilance is the price we must pay.

New fronts will replace the old ones and new leaders will carry on the activities of the Browders, the Kuhns and Schwinn. New "lines" will be projected tomorrow. We must be vigilant!

Your committee therefore recommends:

1. That a similar committee be empowered and authorized to function for 1943 and 1944. It recommends that sufficient funds be appropriated to provide an adequate staff of attaches and competent investigators.

2. Enactment of a state law to prohibit any person in California from knowingly participating in the activities of any organization receiving financial support from a foreign government.

3. Exerting influence on Congress to deny citizenship to any person born in the United States who is subject to dual citizenship in the country of his or her parents' birth.

4. Strengthening the act of 1940 denying the primary ballot to subversive political organizations such as the Communist Party.

5. Strict enforcement of the Subversive Registration Act of 1941.

6. Enactment of legislation prohibiting any person not eligible to United States citizenship from commercial fishing off the coast of California.

7. Enactment of legislation providing for the disbarment of attorneys who are members of the Communist Party or other subversive and un-American groups.

8. Legislation authorizing and mandating governing boards of all professions to exercise disciplinary action including the revocation of licenses of members of the respective professions who are members of subversive and un-American groups.

9. Enactment of legislation charging the State Board of Education with the responsibility of investigating complaints filed against members of the teaching profession holding credentials issued by the State Board where such members are charged with being members of, or participating in, subversive and un-American activities.

10. Establishment by law of a rebuttable presumption of subversive and un-American activities in accord with established historical policies and "lines" of subversive groups and organizations.

11. Enactment of legislation to provide procedure for the ousting of subversive employees from civil service status in the Government of California.

12. Memorialize Congress to cancel the citizenship of any former alien who, since receiving citizenship, has been a member of any subversive organization.

13. Enactment of state legislation prohibiting aliens from holding elected or appointed offices in any labor union within the territorial boundaries of California.

14. Enactment of legislation designed to supervise and censor foreign language broadcasts and the foreign language press.

15. Enactment of appropriate legislation prohibiting any person who is a member or affiliated with any organization or group dominated by a foreign government or which advocates the undermining, weakening or the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence, from occupying any office or position, supported in whole or in part by public funds in the State of California.

16. Enactment of legislation providing for the right of private industry, engaged wholly or in part in the production of armaments or other materials essential to the war effort or our National defense, to discharge any known, proven or admitted persons connected with the Communist Party, the Nazi Bund, Fascist organizations or other groups whose objectives are inimical to the United States.

17. Recommend to Congress that pro-Axis Japanese in the various camps be segregated and that the control of all Japanese activities be placed in the hands of the United States Army for the duration of the war.

18. That state legislation be enacted mandating compulsory courses of Americanism in the tax-supported schools of the State emphasizing American history, American heroes and leaders and its traditions contrasted with the techniques, tactics and totalitarian objectives of the vicious isms extant in the world today.

19. Enactment of state legislation bringing all foreign language schools under the strict supervision and control of the State Board of Education.

In concluding, the committee wishes to reiterate what it stated in the beginning of this report. We are fighting a total war. We should demand nothing less than total victory.

It is the responsibility of the Legislature to enact suitable laws for the protection of the community, the State and Nation from subversive attack and sabotage, but laws are not enough.

We must instill a fighting faith in our people if our Democracy, our Flag, our Constitution and our American Way of Life are to be preserved for posterity.

The Legislature voted to follow the recommendation made in Item No. One of the 1943 First Report and the committee was continued, but with limited funds.

No action was taken on Items 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16 and 18 of the 1943 report.

1945 REPORT

The investigation of Communism was continued and a 1945 Second Report was issued, making similar recommendations, on which no substantial action was taken. The committee was authorized to continue its work.

The 1947 Third Report was a 365-page volume, which provided convincing proof of the need for basic anti-subversive legislation that had been recommended in the 1943 and 1945 reports.

The 1947 Third Report contained the following findings and recommendations:

1947 REPORT

The following is not intended to be a complete summarization of all committee findings contained in the foregoing (1947 Report) text. The conclusions listed hereafter are concerned only with the broad outline of Communist activity in the State of California.

1. Communism may be briefly summarized as an economic system characterized by government ownership of all property used in production and marketing. The government is a police state, unrestrained and all-powerful, subject to the will of a ruthless dictator. It is distinguished by economic planning, wage and price-fixing, forced labor, militarism and imperialism. It permits but one political party, the Communist Party, to exist. Complete loss of individual liberty goes hand in hand with Communism.

2. Both Fascism and Communism are distinguished by complete government control over production; the means, quantity, quality; the when and where, of production and distribution. Both types of governments are totalitarian, one-party systems, featuring planned economy under bureaucratic control. The single party creates a preferred elite protected against the regimented and enslaved masses by a brutal secret police. Militarism and imperialism constitute the hard core of both systems of government.

Hence, Communism may be properly termed *Red-Fascism*.

3. Force and violence are inseparable from the Communist program and, no matter how fervently the Communist attempts to deny this fact during periods of retreat, he knows that the ultimate use of force and violence are inevitable. The announced Communist objective to capture and destroy the state, as now constituted, together with the determination to expropriate private property, cannot be accomplished without the employment of force and violence.

4. The Communist Party is a small, compact group of professional revolutionists. It does not seek large membership. Through the instrumentality of psychological agitation it proposes to move the masses of non-Communists toward what it terms a "revolutionary situation."

5. The Communist Party infiltrates every conceivable mass organization in the country—"in trade unions, in farm organizations, in ladies clubs, in Harlem, in the deep south, among the intellectuals." It inspires the creation of mass organizations, to which non-Communists are attracted because of publicized purported "liberal" objectives. This Communist work is everywhere efficiently centralized, correlated, directed and organized.

6. William Z. Foster, current General Secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, owes his allegiance to the Soviet Government. He believes, and has so stated, that when a Communist heads the government of the United States that that government will be a Soviet government backed by a Red army ready to enforce the dictatorship of the proletariat. He has stated that his flag, and the flag of his followers, is the Red flag adorned with the hammer-and-sickle of Soviet Russia.

7. All Communists believe themselves to be in a state of perpetual warfare with capitalist governments. The over-all strategy of the Communist Party is designed to bring about the destruction of all democratic governments. The ultimate objective is the establishment of the so-called dictatorship of the proletariat. Every Communist fanatically believes that world Capitalism and Communism must come to a decisive struggle in which one or the other will conquer. Every Communist is thoroughly convinced that Communism will emerge triumphant. Both Lenin and Stalin have declared that a war-to-the-death conflict between Capitalism and Communism is inevitable.

8. The "day-to-day" struggle constitutes part of Communist tactics. It is concerned with sabotaging and weakening the democratic governments in which the Communists work.

9. All Communists firmly believe that the Soviet Union is the Red Fatherland of the proletariat everywhere, and, as such, it must be protected in its development at any cost because it is the arsenal for world conquest. Meanwhile the Communists in all countries work for revolution, taking Stalin at his word when he said that "in the event of necessity (Soviet Russia will) come out even with armed forces against the exploiting classes in their states." Thus, every Communist in the United States is a potential traitor, saboteur and espionage agent of Soviet Russia.

10. Communism is a world revolutionary movement. The respective parties in each country are motivated by the political philosophies of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, plus directives from the Kremlin itself. The so-called Communist "Party Line" invariably follows Soviet foreign policy. Stalin has sold the Communist Parties of the world on the promise that Soviet Russia is "the base of the world revolution" and, consequently, every Communist has transferred his sense of loyalty and allegiance from his native land to the government of Soviet Russia.

11. The part played by Earl Browder during the last war in apparently "collaborating with Capitalism" was a deceptive tactic utilized for the purpose of securing needed aid for Soviet Russia. His ouster from the Communist Party, followed by the restoration of the militant revolutionary character of the party, ended the Sixth Era of Communist strategy in the United States.

12. The American people are now facing the greatest agitational activity on the part of the Communists in the history of the Communist Party in the United States. This activity will be intensified with increasing rapidity as the international situation becomes more acute. Acts of sabotage and violence, terror and assassination may be expected if diplomatic relations between the United States and Soviet Russia become strained.

The committee is firmly convinced that this current period—the Seventh Period of Communist Strategy in the United States—is the most critical period of all. The American people must be awakened to the fact that every member of the American Communist Party is a potential espionage and sabotage agent for the Soviet government. Our people must realize, now more than ever before, that it is the admitted and avowed purpose of Moscow to create and foster a Communist revolution in every Capitalist democracy in the world.

13. Mobilization for Democracy and the Hollywood Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions are two of the key Communist fronts in California. The mailing lists and facilities of these two organizations are being used by Communist fronts in the State.

14. The Communist dominated National Citizens Political Action Committee failed as a radical coalition political organization in carrying the Communist Party line into government. Communist steering committees have directed this organization and the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions into a new and broader Communist front for the entire United States. The Progressive Citizens of America is the result.

15. Mobilization for Democracy deliberately manufactured Ku Klux Klan acts of terrorism for political purposes. The Communist plan to utilize this front for agitational purposes in California was thwarted by the investigations of the Los Angeles Central Labor Council of the American Federation of Labor and this committee which exposed the true purposes behind the organization.

16. The People's Educational Center and the California Labor School are expanded Communist Party institutions for the purpose of disseminating Communist propaganda.

17. American Youth for Democracy is the successor to the Young Communist League.

18. University professors, for the greater part, permitted their names to be used in connection with the above mentioned institutions, without knowledge of the true

character or purpose of the schools. In other cases it appears that the professors involved permitted their names to be used by the institutions with knowledge of their Communist character. * * *

20. The Young Women's Christian Association and the Young Men's Christian Association at Berkeley permit Communist meetings and known Communist speakers to use their building facilities. Both of these organizations use the name of the University of California in connection with their own associations, giving the impression that both are connected with the university itself.

21. While the great majority of the teachers in the California public school system are patriotic Americans there are Communists and Communist fellow-travelers teaching in the system. * * *

22. The C.I.O. Maritime Unions, particularly the Marine Cooks and Stewards Union in San Francisco, are Communist dominated. The Committee finds that anti-Communist members of the Marine Cooks and Stewards Union are being expelled for criticizing Communism and the Communist clique in the organization.

23. Herbert K. Sorrell is a secret member of the Communist Party. The Conference of Studio Unions, headed by Sorrell, on strike for over a year, is Communist dominated, inspired and directed for the purpose of capturing the *American Federation of Labor* unions in the motion picture industry.

24. The Communist Party has made strenuous efforts to capture radio through the use of Communist news commentators and analysts. The Hollywood Community Radio Group, Inc., is Communist inspired and directed. Its immediate objective is the establishment of a radio station in Los Angeles County.

25. The International Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians of the C.I.O. is a Communist front. Chapter 25 of this group met secretly during the war and discussed the atomic and radiation research work at the University of California. It is a potential espionage organization owing its first allegiance to Soviet Russia.

26. The Committee finds that when an individual is an habitual subscriber to the Communist Party press, is a member of Communist front organizations, follows the Communist Party line without deviation, generally associates with known members of the Communist Party and is willing to condemn Fascism while vehemently refusing to criticize Communism, it may be properly assumed that such an individual is something more than a mere Communist fellow-traveler. * * *

RECOMMENDATIONS

The Committee specifically recommends the following:

1. That a similar committee be empowered and authorized to function by the Legislature for 1947 and 1948, and that sufficient funds be appropriated to provide an adequate staff of attaches and competent investigators.

2. That Congress be memorialized to enact necessary legislation outlawing the Communist Party nationally as an enemy of the United States Government.

3. Strict enforcement of the Subversive Registration Act of 1941.

4. Enactment of legislation providing for the disbarment of attorneys who are members of the Communist Party or other subversive groups.

5. That legislation be enacted authorizing and mandating governing boards of all professions to exercise disciplinary action, including revocation of the licenses of members of the respective professions who are found to be members of subversive and un-American groups.

6. That legislation be enacted charging the State Board of Education with the responsibility of investigating complaints filed against members of the teaching profession holding credentials issued by the State Board where such members are charged with being members of, or participating in, subversive and un-American activities.

7. That the Legislature enact a statute establishing by law a rebuttable presumption of subversive and un-American activities based on established historical policies and "lines" of subversive groups and organizations.

8. The enactment of legislation to provide procedure for the ousting of subversive employees from civil service status in the government of California.

9. That Congress be memorialized to provide federal legislation strengthening the existing law concerning the cancellation of citizenship of a former alien who, at the time of receiving citizenship, was a member of a subversive organization.

10. Enactment of appropriate legislation prohibiting any person who is a member or affiliated with any organization or group dominated by a foreign government, or

which advocates the undermining, weakening or the overthrow of the government of the United States by force and violence, from occupying any office or position, supported in whole or in part by public funds of the State of California.

11. Enactment of legislation providing for the right of private industry, engaged wholly or in part in the production of armament or other materials essential to national defense, to discharge any person connected with the Communist Party or any other subversive organization.

12. That the Legislature enact legislation mandating compulsory courses in tax supported schools of the State emphasizing American history, American heroes and leaders and American traditions.

13. That the Legislature carefully scrutinize suspected public school textbooks for Communist Party propaganda and withhold funds for the purchase of questionable books.

14. That the Legislature establish an Interim Committee for the purpose of making a thorough study of the educational system of the State with particular reference to educational fundamentals, inspirational courses and texts designed to create respect and devotion for American democracy, principles and the Constitution.

15. That the Legislature establish a Joint Legislative Committee composed of personnel not connected with the Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities, and that such committee be directed to study the reports of this committee together with the reports of similar committees of the several states and the Congress for the purpose of formulating a series of legislative recommendations designed to effectively put an end to all organizations that have as their objective the destruction of the Government of the United States by force and violence or other illegal means.

The recommendation in the 1947 Third Report were almost identical to those made in the 1943 and 1945 Reports and they were accompanied by additional voluminous analysis and factual documentation of the need for legislation to combat subversive activity. Virtually no action was taken on the 1947 proposals.

1948 REPORT

The committee presented at the 1948 Legislative Session bills to accomplish the recommendation that had been made in the previous reports and it also presented in a 393-page 1948 Fourth Report a definitive analysis of Communist front activity and an alphabetically arranged report on 172 Communist front activities. Virtually no action was taken on legislative recommendations.

1949 REPORT AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The committee presents herewith in its 1949 Fifth Report one of the most comprehensive single compilations of essential reference material, analysis and documentation ever given to an American Legislature in conjunction with a series of important legislative proposals.

Your committee has revised, improved and brought up to date its recommendations for antisubversive legislation that have been made during the past decade. Your committee is convinced that these proposals do not encompass all that should be done to protect our State from subversive activity. They represent merely the indispensable minimum of protective steps.

Many of the proposals are permissive rather than mandatory and are intended to clarify the rights of patriotic business, professional and trade-union organizations to refuse membership or employment to subversive individuals.

Your committee's legislative proposals were made with full regard for the scope and extent of federal action in the field of subversive control

legislation and after a sound study of the constitutional limitations within which such legislation might be enacted with assurance that it will be sustained in the courts.

It is the considered opinion of your committee that additional legislation will be necessary after the determination of present proposals for federal legislation now before the Congress, and after the adjudication of a number of important test cases in our courts.

The 1949 Legislative program of the committee has been directed solely and specifically at providing an intelligent solution of obvious problems that confront our State as a result of the establishment, advocacy and practice by the Communist Party of the United States of the fundamental Communist party line strategy and tactics known as *The Struggle Against Imperialist War*, as laid down in official directives of the world Communist movement.

Our present 1949 Fifth Report was not intended to be an exposé of the activities of organizations or individuals in the fields of Communist activity and its appeasement, which already has been accomplished in our first four reports. It is a statement to the Legislature and to the people of California of the problem posed before them by the march of world Communism in a period of cold war and irreconcilable conflict between two utterly contradictory concepts of government and human rights.

Your committee stated in the preface to this 1949 Fifth Report that the report is a challenge to the Legislature and to the people of California to act decisively and that it also is a challenge and refutation to Communist fraud.

After a decade of investigation, study, analysis and documented reporting of the truth about the Communist conspiracy and the need for protective and remedial legislation, your committee makes the following recommendations:

(1) That legislation proposed and explained on Pages 590-592 of this report be enacted at the 1949 Session of the Legislature.

(2) That the committee be continued with improved facilities and techniques as outlined in this report on Pages 677-686.

(3) That all enforcement agencies devote special attention to the establishment of units within their organizations that will provide personnel that will be trained and equipped to cope with the professional Communist agitators and their Stalinist legal experts in all phases of law enforcement and that all antisubversive laws be strictly enforced.

(4) That leaders of responsible community organizations investigate and put into operation the proposals for a community approach to the solution of the subversive problem as outlined on Pages 649-676 of this report.

Communism has steeped itself in an air of mystery and trickery to confuse and befuddle its opponents and to divide them by playing on the weaknesses and fallibilities of human nature. It announces itself as something new and dynamic. But facts have been presented in this report to prove that it is not mysterious, new or dynamic. It offers to humanity in a new package the most vicious and reactionary evils known to history in

doctrinaire totalitarianism and oligarchic despotism. It now is involved in contradictions of its own far worse than any it predicted would destroy capitalism and free parliamentary government.

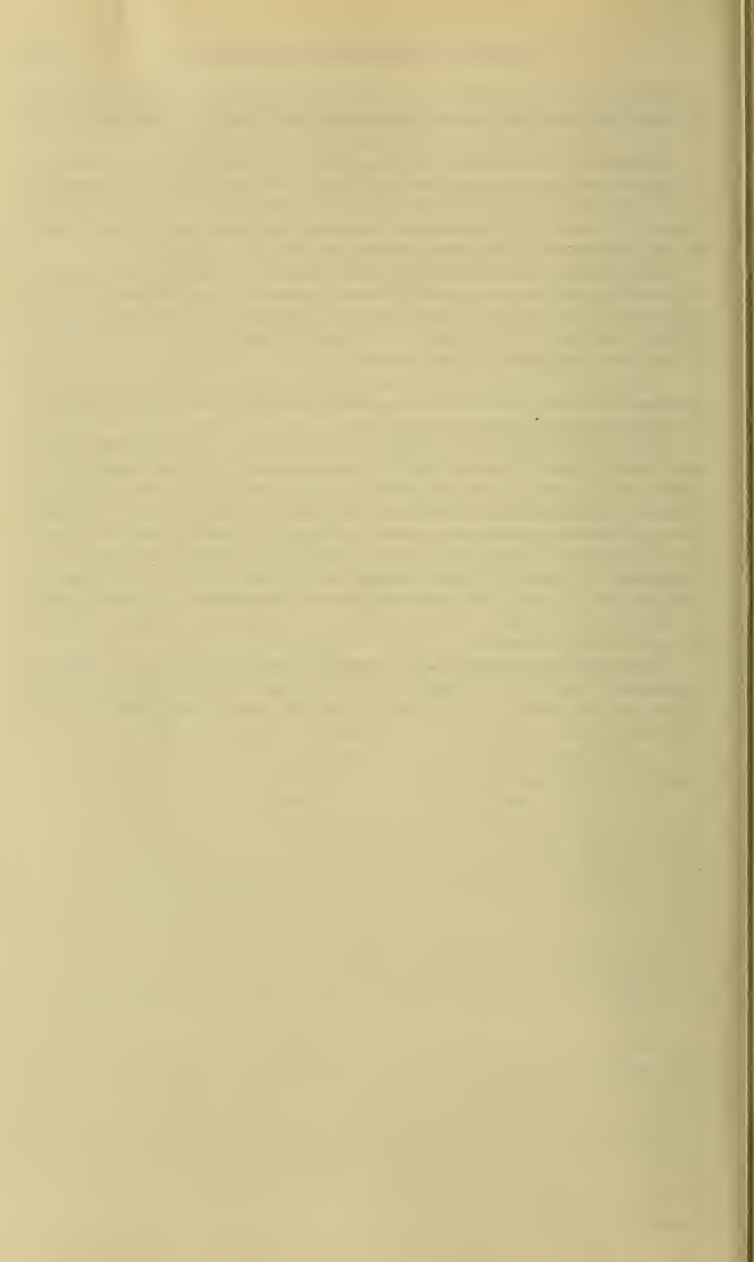
Communism undoubtedly is the greatest menace in recorded history to human freedoms, liberties and the dignity of the individual as exemplified in the institutions and ideals of our Nation, which is the center and core of resistance to Communist expansion. But there is no mystery either about Communism or about what must be done to defeat it.

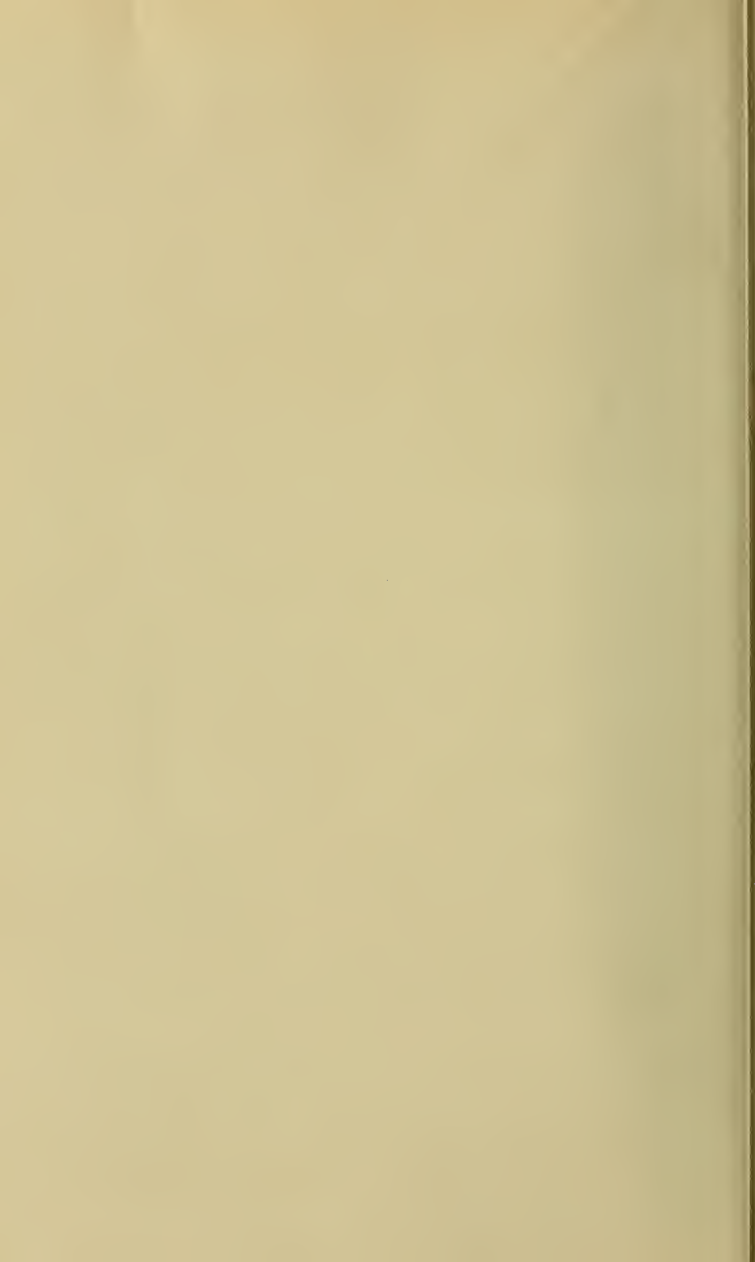
Communism has made its unprecedented strides in the past through the apathy, complacency, indifference, ignorance, and confusion of its opponents, rather than through any achievements by its own sinister Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist pseudo-science of revolution, tragically effective as that may have been at times.

Those who cherish the heritage that has been handed down to us by the founders of our Nation have a pressing obligation to defend it against Communist conspiracy to destroy it.

The practical steps we must take to defend our heritage of freedom and liberty are: (1) enactment of adequate and effective legislation to control and prevent subversive activity; (2) continuous investigation and exposure of subversive activities and dangers; (3) prompt and consistent law enforcement against subversive activity; (4) and—most important of all—adoption of a broad community-wide approach to a clear understanding of our own dynamic heritage of freedom and liberty in contrast with the brutal, inhumane and treacherous doctrines of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism, through a cooperative and coordinated program in which all our citizens can join.

The achievement of these four basic requirements for the defeat of Communist conspiracy is one of the major tasks that confronts the Legislature and the people of California in this centennial year, 1949.





FINAL REPORT

UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

IN CALIFORNIA

Excerpt From Senate Journal of June 23, 1949

*Supplementing Committee's
Fifth (1949) Report*



TO THE 1949 REGULAR CALIFORNIA LEGISLATURE
SACRAMENTO, 1949

THE

AMERICAN
JOURNAL OF
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ARTS

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1871

CALIFORNIA LEGISLATURE, SENATE
SACRAMENTO, June 24, 1949

Hon. Goodwin J. Knight
President of the Senate; and
Gentlemen of the Senate
Senate Chamber, Sacramento, Calif.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE:

Pursuant to Senate Resolution No. 75, which appears at page 3532 of the Senate Journal for June 20, 1947, the Senate Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities was created and the following were appointed by the Senate Committee on Rules:

Senator Hugh M. Burns,
Senator Nelson S. Dilworth,
Senator Fred H. Kraft,
Senator Louis G. Sutton,
Senator Clyde A. Watson,
Senator Jack B. Tenney.

The committee submits the final report of its investigations and findings.

Respectfully submitted,

HUGH M. BURNS
NELSON S. DILWORTH
FRED H. KRAFT
LOUIS G. SUTTON
CLYDE A. WATSON
JACK B. TENNEY, Chairman

FINAL REPORT

(Supplementing Committee's Fifth (1949) Report)

On June 8, 1949, the Senate Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities released its 1949 (Fifth) Report. The report contained a section titled "Repudiations and Denials of Communism." This particular section consisted of committee statistics on the subject.

The section revealed that despite an intensive campaign of generalized abusive attacks and smears against the committee and its reports, in a decade during which the committee had published approximately 1,500 book pages of reports, only four organizations and eleven individuals ever had formally protested, refuted or repudiated factual reporting of the committee.

Two of the individuals who protested never were mentioned in the reports and three had repudiated and condemned unauthorized use of their names by Communist fronts. Three instances involved clerical errors and other complaints disputed testimony by witnesses before the committee.

Your committee reported that a large number of individuals, whose names were to be found in the indexes of the reports, had joined in unsworn statements attacking, smearing and denouncing the committee, but never had "formally protested, denied or repudiated any testimony by witnesses before this committee; or any reporting, documentation or analysis by this committee; nor had any one of them ever challenged,

denied or attempted to refute a single fact cited before this committee or by the committee."

The names of these individuals, lifted out of context by critics of the committee, was called a "1949 Tenney Red List," which it was not, as is plainly stated in the report on pages 687 to 698.

A number of individuals promptly repeated the practice of attacking the committee with vicious personal abuse and vague protests of outraged innocence. Their protests and smear attacks were widely circulated.

Your committee believes that these individuals should be given an opportunity to refute or repudiate any factual reporting by the committee. They have had the opportunity and have failed to act. The committee, therefore, has prepared for the information of the Senate and the people of California, a tabulated listing of the specific factual citations of these individuals who have circulated protests without communicating them to the committee.

The names of these individuals were listed in the 1949 Report solely as persons who had failed to make any attempt to disprove or repudiate activities and affiliations cited in former reports, and as individuals who had never formally protested to the committee.

Following is a tabulated list of specific citations of participation in Communist fronts, causes, activities, committees, organizations and campaigns by the individuals who publicly protested or denounced the mention of their names in the 1949 (Fifth) Report.

ALVAH BESSIE: Has been identified in sworn testimony as a member of the Communist Party. Following are recent citations by the California Senate Committee:

1947 Third Report

Page 70—Instructor, People's Educational Center, a Communist School;

Page 72—Instructor, P.E.C.;

Page 106—Editorial Board Member, "Mainstream," a Communist monthly magazine.

1948 Fourth Report

Page 97—Sponsor, Actors' Laboratory Theatre, a Communist school and little theatre.

Page 98 to 104, cited as a Communist, holding Card No. 47279 in 1947, and as a member, speaker, writer, sponsor, etc., in a series of Communist activities by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Page 105, cited as sponsor, Actors' Laboratory Theatre.

Page 136—Sponsor, Artists Front to Win the War, a Communist front.

Page 170—Director, American Russia Institute, a Communist front.

Page 176—Member, League of American Writers, a Communist front.

Page 183—Receives an award from American Youth for Democracy, a Communist youth front.

Pages 189 and 192—Sponsor of Artists Front to Win the War.

Page 239—One of ten Hollywood Communist "Unfriendly Witnesses" before the House Committee, who was honored by a testimonial dinner by Freedom from Fear Committee, a Communist defense front.

Page 261—One of a number of writers of Hollywood Writers Mobilization.

Page 328—Signer of demand that House Committee be abolished.

Page 340—Contributor to "*New Masses*," Communist weekly cultural publication.

Page 360—One of the Communists in Hollywood Screen Writers Guild.

NORMAN CORWIN: A radio and film writer, Corwin has participated in numerous Communist fronts and activities. Following are recent citations by the California Senate Committee:

1947 Third Report

Page 98 listed in circular as leader of Progressive Citizens of America, a Communist front.

Page 235—Sponsor of P. C. A.

Page 237—Officer, P. C. A.

1948 Fourth Report

Page 59—Joins in conference to plan Communist fight against "thought control," sponsored by P. C. A.

Page 60—Sponsors and participates in rally at Shrine Auditorium, Los Angeles, for 10 Hollywood Communists, staged by P. C. A.

Page 183—Sponsor, dinner by American Youth for Democracy, C. P. youth front.

Page 201—Initiator, National Congress on Civil Rights, which launched the Communist front, Civil Rights Congress.

Page 208—Sponsor, Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, main Communist front to aid Reds in China.

Page 210—Member, Committee for First Amendment, a Communist front.

Page 241—Sponsor, dinner benefit for "The Hollywood Ten" Communist witnesses.

Page 255—Executive Council Member, Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee of Arts, Sciences and Professions, a Communist front.

Page 262—See Page 255 reference above.

Page 264—Cited as a member of the board or sponsor of "17 different organizations which are pro-Communist."

Page 318—His play, featuring Canada Lee, presented by Musicians Congress Committee, a Communist front.

Page 354—Vice Chairman, Progressive Citizens of America.

Page 357—See page 59 reference above.

Page 358—Signer, statement by Russian War Relief, Inc., with known Communists.

Page 392—Sponsor, People's Songs, a Communist front.

ALBERT DEKKER: An actor and former Assemblyman, Dekker has been cited as a participant in numerous fronts and causes. Following are recent citations from California Senate Committee reports:

1947 Third Report

Page 98—Listed in circular as leader of Progressive Citizens of America, a Communist front.

Page 101—Invited speaker at Asilomar conference of California Labor School, a Communist school.

Page 183—Sends telegram supporting Emergency Committee on KFI, a Communist front.

Page 186—Supporter of Emergency Committee on KFI.

Page 235—Signs call to organize Progressive Citizens of America.

Page 236—Official greeter at P. C. A. meeting.

Page 237—Speaker and contributor at P. C. A. meeting.

Page 239—Officer of P. C. A.

Page 242—Sponsor, California Legislative Conference, which organized 1947 Communist march on Sacramento.

Page 249—In picture in *People's Daily World*, Communist newspaper, cited in transcript excerpt.

Page 296—Reference by witness in transcript excerpt.

1948 Fourth Report

Page 183—Sponsor of dinner, American Youth for Democracy, a Communist front.

Page 201—Participant, Citizens Committee for the Motion Picture Strikers, a Communist front.

Page 231—Mrs. Albert Dekker is co-chairman at meeting of Congress of American Women, a Communist front.

Page 251—Treasurer, Hollywood Democratic Committee, a Communist front.

Page 254—Executive Board Member, Mobilization for Democracy, a Communist front.

Page 255—Executive Council Member, Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee of Arts, Sciences and Professions, a C. P. front.

Page 308—See Page 254 reference.

Page 309—Involved with leftist group steering Los Angeles Council for Civic Unity into Communist line activities.

Page 346—Defends *People's Daily World*, Communist newspaper.

Page 355—Officer, Progressive Citizens of America.

JOHN HUSTON: A screen writer and director, Huston was prominent in the organization and activities of Committee for the First Amendment, a Communist front, organized to defend the indicted "Hollywood Ten," Communist witnesses. Following are recent citations by the California Senate Committee.

1948 Fourth Report

Page 210—Signer of protest advertisement in behalf of Hollywood Communists, sponsored by Committee for the First Amendment, a Communist front.

Page 241—Sponsor and chairman of banquet sponsored by Freedom from Fear Committee, which raised \$15,100 for defense of Hollywood Communists.

DANNY KAYE: Actor and radio star, who has been active in a number of Communist fronts and causes. Following are recent citations by the California Senate Committee:

1948 Fourth Report

Page 210—Signer of protest advertisement in behalf of Hollywood Communists, sponsored by Committee for the First Amendment.

Page 254—One of stars in rally staged by Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee of Arts, Sciences and Professions, a Communist front.

Page 254—Treasurer in 1945, of H. I. C. C. A. S. P., according to official letterhead.

GENE KELLY: Actor, who has been involved in a number of Communist fronts and causes. Following are recent citations by the California Senate Committee:

1947 Third Report

Page 235—Sponsor, Progressive Citizens of America.

Page 237—Sponsor and speaker, P. C. A. organization meeting.

Page 239—Elected to Executive Board, P. C. A.

1948 Fourth Report

Page 60—Speaker at rally to defend Hollywood Communists, sponsored by P. C. A.

Page 97—Sponsor, Actors Laboratory Theatre, a Communist front and school.

Page 210—Signer of protest advertisement defending Hollywood Communists, sponsored by Committee for First Amendment.

Page 251—Vice President in 1946, Hollywood Democratic Committee, a C. P. front.

Page 311—Speaker, symposium by Musicians Congress Committee, a C. P. front.

Page 354—Vice Chairman, Progressive Citizens of America.

Page 355—Officer, Progressive Citizens of America, in 1947.

Page 355—National Chairman, 1948, of Young Progressives, major C. P. youth front.

ROBERT W. KENNY: A former newspaperman, judge, state senator, attorney general and candidate for governor, Kenny has been active in many Communist fronts and causes. He issued a press statement June 10, 1949, which said: "Tenney thinks it is Un-American to run against him. He didn't even put my name in his lists until I announced I was going to try to unseat him." Following is a partial list of citations from reports by the Senate committee:

1943 Second Report

Page 164—Cited as a member of a committee active in racial agitation, in testimony by Communist LaRue McCormick, identifying a story in *People's Daily World*, a Communist newspaper.

Page 210—Cited in affidavit by former Communist, Rena M. Vale, as follows: " * * * We sent suggestions and directives to Robert W. Kenny who was running for State Senator and he was regarded as one amenable to suggestions, that is, either a Communist or a close fellow-traveler. * * * "

1947 Third Report

Page 48—Cited as President of National Lawyers Guild, a C. P. front, who was used as "window-dressing" to form Mobilization for Democracy, a C. P. front.

Page 49—Wilbur J. Bassett, Secretary A. F. L. Los Angeles Central Labor Council testifies regarding controversy with Kenny and M. F. D.

and A. F. L. protest to Kenny against unauthorized use of A. F. L. name by M. F. D.

Page 50—Cited in special report by A. F. L. committee of J. J. Morgan, John Annand and Ed Gibbons, which investigated Mobilization for Democracy.

Page 54—Signer of telegram, M. F. D.

Pages 58-59—Testified regarding Ku Klux Klan. Kenny radio speech cited.

Page 59—Walter Sullivan of Los Angeles County district attorney's office, who had been assigned to work with Kenny, testified no evidence of Klan activity ever was obtained.

Page 89—Sponsor, 1946, California Labor School, a C. P. school.

Page 93—Sponsor, 1947, California Labor School.

Page 96—Sponsor, American Youth for Democracy, a Communist front.

Page 97—Identified in testimony by Dr. Franklin Fearing.

Page 142—Speaker, Hollywood Writers Mobilization rally to protest investigations of Communism. Urged "investigate the investigators" and legal action against newspapers that publish news stories of legislative hearings.

Page 179—On list of prospective stockholders of Hollywood Community Radio Group, a C. P. front.

Page 199—Cited as mentioned in 1943 and 1945 reports in connection with participation in California Committee for Radio Freedom, a C. P. front.

Page 234—Member of National Organizing Committee, Progressive Citizens of America.

Page 235—Signer of call for organizing meeting of P. C. A.

Page 237—Reads prepared speech of acceptance after his "surprise" nomination and election as chairman of P. C. A.

Page 239—Elected on executive board slate at P. C. A. organizing meeting.

Page 242—Sponsor, California Legislative Conference, which staged 1947 Communist march on Sacramento.

Page 249—Cited in testimony by Judge Stanley Moffatt.

1948 Fourth Report

Page 58—Participant in forum series sponsored by Hollywood Writers Mobilization and on program with Katherine Hepburn and Henry Wallace at Gilmore Stadium "fight thought control" rally, sponsored by P. C. A.

Page 60—Speaker at "Stop Operation Witch Hunt" rally, sponsored by P. C. A.

Page 62—Cited as one of a group of California "I. P. P. and Wallace" leaders.

Page 92—Cited as one of a group active in Communist fronts, who "can not plead ignorance."

Page 116—Sponsor, with known Communists, of American Committee for Spanish Freedom, a Communist front.

Page 151—Affiliated with American League Against War and Fascism, a major C. P. front.

Page 152—Endorser, Los Angeles congress of A. L. A. W. F.

Page 183—Sponsor who presented awards at dinner of American Youth for Democracy, C. P. youth front.

Page 198—Sponsor, China Conference Arrangements Committee, with known Communists, to support Chinese Reds.

Page 202—Sponsor, Los Angeles unit of Civil Rights Congress, major Communist defense front.

Page 206—Speaker, as chief counsel for Hollywood Communists, at Emergency Action Conference, Communist meeting at Embassy Auditorium in Los Angeles.

Page 217—Interviewed by Sidney Roger on radio program about refusal of Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, a C. P. front, to provide information subpoenaed by Congressional Committee.

Page 238—With Bartley Crum is co-chairman of First State-Wide Legislative Conference, a C. P. front.

Page 241—Received checks totaling more than \$15,000 for defense of Hollywood Communists at dinner sponsored by Communist front, Freedom from Fear Committee.

Page 244—Affiliated with Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, a Communist front affiliated with international Red Army reserve.

Page 250—Sponsor, Hollywood Anti-Nazi League, a Communist front.

Page 254—Presides at conference to form Mobilization for Democracy, a C. P. front.

Page 255—Executive Council Member, Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee of Arts, Sciences and Professions.

Page 256—Sponsor, Hollywood League for Democratic Action, a C. P. front.

Page 265—Affiliated with International Juridical Association, an international Communist legal defense front.

Page 267—Sponsor, with known Communists, of testimonial dinner to Communist Leo Gallagher, and a principal speaker at dinner.

Page 308—Leader of Mobilization for Democracy.

Page 309—"Adroitly smothered" resolution to ban Communists from M. F. D.

Page 310—Sponsor, fund drive with two other Communist fronts, by Motion Picture Artists Committee.

Page 332—National President of National Lawyers Guild, major C. P. defense and legal front organization.

Page 346—Defends *People's Daily World*, Communist newspaper.

Page 354—Vice Chairman, Progressive Citizens of America.

Page 355—Los Angeles branch Chairman, P. C. A.

Page 358—Signer, fund appeal, Russian War Relief, Inc., with known Communists.

Page 378—Sponsor, United Negro and Allied Veterans, a C. P. front.

1949 Fifth Report

Pages 498 to 537—Cited as one of the sponsors of New York Communist peace conference, who has been affiliated with numerous Communist fronts and causes.

ALBERT MALTZ: A well-known Communist novelist and film writer, Maltz has been identified in sworn testimony before the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities as holder of Communist Card No. 46801 in 1944.

He is so prominent in Communist activities that we cite only the page numbers of references to him in recent reports of the California Senate Committee:

1947 Third Report

Pages 47, 48, 65, 96, 97, 106, 283.

1948 Fourth Report

Pages 60, 92, 97, 105, 116 to 132, 163, 171, 176, 183, 189, 192, 198, 200, 233, 239, 273, 328, 351, 352, 357, 359, 360, 370, 377, 378, and 392.

1949 Fifth Report

Pages 498 to 537—Cited as one of the sponsors of the Communist New York peace conference, who has been affiliated with numerous Communist fronts and causes.

FREDRIC MARCH: Has been active in a number of Communist fronts and causes. Following are references to his activity in recent reports by the California Senate Committee:

1947 Third Report

Page 233—Vice Chairman, Progressive Citizens of America.

Page 235—Signer of meeting call, P. C. A. organizing meeting.

1948 Fourth Report

Page 232—Reference to testimony of former C. P. official and his testimony before House Committee.

Page 239—Member, Advisory Board, Films for Democracy, a Communist front.

Page 250—Sponsor, Hollywood Anti-Nazi League, a Communist front.

Page 256—Sponsor, Hollywood League for Democratic Action, a C. P. front.

Page 262—Treasurer, Independent Citizens Committee of Arts, Sciences and Professions, a Communist front.

Page 263—On radio transcription series.

Page 264—On radio series with Norman Corwin and Canada Lee.

Page 324—Sponsor, with known Communists, of Congress of America-Soviet Friendship, a C. P. front.

Page 354—Vice Chairman, Progressive Citizens of America.

Page 390—Sponsor of dinner, with known Communists, by American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, a Communist front.

MRS. FREDRIC MARCH (Florence Eldridge): Mrs. March also has been active in a number of Communist fronts and causes. Following are citations from recent reports by the California Senate Committee:

1948 Fourth Report

Page 14—Listed as a witness.

Page 228—Delegate to Communist created and controlled International Congress of Women, and traveled to I. C. W. Paris meeting with known Communists.

Page 229—Regular Delegate from Congress of American Women, a major Communist front, to I. C. W.

Page 230—Elected vice president of Congress of American Women.

Page 232—Testified she was a character witness in Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee case and that she knew Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, member of C. P. national committee.

Page 250—Sponsor, Hollywood Anti-Nazi League, a C. P. front.

Page 255—Sponsor, Hollywood League for Democratic Action, a C. P. front.

Page 262—Member Executive Board, Independent Citizens Committee of Arts, Sciences and Professions, a C. P. front.

Page 310—Sponsor of fund drive, Motion Picture Artists Committee, a C. P. front.

CAREY MCWILLIAMS: A well-known writer and attorney, McWilliams has been identified in sworn testimony as a Communist Party member; and his record in Communist activity is so well known that we cite only the page numbers of references to his activity from recent reports by the California Senate Committee:

1947 Third Report

Pages 34, 47, 54, 67, 116, 126, 130, 131, 132, 138, 170, 188, 179, 189, 208, 209, 235, 236, 239, 242, 348, 349, 354.

1948 Fourth Report

Pages 4, 106, 114, 116, 146, 160, 162, 176, 179, 184, 193, 198, 199, 201, 208, 226, 233, 235, 239, 244, 249, 254, 258, 265, 267, 278, 272, 273, 279, 308, 309, 327, 328, 330, 332, 341, 344, 346, 351, 354, 355, 358, 359, 375, 376, 382.

1949 Fifth Report

Pages 498 to 537—Cited as one of the sponsors of the New York Communist peace conference, who has been affiliated with numerous Communist fronts and causes.

DOROTHY PARKER: An author and screenwriter, Dorothy Parker has been active in numerous Communist fronts and causes. Following are recent citations by the California Senate Committee:

1948 Fourth Report

Page 97—Signer, statement defending and supporting Moscow purge trials.

Page 132—Sponsor, American Yugoslav Relief Committee, a C. P. front which used money donated by Americans to help put Tito in power.

Page 189—Sponsor, Artists Front to Win the War, a C. P. front.

Page 192—Cited in Congressional testimony about Hollywood Communists as a person "whose record of affiliation in Communist front organizations is set forth in another report."

Page 232—Mrs. Fredric March testified Herbert Biberman, Donald Ogden Stewart, and Dorothy Parker helped start Hollywood Anti-Nazi League, a C. P. front.

Page 244—Affiliated with Friends of Abraham Lincoln Brigade, a C. P. front.

Page 248—Member Board of Directors, History Today, Inc., a Communist controlled film producing organization, which distributes its produce through another Communist firm, Garrison Films.

Page 249—Associated with Harry Bridges Defense Committee, a C. P. front.

Page 250—Sponsor, Hollywood Anti-Nazi League, a C. P. front.

Page 256—Sponsor, Hollywood League for Democratic Action, a C. P. front.

Page 277—Director and Sponsor, League of Women Shoppers, a C. P. front.

Page 278—National Sponsor, League of Women Shoppers.

Page 310—Executive Board Member, Motion Pictures Artists Committee, a C. P. front.

Page 353—Active in Communist front, United American Spanish Aid Committee.

Page 376—Acting Chairman of Spanish Refugee Appeal, whose sponsor list included more than fifty known Communists and Communist sympathizers.

Page 382—Active in United Spanish Aid Committee, a Communist front predecessor to the Communist Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee.

Page 389—Active in Writers and Artists Committee for Medical Aid to Spain, a Communist front activity.

Page 392—Member, Board of Sponsors, People's Songs, a major C. P. front.

1949 Fifth Report

Pages 498 to 537—Cited as one of the sponsors of New York Communist peace conference, who has been affiliated with numerous Communist fronts and causes.

ISAAC PACHT: An attorney and former judge, Pacht has been identified with a number of Communist fronts and causes. Following are citations from recent reports by the California Senate Committee:

1947 Third Report

Page 182—Member, Emergency Committee on KFI, a C. P. front.

Page 239—Member, Executive Board, Progressive Citizens of America.

1948 Fourth Report

Page 109—On membership committee of American Civil Liberties Union, Los Angeles unit, and signer of fund-raising letters.

Page 239—Sponsor, First State-Wide Legislative Conference, Communist front.

Page 250—Sponsor, Hollywood Anti-Nazi League.

Page 256—Sponsor, Hollywood League for Democratic Action.

Page 309—Selected by Mobilization for Democracy, a C. P. front, as its choice for membership on proposed Fair Employment Practices Committee.

Page 332—Member, National Lawyers Guild, a major C. P. front.

GREGORY PECK: A prominent actor, Peck has been identified with a number of Communist fronts and causes. Following are citations from recent reports by the California Senate Committee:

1947 Third Report

Page 235—Signer of call for Progressive Citizens of America organizing meeting.

Page 239—Elected to Executive Board, P. C. A.

1948 Fourth Report

Page 97—Sponsor, Actors Laboratory Theatre, a Communist front.

Page 198—Sponsor, China Conference Arrangements Committee, to aid Chinese Reds.

Page 208—Sponsor, Conference for Democratic Far Eastern Policy, with known Communists, to aid Chinese Reds.

Page 210—Signer of protest advertisement for, and member of, Committee for the First Amendment, a C. P. front to defend Hollywood Communists.

Page 255—Member, Executive Council, Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee of Arts, Sciences and Professions.

Page 355—On ballot for executive board, Progressive Citizens of America, 1947 election.

EDWARD G. ROBINSON: Prominent actor, frequently involved in Communist fronts and causes. Following are citations from recent reports by California Senate Committee:

1947 Third Report

Page 98—Listed in circular as a leader of Progressive Citizens of America.

Page 235—Signer of call for P. C. A. organizing meeting.

Page 236—Cited as listed in two C. P. fronts by House Committee.

Page 239—Elected to Executive Board of P. C. A.

1948 Fourth Report

Page 114—Affiliated with American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, a Communist front.

Page 132—Sponsor, American Committee for Yugoslav Relief, a C. P. front.

Page 171—Listed on program of cultural conference sponsored by American Russian Institute, Inc., a C. P. front.

Page 183—Cited as a supporter, who praised American Youth for Democracy, a Communist youth front.

Page 198—Sponsor, China Conference Arrangements Committee.

Page 201—Initiating Sponsor, National Congress on Civil Rights, in Detroit in 1946, from which was organized the major C. P. defense front, Civil Rights Congress.

Page 211—Attended meeting of Communist front, Committee for First Amendment, at home of Ira Gershwin.

Page 252—Member, Executive Committee, Hollywood Democratic Committee.

Page 254—Star in rally staged by H. I. C. C. A. S. P., Communist front.

Page 255—Member, Executive Council of H. I. C. C. A. S. P.

Page 263—Initiating Sponsor, Independent Citizens Committee of Arts, Sciences and Professions.

Page 355—Member, Executive Board, Los Angeles branch of Progressive Citizens of America.

JUDGE BEN ROSENTHAL: A former assemblyman and now a Los Angeles judge, Rosenthal has been active in a number of Communist

fronts and causes. Following are recent citations by the California Senate Committee:

1948 Fourth Report

Page 146—President, American Jewish Congress.

Page 147—Cited in five Communist fronts or activities.

Page 149—Elected Officer, American Jewish Congress.

Page 221—Protests refusal of Olympic Auditorium to rent premises for Communist rally featuring William Z. Foster.

Page 222—Witness in above case testifies as to conversation.

Page 244—Member, Friends of Abraham Lincoln Brigade, major Communist front.

Page 249—Sponsor, Harry Bridges Defense Committee, important Communist front.

FRANK SINATRA: Following are recent citations by the California Senate Committee which Sinatra has denounced but never refuted or repudiated:

1948 Fourth Report

Page 147—Accepted award at dinner of American Youth for Democracy, major C. P. youth front.

Page 183—Guest of honor and award recipient at A.Y.D. dinner, sponsored, among others, by Assemblymen William Rosenthal, Lester A. McMillan, Augustus Hawkins; former Assemblyman Albert Dekker, former Congressman Ned R. Healy, and former Attorney General Robert W. Kenny.

Page 255—Vice Chairman, Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee of Arts, Sciences and Professions, a Communist front.

ARTIE SHAW: A musician and dilettante politician, Shaw has been identified in sworn testimony as a Communist. Following are recent citations by the California Senate Committee:

1947 Third Report

Page 96—Sponsor, American Youth for Democracy, Communist youth front.

1948 Fourth Report

Page 163—Sponsor, American Peace Mobilization, major C. P. front during period of the Hitler-Stalin Pact.

Page 202—Sponsor, Civil Rights Congress, major C. P. defense front.

Page 254—Speaker, meeting sponsored by H.I.C.C.A.S.P. Music Division.

Page 255—Member, Executive Council of H.I.C.C.A.S.P., a Communist front.

Page 279—Sponsor, Los Angeles Emergency Committee to Aid the Strikers, a Communist front.

Page 317—Initiating Sponsor, Musicians' Congress Committee institute, a Communist activity.

1949 Fifth Report

Pages 498 to 537—Cited as one of the sponsors of the New York Communist peace conference, who has been affiliated with numerous Communist fronts and causes.

JEAN SIEROTY (Mrs. Julian Sieroty) : Following are citations from recent reports by the California Senate Committee :

1947 Third Report

Page 179—Listed as potential stockholder in Hollywood Community Radio Group, a Communist front.

Page 239—Member, Executive Board, Progressive Citizens of America, a Communist front.

1948 Fourth Report

Page 198—Sponsor, China Conference Arrangements Committee, with known Communists to aid Chinese Reds.

Page 239—Sponsor, First State-Wide Legislative Conference, a C. P. front.

JULIAN SIEROTY : Husband of Jean Sieroty. Following are citations from recent reports by the California Senate Committee :

1948 Fourth Report

Page 279—Member, Los Angeles Emergency Committee to Aid the Strikers.

Page 239—Sponsor, First State-wide Legislative Conference.

DALTON TRUMBO : A prominent screen writer, Trumbo is well known in numerous Communist front activities and causes. He was identified in sworn testimony before the congressional committee as holder of Communist Card No. 47187, in 1944. Trumbo is so well known in Communist activity that we cite only the page references in recent reports by the California Senate Committee.

1947 Third Report

Pages 97, 106, 141, 239, and 286.

1948 Fourth Report

Pages 58, 60, 97, 105, 116, 132 to 140, 176, 183, 185, 189, 190, 192, 198, 215, 239, 249, 251, 255, 257, 261, 271, 279, 311, 355, 360, and 375.

COMMUNIST FRONT ORGANIZATIONS

The reader is referred to the committee's 1948 and 1949 reports for information concerning the Communist front organizations cited in this final report.

Main
Pencil

